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AUTHOR

Church Congress

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Report of the proceedings

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AUTHORISED REPORT

OF THE

CHURCH CONGRESS

HELD AT

LEEDS,

OCTOBER 8TH, 9TH, 10TH, AND 11TH, 1872.

PAPERS SEPARATELY PUBLISHED

AND

ADDITIONAL PAMPHLETS.

1. BISHOP OF WINCHESTER'S SERMON ON THE VOICE OF GOD IN THE CHURCH, preached in the Parish Church of Leeds, on Friday, October 11th, 1872. Price 6d. Publishers: James Parker & Co., London.

The following are published at the Leeds Church Institute, Albion Place, Leeds:—

2. THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE'S SERMON ON THE EFFICACY OF PRAYER, preached in the Parish Church of Leeds, Wednesday, October 9th, 1872. Price 1d., or by post 1½d.

3. THE LORD CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS ON SUNDAY SCHOOLS. Price 3d.

4. THE WORKING MEN'S MEETING. Speeches by the Bishops of Ripon, Winchester, Oxford, and Manchester; Canon Tristram; R. A. Cross, Esq., M.P.; Hugh Birley, Esq., M.P.; Benjamin Shaw, Esq., the Dean of Durham, Canon Woodford, and the Mayor of Leeds. Price 3d., or at reduced prices in Fifties or Hundreds, for distribution among the Working Classes and others.

5. DEEPENING OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE. Bishop of Brechin. Price 2d.

6. POSITION OF THE CHURCH IN WALES. Meeting of Friday Afternoon, October 11th. Price 6d.

7. VITAL CHRISTIANITY, AS AFFECTED BY THE PRESENT STATE OF SCIENCE AND CIVILISATION. Bishop of Edinburgh, with Notes. 4d.

The above may be had at the Offices of the Leeds Church Congress, Albion Place, Leeds. They can also be supplied in Fifties or Hundreds at reduced prices, which may be learned on application to the Acting Secretary, T. T. Ponsonby, Albion Place, Leeds.

AUTHORISED REPORT

OF THE

CHURCH CONGRESS

HELD AT LEEDS,

OCTOBER 8th, 9th, 10th

1872.

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PUBLISHED FOR THE LEEDS CH
BY
THOMAS PONSONBY, CHURCH INSTITUTE, ALBION PLACE.

London:
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PATERNOSTER ROW;
AND
JOHN HODGES, BEDFORD STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

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NOTICE.

The Twelfth Meeting of the Church Congress was held this year at Leeds in pursuance of an invitation from the Mayor and Vicar of Leeds and other of the inhabitants, accepted at the meeting of the Congress, held at Nottingham in 1871, under the Presidency of the Bishop of Lincoln.

The Executive Committee consisted of eighty clergymen and laymen resident in the county of York; out of which number were chosen, as usual, smaller committees for the selection of Subjects and Speakers, and for the management of the Finance of the Congress, and the Reception of Visitors. The Bishop of Ripon was Chairman, and the Vicar of Leeds Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee.

The general organisation of the meetings of the Church Congress are now so well understood that it seems unnecessary to make any detailed statement as to the arrangements made for the meeting of the Congress in Leeds. The various Committees adopted the general plan, which experience had shown to be the best, and did what lay in their power to carry it out in such a manner as local circumstances rendered most advisable. The labour of making the necessary arrangements for holding meetings of Congress is now greatly diminished, by employing the machinery tried and proved on previous occasions; and it is but fair to say that but one opinion has been expressed by members of the several Committees as to the great value of the assistance rendered them by the Acting Secretary, Mr. T. T. Ponsonby, who had held that office for the Nottingham Congress, and whose readiness, experience, unremitting attention, and business-like management of the office deserve their full acknowledgment.

The Report differs from those of the previous meetings only in giving the Working Men's Meeting at length in its proper place. That meeting was attended by full 3,000 persons, of which the far greater portion were strictly working-men, and it was in all respects most satisfactory. The Report of this meeting, and of

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that on the Welsh Church, have been printed separately, as well as a few papers which appeared to be of very general interest; the list of which will be found at page 472. The Sermons preached at the Parish Church on Wednesday evening in the Congress week by the Bishop of Carlisle, on the "Efficacy of Prayer," and on Friday evening by the Bishop of Winchester, on the "Voice of God in the Church," are also published, and will be found in the same list.

The number of persons attending this Congress was considerably greater than on any previous occasion. The Registers show:—

Members' Tickets	3,796
Associates' ditto	662
Evening ditto	280
Working Men's Meeting . . .	400
	5,138

Besides which, about 3,000 Free Tickets were issued, through the clergy of Leeds and employers of labour, for admission of working-men to the Meeting held on the evening of October the 10th.

Communications very lately received give every reason to believe, that the hope expressed by Archdeacon Emery at the concluding meeting will be realised, and that the next Congress will be held at Bath.

November 30th, 1872.

STANDING RULES.

It may be useful to reprint from the Report of the Southampton Meeting, the rules and recommendations which have from time to time been adopted for regulating the proceedings of Congress.

At Oxford in 1864 it was resolved—

I.—That the object of Church Congresses is to bring members of the Church of England together for free deliberation, and for the exchange of opinion and experience on subjects which affect the practical efficiency of the Church, the removal of abuse and defect, and the means of defence and extension; also for the encouragement of a general interest in these and kindred subjects amongst the clergy and laity in different parts of the country.

II.—At the same meeting it was determined—

1. That the discussion of points of theological doctrine and speculation be strictly excluded.

2. That no question arising out of any papers read, or subject treated, at any general or sectional meeting, be put to the vote.

3. That the discussion of each question be introduced by papers, or prepared speeches, limited in length at the discretion of each Local Committee, ample time (ordinarily not less than two-thirds) being reserved in each session for free and open debate.

N.B.—At Southampton the Committee ruled that three readers of papers should be allowed twenty minutes each; that those who delivered addresses, whether written or otherwise, should not exceed fifteen minutes; and that all subsequent speakers should have ten minutes.

4. That the Congress meet for three days or more, at such time as shall be arranged by concert between the Standing and Local Committees, the next place of meeting being in each case decided by the Congress itself.

5. That the proceedings be opened by Divine service with a sermon, the arrangements for which, as well as for daily service (including Holy Communion), at such times and places as shall be convenient for those attending Congress, shall be made by the Local Committee.

III.—1. That the Chairman of the Committee, and the Hon. Secretaries of the three Congresses last preceding, together with the Chairman and Hon. Secretaries of the Committee for the next coming Congress, form a Committee for reference and consultation with the Local Committee.

2. That as soon as possible, after the next place of meeting is decided, a Local Committee be formed, to which the entire arrangements of the Congress, subject to the foregoing standing rules, be entrusted.

3. That in all Executive Committees, whenever practicable, the number of lay members and secretaries be at least equal to the clerical members and secretaries.

IV.—At the Norwich Congress, held in 1865, the Committee recommended—

1. That the Bishop of the diocese where each future Congress is held be President.

2. That members of the Church (now the Churches) of England and Ireland alone be permitted to address the Congress, and that no person be allowed to speak twice on the same subject.*

3. That all questions of order of proceedings be in the discretion of the President or presiding Chairman, whose decision shall be final.

4. That every member desirous of addressing Congress on the subject before the meeting, shall give his card to the Secretary in attendance (before the conclusion of the written addresses),† and await the call of the Chairman.

5. That every speaker shall address the chair only, and shall confine himself strictly to the subject under discussion.

* This rule is possibly incorrectly expressed. The modification of the rule, as adopted at the Leeds Congress, will be found on page x.

† The part of this clause, which has been enclosed in brackets, was omitted in the Rules adopted by the Leeds Committee.

Patron:

The Right Honourable and Most Reverend the LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

President:

The Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF RIPON.

Vice-Presidents:

The Lord Bishop of Winchester
The Lord Bishop of Llandaff
The Lord Bishop of Bangor
The Lord Bishop of Ely
The Lord Bishop of Chester
The Lord Bishop of Lichfield
The Lord Bishop of Peterborough
The Lord Bishop of Hereford
The Lord Bishop of Lincoln
The Lord Bishop of Oxford
The Lord Bishop of Exeter
The Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells
The Lord Bishop of Carlisle
The Lord Bishop of Manchester
The Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man
The Right Rev. Bishop Ryan
The Hon. and Very Rev. the Dean of York
The Very Rev. the Dean of Durham
The Very Rev. the Dean of Chester
The Very Rev. the Dean of Ripon
The Ven. Archdeacon of Craven
The Ven. Archdeacon of Richmond
The Ven. Archdeacon of Buckingham
The Ven Archdeacon of Ely
(Permanent Secretary to the Church Congress)
The Rev. Canon Birch
The Rev. Canon Holmes
The Rev. Canon Worsley
The High Sheriff of Yorkshire

The Duke of Devonshire, K. G.
The Marquis of Ripon, K. G.
The Earl of Dartmouth
The Earl Nelson
The Earl of Harrowby, K.G.
The Earl of Harewood
The Earl Catheart
The Earl of Bective
The Lord Bolton
The Lord Teignmouth
The Lord Wharncliffe
The Lord Houghton
The Right Hon. T. E. Headlam, Q.C., M.P.
Sir C. H. Lowther, Bart.
Sir Lionel M. S. Pilkington, Bart.
Sir J. W. Ramsden, Bart.
The Recorder of Leeds
Edwd. Akroyd, Esq., M.P.
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W. S. Stanhope, Esq., M.P.
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S. Waterhouse, Esq., M.P.
Wm. St. James Wheelhouse, Esq., M.P.

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Vice-Chairman—The Reverend CANON WOODFORD, D.D., Vicar of Leeds.

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Rev. Canon Brooke, Hull
Rev. J. Ingham Brooke, Thornhill
Rev. Canon Burfield, Bradford
Rev. W. B. Calvert, Huddersfield
Rev. Canon Camidge, Wakefield
Rev. Canon Crosthwaite, Leeds
Rev. T. S. Fleming, Leeds
Rev. S. Flood, B.D., Leeds
Rev. W. W. Gibbon, Harrogate
Rev. J. Gott, Bramley
Rev. Dr. Henderson, Leeds
Rev. Canon Hey, York
Rev. C. A. Hope, Barwick
Rev. Canon Hulbert, Almondbury
Rev. E. W. Isaac, Dewsbury
Rev. E. Jackson, Leeds
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Rev. A. H. Kelk, Leeds
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Rev. W. Malam, Keighley
Rev. D. Mapleton, Meanwood
Rev. J. H. McCheane, Leeds
Rev. J. Maughan, Leeds
Rev. Canon Mitton, Bradford
Rev. Canon Nevin, Mirfield
Rev. Canon Newlove, Thorner
Rev. F. Pigou, Doncaster
Rev. Canon Sale, D.D., Sheffield
Rev. H. Salwey, Kildwick
Rev. J. Sharp, Horbury
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Rev. H. Tuckwell, Leeds
Rev. T. Whitby, Leeds
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Rev. F. G. Hume Smith, Armley, Leeds,
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R. H. Braithwaite, Esq., Leeds,
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Rev. J. Ingham Brooke, Thornhill, Dewsbury
Rev. Canon Burfield, Bradford
Rev. W. B. Calvert, Huddersfield
Rev. Canon Crosthwaite, Leeds
Rev. S. Flood, B.D., Leeds
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Rev. Canon Hulbert, Almondbury
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Rev. Canon Nevin, Mirfield
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Rev. J. H. McCheane, Leeds
Rev. Dr. Smyth, Far Headingley, Leeds
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Rev. F. G. H. Smith, Armley, Leeds,
T. Greenwood Teale, Esq., Leeds,
William Ferguson, Esq., Leeds,
R. H. Braithwaite, Esq., Leeds,
} *Hon. Secretaries.*

The following were the regulations laid down for the conduct of the meetings :—

1. None but Members of the Church of England, or of Churches in communion with it, will be permitted to address the Congress, and no person will be permitted to speak twice on the same subject.

2. All questions of Order of Proceedings will be in the discretion of the President, or Presiding Chairman, whose decision will be final.

3. Any Member desirous of addressing the Congress on the subject before the Meeting, must give his card to the Secretary in attendance, and wait the call of the Chairman.

4. Every speaker shall address the Chair only, and confine himself strictly to the subject under discussion.

5. No question arising out of any Paper or Subject shall be put to the Vote.

Readers of Papers were allowed twenty minutes; Speakers, without option of reading, if selected, fifteen minutes—if not selected, ten.

PRAYERS.

Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, The power, and the glory, For ever and ever. AMEN.

O God, forasmuch as without Thee we are not able to please Thee; mercifully grant, that thy Holy Spirit may in all things direct and rule our hearts; through Jesus Christ our Lord. AMEN.

Almighty and everlasting God, by whose Spirit the whole body of the Church is governed and sanctified: receive our supplications and prayers which we offer before Thee for all estates of men in thy Holy Church; that every member of the same, in his vocation and ministry, may truly and godly serve Thee; through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. AMEN.

Grant, O Lord, we beseech Thee, that the course of this world may be so peacefully ordered by thy governance, that thy Church may joyfully serve Thee in all godly quietness; through Jesus Christ our Lord. AMEN.

HYMNS.

I.

COME, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire,
And lighten with celestial fire.
Thou the anointing Spirit art,
Who dost thy sevenfold gifts impart;
Thy blessed unction from above,
Is comfort, life, and fire of love.
Enable with perpetual light
The dulness of our blinded sight;
Anoint and cheer our soiled face
With the abundance of thy grace;
Keep far our foes; give peace at home;
Where Thou art guide, no ill can come;
Teach us to know the Father, Son,
And Thee of both, to be but One;
That, through the ages all along,
This may be our endless song;—
Praise to thine eternal merit,
Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.
AMEN.

II.

LORD of heaven, and earth, and ocean,
Hear us from thy bright abode,
While our hearts with deep devotion,
Own their great and gracious God.
Now with joy we come before Thee,
Seek thy face, thy mercies sing;
Lord of life, and light, and glory,
Guard thy Church, and guide our Queen.

Health, and every needful blessing,
Are thy bounteous gifts alone;
Comforts undeserved possessing,
Here we bend before thy throne.
Young and old do now before Thee
Their united tribute bring;
Lord of life, and light, and glory,
Shield our Isle, and save our Queen.

Thee, with humble adoration,
Lord, we praise, for mercies past;
Still to this most favour'd nation,
May those mercies ever last.
Britons, then, shall still before Thee
Songs of ceaseless praises sing;
Lord of life, and light, and glory,
Bless thy people, bless our Queen.

III.

JESU, Thou joy of loving hearts,
Thou Fount of life, Thou Light of men,
From the best bliss that earth imparts,
We turn unfill'd to Thee again.

Thy truth unchanged hath ever stood;
Thou savest those that on Thee call;
To them that seek Thee, Thou art good;
To them that find Thee, All in All.

We taste Thee, O, Thou living Bread,
And long to feast upon Thee still;
We drink of Thee, the Fountain-head,
And thirst our souls from Thee to fill.

Our restless spirits yearn for Thee,
Where'er our changeful lot is cast;
Glad, when thy gracious smile we see,
Blest, when our faith can hold Thee fast.

O Jesu, ever with us stay,
Make all our moments calm and bright;
Chase the dark night of sin away,
Shed o'er the world thy holy light.

IV.

HARK! the song of Jubilee,
Loud as mighty thunders roar,
Or the fulness of the sea,
When it breaks upon the shore.
Hallelujah! for the Lord
God Omnipotent shall reign!
Hallelujah! let the word
Echo round the earth and main.

Hallelujah! hark! the sound,
From the centre to the skies,
Wakes above, beneath, around,
All creation's harmonies;
See Jehovah's banners furled,
Sheath'd his sword: He speaks, 'tis done,
And the kingdoms of this world
Are the kingdoms of his Son.

He shall reign from pole to pole
With illimitable sway;
He shall reign, when, like a scroll,
Yonder heavens have passed away;
Then the end, beneath his rod,
Man's last enemy shall fall;
Hallelujah! Christ in God,
God in Christ is all in all.

V.

SUN of my soul, Thou Saviour dear,
It is not night if Thou be near;
O may no earth-born cloud arise
To hide Thee from thy servant's eyes.

When the soft dews of kindly sleep
My wearied eyelids gently steep,
Be my last thought, how sweet to rest
For ever on my Saviour's breast.

Abide with me from morn till eve,
For without Thee I cannot live;
Abide with me when night is nigh,
For without Thee I dare not die.

If some poor wandering child of thine,
Have spurned to-day the voice divine;
Now, Lord, the gracious work begin,
Let him no more lie down in sin.

Watch by the sick, enrich the poor,
With blessings from thy boundless store;
Be every mourner's sleep to-night,
Like infant's slumbers, pure and light.

Come near and bless us when we wake,
Ere through the world our way we take;
Till, in the ocean of thy love,
We lose ourselves in heaven above.

VI.

BRIEF life is here our portion,
Brief sorrow, short-liv'd care;
The life that knows no ending,
The tearless life is there.

O happy retribution,
Short toil, eternal rest;
For mortals and for sinners
A mansion with the bless'd.

Though now we fight the battle,
We then shall wear the crown
Of full and everlasting
And passionless renown.

And He, whom now we trust in,
Shall then be seen and known;
And they who know and see Him,
Shall have Him for their own.

The morning shall awaken,
The shadows shall decay,
And each true-hearted servant
Shall shine as doth the day.

Then God, our King and Portion,
In fulness of His grace,
Shall we behold for ever,
And worship, face to face.

VII.

JERUSALEM the golden! with milk and honey bless'd,
Beneath Thy contemplation sink heart and voice oppress'd.
I know not; oh! I know not, what joys await us there,
What radiancy of glory, what bliss beyond compare.

They stand, those halls of Zion, all jubilant with song,
And bright with many an angel, and all the martyr throng;
The Prince is ever in them; the daylight is serene;
The pastures of the blessed are deck'd in glorious sheen.

There is the throne of David; and there, from care released,
The shout of them that triumph, the song of them that feast;
And they who, with their Leader, have conquered in the fight,
For ever and for ever are clad in robes of white.

O sweet and blessed country, the home of God's Elect!
O sweet and blessed country, that eager hearts expect!
Jesu, in mercy bring us to that dear land of rest,
Who art, with God the Father, and Spirit, ever bless'd. AMEN.

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THE SERMON

PREACHED IN THE PARISH CHURCH OF LEEDS

ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 8TH, 1872,

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,

PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND.

THE SERMON

By the Right Reverend the ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

"The street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times."—Daniel ix. 25.

The Holy Scriptures, my brethren, not only instruct us in the dispensations of God's grace and mercy for our salvation as individuals, but they also largely and awfully explain to us the methods of His overruling Providence, according to which He regulates the destinies of nations and communities. God is the sovereign of empires, no less than of the short-lived mortals who compose them; and as there are national crimes and national virtues, as well as personal sins and duties, so the great Disposer of events has included in His scheme of moral government, blessings and punishment for nations, no less than for their single components.

In the present course of God's providential government, communities are the chief subjects of Divine visitations, be they adverse or indulgent.

The rewards or punishments of individuals are chiefly reserved for a future state, and here, for the most part, to external view, there is one event to the righteous and the wicked; but the rewards and punishments of nations and communities can only be distributed here, the existence of corporate bodies being obviously confined to this temporary system of being.

The history of the Children of Israel illustrates in the whole of its chequered course these principles of the Divine administration, more especially in that part of it, to which the text directs our attention.

At the time when these words were delivered, the Jews were paying, during the long night of the Babylonian captivity, the penalty of their transgressions.

Many years of dreary servitude had rolled on without change, and each succeeding year their prospect grew darker, and to human

view, their situation more hopeless. Their spirits sank within them, and their faith grew weak as they contemplated the gloomy shadows that seemed to settle on the future. In their despair they cried out, "Our bones are dried, our hopes are lost, we are cut off for our parts." (Ezekiel xxxvii. 11.)

They saw no sign of the promised Deliverer, before whom the Lord was to break in pieces the gates of brass and to cut in sunder the bars of iron, to free them from the house of bondage. (Isaiah xlv. 2.) Moses had, indeed, led their fathers through the sea, but who was to lead them them over the dry and thirsty land where no water is, which separated them from their native country. How was so feeble a remnant, of what once had been a nation, to raise up a great city from its ruins and to compass it with walls and battlements. Without this there could be no safety to their persons, no due exercise of their worship.

Jerusalem was to them no common city. It was not merely the capital of their country. It was not as Nineveh to the Assyrians, or as Babylon to the Chaldeans, the citadel of their power and storehouse of their wealth, the seat of their royalty, and the fortress of their protection: it was more than all this. It was the city of their solemnities, the centre of their religious system. (Isaiah xxxiii. 20.) To them had been vouchsafed ordinances of Divine service and a worldly sanctuary; to them were committed the oracles of God; to them belonged the covenants of promise, and from them was to come forth that promised seed in whom all the nations of the earth were to be blessed. (Romans iii. 2.)

Jerusalem was indissolubly connected with all these promises and privileges. It was the city the Lord had chosen to put his name there; where had stood the magnificent temple of Solomon, the habitation of the Lord's house, the place where his honour dwelt. But the holy and beautiful house where their fathers worshipped was now burnt with fire, and all their pleasant things were laid waste. (Isaiah lxiv. 11.) Jerusalem herself was but a heap of stones. Without the restoration of these, freedom itself would have been deprived of all its grace and glory, and be but the transferring of their tears from the waters of Babylon to the stones of Zion.

When, therefore, the angel Gabriel conveyed to Daniel an answer of peace, his message had a special reference to this restora-

tion; "The street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times." The area of the city was once more to be covered with habitations, and around them walls and ramparts were to arise for protection. The Jews were to be restored, not only to liberty, but to their religious privileges. Their temple and worship would revive again, and they would once more constitute a living Church in the midst of a dead world. But the prophet is warned that all this is not to be achieved without difficulty or without opposition. The labour was to be hard, the hindrances great, the opponents numerous, the times troublous; but still the work was to prosper and the task to be accomplished.

And yet what the Jews had lost, even at the lowest period of their calamity, could not in value be compared to what they still retained. They had lost their city, they had been deprived of their liberty, their kings were bound in chains, and their nobles in links of iron. They had lost their temple, their opportunities of public worship, the outward ordinances and means of grace, their altars were overthrown, their priests banished. But they retained the knowledge of the true God. They had His Word to guide them, and were united to Him in the bond of an everlasting covenant. What they had lost was dear and precious and advantageous, but what they retained was of a higher and nobler nature. It was that of which no conqueror could deprive them, from which no distance could separate them, and which no human hands could pull down and destroy. The pious Jew, though he mourned by the waters of Babylon, had the consolation of believing that he was still a citizen of the Jerusalem which is above, and that his name was inscribed on the roll of the general assembly and Church of the first-born which are written in heaven. (Heb. xii. 23.)

Now although the words of the text primarily refer to the rebuilding of the earthly Jerusalem, and the difficulties which were to arise and arrest its progress, yet may they be legitimately applied in a higher sense to the erection of that gospel city, which Jerusalem of old foreshadowed, and which was to occupy its place, and to rise upon its ruins. Indeed, the whole history of the Christian Church seems to be comprised in these compendious words, which combine the certainty of final success with a long day of arduous trial.

So soon as the Gospel began to be preached, the day of trial commenced. The powers of the earth set themselves in array against it. The rich, the learned, the great, kings, priests, and

warriors, united to oppose a religion, whose purity condemned the world, whose worship was without external grandeur, whose teachers were unlettered men, and whose author died upon the cross.

Sustained by an invisible hand, no weapon that was formed against it could prosper. It brought to nothing the wisdom of the wise, it baffled the disputer of this world, it overcame the prejudice of established opinion, it defied the violence and malice of the persecutor, and increased in extent and stability until it established its place among the powers that sway the destinies of mankind.

As it advanced, the idols of the Gentiles were thrown down from their shrines, and the stately temples of the heathen deities were consigned to ruin. It deposed the powerful priesthood of the chief of nations, linked though it was to the sceptre that ruled the world. It overthrew finally the dominant religion which, springing from the degenerate heart of fallen man, was dear to every evil passion and every ruling lust that swayed his corrupt nature—a religion dwelling in majestic fanes, adorned by the noblest architecture, exhibiting itself in gorgeous pomp and august ceremonial, and interwoven with the history, the poetry, the arts, the festivals, and the social life of the greatest earthly dominion on which the sun has ever shone.

But the promulgation of the Gospel did more than this. It established a religion of purity, peace, and love in a world that lay in wickedness. The weapons of its warfare were not carnal, but were mighty through God, and prevailed against the powers and principalities of darkness. The ambassadors for Christ preached the Gospel with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, and they whose hearts the Lord opened through grace obeyed the calling, by faith received the word and found it to be the power of God unto salvation. The blind eyes of Jew and Gentile were opened, to behold a marvellous light; their polluted hearts were purged, by a heavenly influence, from the love and power of sin; their very nature was renewed and sanctified, and their dead souls quickened into spiritual life: and all by simple faith in the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world. This was the real victory, this was the true exhibition of power. In this was shown the work of the Spirit and the triumph of the Cross of Christ.

But all this was accomplished, not without toil, not without danger, not without a great fight of afflictions. The Gospel, under the sanction of Divine authority, proclaimed pardon and peace to a sinful world, with the alternative of eternal woe. Being the truth, it condemned every form of religious error, being pure and holy, it tolerated no manner of sin. It was uncompromising, for it would yield nothing to the corruption that is in the world. It was aggressive, for it demanded the acceptance and the obedience of all men.

It therefore gave offence to the great majority of those to whom it was addressed. It presumed a guilt, which they did not acknowledge, a danger which they would not see. It called for sacrifices from which they recoiled, and offered a salvation they did not value. It was humiliating to their pride, offensive to their self-love, and condemnatory of the whole tenor of their lives. It was, therefore, everywhere opposed and everywhere spoken against. Its professors were the objects of calumny and popular dislike, and persecution awaited them in every city where they made known their tenets or proclaimed their message.

As the Church gathered strength and became, in public estimation, more formidable, the rage of persecution increased in vehemence, and the number of martyrs who perished by fire and sword was countless as the sand upon the sea shore.

Such was the opposition that harassed the early builders of the Church, such the troublous times they encountered, and the difficulties with which they had to contend.

As civilisation advanced and nations embraced the profession of Christianity, humane laws restrained the violence of misguided zeal, and physical persecutions gradually declined; but the world did not withdraw its opposition to vital religion, but continued to make its enmity deeply felt in other forms by every true disciple of the Cross.

But, besides these outward afflictions, the Church had to mourn over evils generated in her own bosom. Even in her early days men arose speaking perverse things, and drawing away disciples after them. (Acts xx. 30.) Then more extensive schisms prevailed, and a variety of sects disturbed the peace of the Church and broke it into contending factions. Some of these were influenced by impatience at the restrictions of authority, or urged by the spirit of Diotrephes, who loved to have the pre-eminence. Others imagined

a deeper insight into Divine things had been vouchsafed to them, or higher views of spiritual life than were possessed by the Church at large, and they violated the unity of the body of Christ by innovations in discipline and faith.

Thus assailed from within and without, the Church militated upon earth and waged a goodly warfare, still extending her dominion in the world, like the flowing tide advancing upon the shore.

Then arose another state of things. The rulers of the earth sheathed the sword and extended to her the olive branch of peace, and the standard of the Cross rose in triumph over the Capitol. Then the Church basked in the sunshine of prosperity and received the homage of kings. But as she grew great on earth she forgot the lessons of her youth and the lowliness and self-denial of her purer days, and the more there was in her of the earthly element the less of the heavenly. And as with the individual Christian it is the downcast eye of penitence, not the uplifted eye of pride, that beholds the vision of God; so with the Church, the days of her exaltation were days of spiritual depression; the days of her poverty and humility were the days of her moral and religious greatness.

But amid all the changes which have affected the history and condition of the Church, amid the fitful ebbing and flowing of the tide of religious life within her, amid the uncertain relations she bore to the world, at one time persecuted, at another exalted, the Lord still extended over her His watchful care, and caused all things to work together for her good.

The professing Church, visible to the eyes of all men, might appear to have altogether departed from the ways and works of godliness. Her outward face might be deformed with scandals; the greater part of her members be given to idols, as was the kingdom of Israel in the days of Ahab; the highest in authority might be false teachers, as were the priests and prophets in the days of Jeremiah; hypocrites and scorners might sit in Moses' chair as in our Lord's time; yet the Church was still the pillar and ground of truth. God had not forsaken his inheritance. He still retained his enclosed garden, his sealed fountain, his well of living waters, though beyond their boundary all appeared barren from Dan to Beersheba.

There ever have been, there, probably, ever will be, chaff and

wheat on the Lord's floor; good fishes and bad enclosed in the Lord's net; and tares and wheat growing together, until the harvest, in the Lord's field. So it was in the Old Testament Church, where all were not Israel who were of Israel, so it has been in the Christian Church from its first institution until now.

The very afflictions of the Church, by which her enemies endeavoured to destroy her, ministered, by the good providence of God, to her strength and increase.

The sufferings of the early Christians, who took joyfully the spoiling of their goods for Christ's sake, and the devotion of the martyrs who counted not their lives dear unto themselves, but freely surrendered them for the furtherance of the Gospel, manifested to the world the wondrous influence of Divine grace upon the soul, the sustaining power of faith, and the reality of the Christian religion. They showed how bright that hope must shine which could penetrate through the dark shadows of the grave; and how strong and sincere must be that religious conviction which enabled the weak to defy the terrors of death, even when presented to them in his most appalling forms. The fury of the persecutor brought forth to view the beauty and majesty of the Christian graces. The patience, the resolution, the cheerfulness of the martyr proclaimed as no tongue of men, or of angels, could proclaim, his devotedness to the God whom he worshipped, his faith in the Saviour whom he served, and his full assurance of a glorious resurrection.

In permitting heresies and schisms to invade his borders, the Lord was not unmindful of the welfare of His Church. The assertion of false doctrine only led to the furtherance of the Gospel by eliciting declarations and vindications of the truth. Had not the resurrection of the dead been called in question, the Church might never have been blessed with that portion of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, which sets before us so fully the events of that day of final triumph to all believers, when this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and mortality be swallowed up of life.

The assaults of heresy called forth the defenders of the Gospel, and led them to declare the true faith as it had been delivered to them; to search more deeply and earnestly the Holy Scriptures, and to place on record their testimony and that of the Church against the errors which had been promulgated.

Thus were overruled for good the designs of evil men. Thus did they only strengthen that which they purposed to destroy, by stirring up the masters of the Israel of God, to add to the sacred treasures of the Church fresh vindications of the truth and bulwarks of the faith.

And again, during that long period of the Church's history, when darkness covered the land, and the light of the Gospel was obscured by the inventions of men; when rapine and violence raged so ruthlessly and so frequently, the goodness of God was conspicuous in the preservation of His most precious gifts.

The Holy Scriptures were kept whole and undefiled. The creeds were jealously protected, the monuments of patristic learning and piety were preserved for future generations, and the succession of the Christian ministry maintained unbroken. Wood, hay, and stubble were, indeed, built upon the true foundation; but the gold, silver, and precious stones of Catholic truth were only obscured, but not destroyed. If we, then, review the past, we behold that the building of that spiritual house, which is raised upon the foundation of Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner stone, has ever been progressive, in defiance of every hindrance. Here a promising mission may have failed; there a prosperous church may have fallen into decay; the desolations of war may have swept away flourishing communities of believers; superstition and error may have cast their blighting shadows over the faith once delivered to the saints; but still the knowledge of an atoning, risen, and glorified Saviour, has been continually extended; the Word of God has mightily grown and prevailed; and in a constantly widening circle, Jesus Christ has been acknowledged to be Lord to the glory of God the Father.

If we regard the present state of the Church and of the world, we see much to assure us of the successful progress of the Gospel, and the future extension of the Church of Christ, until the earth be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. At the same time we cannot but recognise the greatness of the obstacles that lie in the way, and of the difficulties that must first be overcome. In front of these I would place that indifferent, incomplete, and presumptive belief in Christ, which forms the religious creed of so great a body of ordinary Christians, not that they entertain any distinct doubts of the reality of the revelation of the Gospel; but what that revelation really is, and what it

requires, that they have not taken any pains to ascertain. They have, however, assumed to supply in its place, a firm and efficient persuasion of a religious system, made up by themselves of all they find palatable in the Gospel; a vague system of accommodating Christianity, which gives a false tranquility to the conscience and license to the practice. They firmly believe the scriptural accounts of God's mercy, but they omit the equally strong assertions of His justice.

They admit that the sacrifice of Christ atoned for human sin, but that the merits of his death extend only to the penitent and believing they do not acknowledge. That God will, in a future state, reward the righteous they fully believe; but they persuade themselves that it is only an extreme degree of guilt—a degree always much greater than a man is willing to admit in himself—that can draw down eternal vengeance. An excuse for their besetting sins they find in the frailty of their nature, and they compromise by renouncing all those vices to which they feel no temptation.

It is evident, my brethren, that this fraudulent system of Christianity, common though it may be, is highly detrimental to the growth of vital religion, and that, wherever it prevails, torpor and indifference bar the progress of the Gospel.

The divisions of Christendom (account for them as we may, and excuse them as best we can) are very prejudicial to the spread of Christianity. It must naturally be very startling to the serious inquirer to find that he is invited to enter into a house divided against itself, and that the great community he is pressed to join is not agreed on some of the most important doctrines of religion. Many are thus arrested on the very threshold, and these the most thoughtful, and therefore the most desirable converts—many are prevented by these jarring conflicts of opinion from making any inquiry, taking them to be a sufficient condemnation of the system that produced them.

A still greater impediment to the reception of Christianity, especially in countries where civilisation has made some advance, is the little influence it appears to have upon the majority of those who profess it, in restraining them from sin. The vices of Christians bring dishonour upon their religion, and cause the name of God to be blasphemed among the heathen; and their evil example does much to counteract the efforts of the most faithful and zealous

minister. Men will judge of systems by the fruit which they appear to them to produce, and when they behold the scandalous lives of nominal Christians, they will not wait to discriminate between the sincere believer and the mere professor, but will condemn as worthless the creed common to both.

Another adverse influence to the advancement of true religion, both abroad and at home, is to be found in the scepticism which so largely pervades society, and the hesitating profession of faith in the truth of the Gospel so common in these our days.

How many are there, who view Christianity merely as a system of speculative opinions, which men may believe without benefit and neglect without injury—which they who deem it probable, and they who are almost persuaded of it do yet believe sufficiently for its obligations and their own happiness.

And beyond this, which may be regarded as the infidelity of the indolent and indifferent, lies the bolder scepticism of the rationalistic philosopher. In the presumption of his intellectual speculations he throws a doubt upon all revealed religion, but he offers nothing to supply its place. He acknowledges indeed the Bible—but as human and not Divine. He confesses a Christ, but of the earth earthy; and he believes in a church, but a church without dogma, a reed shaken by the wind, whose portals are extended wide enough to convert it into a Pantheon. He has no better plan to propose than to launch the human mind upon the vast and trackless ocean of uncertainty, without chart or compass, guide or destination.

Viewing these sources of weakness and affliction, the Church may well say, with the patriarch Jacob, "All these things are against me:" and when we contemplate their extent, and the evil influence which they exercise over so many minds, and their paralysing effect upon the Church and upon the world, we are led at a first view almost to question the future advance and final triumph of Christianity.

But a closer scrutiny will show us that these impediments, formidable as they appear, are nothing new; they are but the old opponents of the Gospel in more modern guise. They present no difficulty, which has not already been met and overcome. They trammel and impede the work of the Church, but cannot prevent its onward march. They are but as the angry waves tossed by adverse winds upon the surface of the ocean, which cannot disturb

the great depths which slumber beneath. These we are unable to discern, and these we cannot measure: they are known to God alone. What we do see is the upper surface—noisy, clamorous, and demonstrative; but the work of God is carried on secretly, silently, solemnly. He is not found in the great wind; He is not felt in the roll of the earthquake; He is not seen in the glow of the fire; but He is heard in the still small voice. To how many hearts this voice may have spoken; in what strange and distant places it may have brought home the message of life; how great a multitude it may have reached, is hidden from our eyes; but of this we are sure, that the Lord has laid the foundations of His Church so deep and firm, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and when the hour shall arrive when He is pleased to enlarge his borders, there will be wanting neither faithful ministers of the truth nor a people who will receive their testimony.

It is apparent to all who have turned their attention to the subject, that the events which are passing before our eyes are indirectly preparing the world for a further reception of the Gospel. The rapidity of communication which has been established with distant nations; the facility and certainty with which the most remote places of the earth can now be reached; the removal of barriers which for ages have excluded Christianity from a large portion of the human race; and the desire evinced by the more civilised of heathen countries to become acquainted with the laws and institutions of Christian lands, are so many openings for the work of the missionary, and so many assurances that the sun of righteousness will arise, with healing in his wings, upon those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death. The numerous passages of Holy Scripture which declare that the heathen shall be given to Christ for an inheritance; that all nations shall flow into His Church, and that over all the earth there shall be one Lord, and His Name one, are doubtless familiar to all present. I shall not, therefore, trespass upon your time by further reference to them, but I will direct your attention to the fact, that the special gifts which Christ has bestowed upon His Church for its government, edification, and extension, are also pledges of its perpetuity and final universality.

When our blessed Lord was risen from the dead, He gave to the eleven a commission to preach the Gospel, and to rule His Church, in these solemn words, "All power is given unto Me in

heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." He further charged them, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature;" and also promised, "Ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you; and ye shall be witnesses unto Me, both in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth." That this commission was not personal to the Apostles, but extended to their successors for all time, is apparent from our Lord's promise to be with them in the exercise of their office, and in the discharge of its duties, "even unto the end of the world."

Now you will observe that it is implied in the very terms of this commission, that the Church was not only to continue throughout all time, but universally to prevail. What else can we gather from the largeness of the expressions made use of? The whole world was the appointed field of labour; every child of man the object of it; the uttermost parts of the earth its boundary; the end of the world its termination. The labourers to whom the commission was addressed, and upon whom it was binding, were a body of men ordained with perpetual succession, under the abiding presence of their Lord, to preach His gospel, and administer His sacraments for the admission of the fallen children of disobedience into union and communion with himself, and for the showing forth of His death until His return in glory.

The Holy Spirit, who descended on the day of Pentecost, and sat in cloven tongues of fire on the Apostles' heads, was the Comforter, who was promised by her Lord, to abide with His Church for ever. Though no longer apparent to mortal vision, that Divine flame is not, and never will be, extinguished; by it the whole body of the Church is governed and sanctified, and it glows in each believer's heart, as a spirit of judgment and a spirit of burning (Is. iv. 4), to purely purge away his dross, and take away all his tin (Is. i. 25), and impart that life which death cannot destroy.

What stronger pledges than these could be given of God's eternal purpose in Christ, to maintain, extend, and universalize His Church, until His dominion extends from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth. (Ps. lxxii. 8.)

It follows, also, that the Church which will live, and become a great mountain, and fill the whole earth (Dan. ii. 35) must possess these privileges and inherit these promises. It must rest upon the foundation which Our Lord himself has laid: it must retain the ministry of reconciliation which bears his commission: it must be bound together in one fellowship by the Sacraments He instituted, be taught by the Gospel He proclaimed, and be guided by the Holy Ghost.

This, then, is our consolation when the Church is encompassed with dangers and vexed with troubles, when the heavens are darkened, and clouds, pregnant with disaster, seem to be impending over her, that the Lord is her defence; and that He has enclosed his inheritance with walls and bulwarks, which, though as invisible to the eye of sense, as were the chariots and horses of fire, that surrounded the prophet on the Mount of Dothan, are yet as powerful for her protection.

And we may rest in assured hope that the Prince of Peace, who is Head over all things unto His Church, will, in His own good time, vouchsafe the blessings of tranquility and concord; that He will heal the wounds of distracted Christendom, and blend into one harmonious whole, agreed in all that is essential, and abiding in the Apostles' Doctrine and Fellowship, the various sects and parties that divide the Church; that discord, that bane of religion, will die away, and that Christians will learn to have fervent charity among themselves, dwelling in the unity of the spirit, and in the bond of peace, under the shadow of the Gospel, and rejoicing in the hope of the glory of God.

TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

CHURCH CONGRESS,

HELD IN LEEDS.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, 8th OCTOBER, 1872.

The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Ripon took the Chair, as President of the Congress, in the Victoria Hall, at 2.20 p.m., and delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

My first duty in opening the proceedings of this Congress is to offer, in the name of Leeds, to the Most Reverend and Right Reverend Prelates, the Nobility, the Clergy, and all who have signified their intention to be present or to take part in our deliberations, a cordial and hearty welcome.

For several years past, rumour has whispered that Leeds was to be selected for one of the annual meetings of the Church Congress. That rumour assumed a definite shape about this time last autumn; and from the time when it became known that this, the twelfth annual gathering, was to be held in this town, there has been displayed on all hands an eager desire to give a hospitable welcome, and to spare no effort to make the present Congress inferior to none by which it has been preceded for interest and practical importance.

The clergy and laity of Leeds and the neighbourhood have been active in preparation for this occasion: our chief civil magistrate, although not himself a member of the Church of England, has evinced every desire both in his private and official capacity to promote the success of the Congress: a large executive committee was formed in January last for carrying into effect the purposes for which we are now assembled; and of that committee I am enabled to say, from personal knowledge, that its members have been unremitting in the endeavour to form the best arrangements in their power for giving a practical tone to our deliberations, and for ensuring the comfort and convenience of all who take part in them. I confidently trust that their efforts will prove in the result successful, and that, by the blessing of Him from whom all holy desires and all good counsels proceed, this Congress may tend to advance the glory of God and the welfare of His Church.

Different opinions are no doubt entertained with respect to the advantages of a Church Congress. There are many persons who attach but little value to such a collective assembly, and deny its utility: on the other hand, it is possible that there are some who magnify unduly the benefits which may result from the deliberations of a body so constituted. But whatever the views with which a Church Congress is regarded in the abstract, its existence is too significant to be overlooked in the present crisis of the Church. It is impossible to ignore the fact that for twelve years in succession the Church Congress has held its annual meetings, with tokens at each successive gathering of the increased interest with which the proceedings are regarded by persons belonging to every school of thought within the limits of the national Church. For my own part, I cannot look upon this assembly, collected as it is from every part of the United Kingdom; composed of clergy and laity of all ranks, some of them holding the foremost positions in church and state; many who come from retired scenes which are sacred to those intellectual pursuits which from age to age have enriched the literature of the Church; others whose lot is cast in spheres of active employment, where the incessant demands of public duty encroach fatally on the time which otherwise might be devoted to study and meditation; many whose opportunities for mutual intercourse are few and far between, and whose inevitable divergences of opinion are upon that account apt to be exaggerated; many more who with sentiments widely differing upon a variety of questions are yet united as one man in their veneration and attachment for the Church to which we belong; I say I cannot look upon this assembly in which many hundreds of the members of our Church are brought face to face, and every facility is afforded for the free interchange of thought and feeling, without being impressed with the greatness of the opportunity (provided only God's blessing is with us), for knitting more closely the bonds of brotherly love; for dispersing those mists of prejudice which too often hinder us from godly union and concord; for rectifying misapprehensions which are apt to grow up where men who think earnestly upon the same momentous questions keep apart from each other; for turning to good account the experience which has been gained by those who in different spheres of action have been striving for similar objects; and for inciting one another to greater zeal and fervour in the discharge of the vocation and ministry to which every member of the Church has been called.

We do not meet as a Church Congress to discuss the grand fundamentals of the everlasting gospel. There are no fresh discoveries to be made in what is to be received as fundamental truth; we have neither to report nor to investigate any new developments of the faith which was once delivered to the saints. It is the glory of the Church of England to stand in the old paths; we cling with unbroken tenacity to the truth of the gospel; that truth which was wrapped up in patriarchal story, prefigured in Levitical type and ceremony, witnessed by the goodly fellowship of the prophets, proclaimed by our blessed Lord, and heralded to all the world by the glorious company of the apostles. To maintain and to propagate that truth is the grand mission of the Church in every age, and this, in order that every soul may be directed to personal communion with Christ, who is Head over all things to His Church, her Prophet, Priest, and King; her Mediator, Advocate, and Intercessor.

These organic doctrines of Christianity lie beyond the province of debate by this assembly. But there is an ever-widening field for discussion upon matters of supreme importance to the efficiency of the Church, and the adaptation of her machinery to the shifting requirements of the age in which we live. A state of great activity is a marked feature of the Church at the present day. The torpor of a past age has given place to an awakened energy and zeal which, if rightly directed, may lead to the most beneficial results. We are learning by degrees the need of greater elasticity and freedom in our Church system. I suppose that most men now recognise the necessity,—if the national Church is to retain, or speaking more correctly, if she is to recover her influence over large masses of our fellow-countrymen,—that she should be emancipated to some extent from those rigid and unyielding bands of uniformity which have too often tended rather to impede than to further the Church's progress.

In such a period of reawakened activity, conference is of inestimable value. A hundred questions are sure to arise, as indeed they have arisen, for the wise solution of which nothing is more to be desired than the calm deliberation of thoughtful minds, and the contributions of experience which may be imparted by those who have tried, each in his own sphere and in his own method, to work out the problems which the circumstances of the Church and the age force on our notice. Problems for example, such as these:—how to win back the multitudes who from whatever cause have become estranged from our Communion, or what is far worse, estranged from Christianity itself;—how to adapt the ministrations of the Church so as to reach the largest number, and convey the fullest measure of spiritual blessing;—how to utilise to the utmost the services of the lay members of the Church without trenching upon the province which is peculiar to an ordained ministry;—how to counteract the tendencies of the age, whether towards scepticism in one direction or towards superstition in another;—how, without the smallest surrender of essential truth, to cultivate brotherly union between all who profess to be followers of the same divine Saviour;—how to preserve the distinction between fundamental truth which we must die rather than compromise, and that which though equally true is not equally important, and about which we may safely agree to differ till the prayer of our divine Lord is accomplished, "that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me."

For the discussion of topics such as these ample opportunity is afforded by the list of subjects to be submitted to this Congress. The task of selection was by no means an easy one. Out of ninety topics which were placed before the committee it was impossible, with regard to the time at the disposal of the Congress, to select more than fourteen: in a few instances the committee were able to group under one head some three or four of the suggested subjects; a few were dismissed on account of their comparatively minor interest; and from the remainder a selection has been made to which I venture to think no valid objection can be raised on the score of deficient variety or importance.

There is one point which the committee desired to place on the programme because of its interest to every Churchman, but more particu-

larly to Churchmen in this place. That topic is the progress of the Church in this diocese, since its reconstitution in the year 1836. They were compelled, however, by the pressure of other subjects to exclude it from the list; but they did so on the express understanding that reference should be made to it in the course of this introductory address. I will, therefore, now, with your permission, take a brief survey of the leading features of Church progress in this diocese during the past thirty years.

It is well known that the present diocese of Ripon was constituted by Act of Parliament in the year 1836, and was formed out of the diocese of York, and those parts of the diocese of Chester which were within the county of Yorkshire. It embraces a large portion of the North, and nearly the whole of the West Riding: its population is, in round numbers, 1,170,000, and is supposed to be annually increasing by at least 12,000. The newly formed diocese had the advantage of being presided over for the first twenty years by the late Archbishop Longley. He gave the first impulse to Church extension in the West Riding, and his name is never mentioned in Yorkshire without awakening feelings of reverence and affection. I will not attempt to sketch the condition of the diocese as he found it; but I will briefly enumerate some of the principal measures which marked his administration of its affairs. Within two years of his appointment to the see, Bishop Longley organised a Diocesan Society for Church extension. He proposed by its means to promote the increase of church accommodation, the erection of new churches and parsonage houses, and the better endowment of the poorer benefices. His proposals were liberally supported by all classes in the diocese. The society has now been in existence thirty-four years: through its instrumentality 131 new churches and 179 parsonage houses have been erected; the incomes of eighty-five benefices have been augmented; and church accommodation has been increased by 80,000 sittings. The sum of £101,328 has been raised and expended by the association for the purposes which I have named; but the entire cost of these several undertakings has amounted to £632,948, from which it will appear that the grants made by the society have evoked in the shape of voluntary contributions the sum of £531,620.

This statement does not, however, by any means fully represent the good which the Socety has effected. For by the attention which it has called to the spiritual wants of the diocese, and by the benefits which have been seen to result from its efforts to supply those wants, the zeal of Churchmen has been aroused; private liberality has been stimulated; the proprietors of capital and the employers have come to recognise their obligation to consult for the moral and religious welfare of those by whose toil their riches are increased, and hence while the number of new churches, which owe their erection during the past thirty-four years to the Diocesan Society, is 131, the whole number consecrated in the diocese during the same period is 233.

As a sign of progress the large addition to the clerical staff of the diocese must not be overlooked. The increase may be attributed partly to the multiplication of churches and the gradual extinction of pluralities; but it is also due in great measure to the awakened desire for the more efficient discharge of pastoral duties, and for the more frequent performance of the several offices of our holy religion.

When Bishop Longley came to the diocese the number of incumbents was 297, and of curates 76. The present number of incumbents is 462, and of curates 245; so the whole number of clergymen at work in the diocese is only 39 short of being exactly double of what it was in 1836.

Another association, with the formation of which Bishop Longley's name is connected, is the Diocesan Board of Education. By means of this society, established in 1841, a vast impulse was given to the extension of popular education according to the principles of the established Church; and it was owing in great measure to the work of that institution, that at the close of his Episcopate, with only twelve exceptions, every parish in the diocese possessed the means of instruction in some Church school.

The sub-division of the diocese into Rural Deaneries contributed largely to the progress of the Church. In connection with this point I will quote the words of one who has known the diocese from its formation; who has had an active share in every movement in the direction of Church progress; one whose age and character and office have won for him throughout the diocese universal respect, admiration, and esteem,—I allude to the Venerable Archdeacon Musgrave. In a charge which he recently delivered, and where he is describing changes of which he has been an eye-witness, the following passage occurs. "The seasonable revival of the ancient office of Rural Dean after a century of disuse, by ensuring a more frequent and minute inspection of the churches, was a wise precaution against further decay, and restricted as every Deanery was to the parishes in the immediate vicinity of the Dean's parish, no sooner did his own church give evidence of renovation and improvement, than it told on the parishes around, encouraging the desire and attempt of something like the same amendment. His kindly counsel was enquiringly sought, and almostly uniformly and respectfully received. Thus a new spirit was evoked: right-hearted Churchmen were not wanting to act on his suggestions, and to give freely and nobly of their substance; not confining their liberality to the mere reparation of the decaying fabric, but providing for its enrichment with the best resources of Christian art, and its further adaptation to the sacred offices for which it was designed. As I look through the reports of the Rural Deans for twenty or more successive years, nothing can be more gratifying than the gradual abatement of complaint."

Amongst other measures which have been at once a cause and an evidence of progress, I may notice the greater facilities which have been provided for receiving the rite of Confirmation, by its administration so much more frequently and in so many more churches than was formerly the case.

By all these measures an impulse has been given to Church progress in this diocese, the ultimate point of which it is impossible to foresee. From hence have originated the multiplication of services on the Lord's day and during the week; more frequent administrations of the Lord's Supper; the establishment of Bible classes, mission rooms, special mission services, adult schools; the employment of Scripture readers and Bible women;—means with which all the more thickly peopled portions of the diocese are familar; instrumentalities whereby the Church is endeavouring not without sensible tokens of advance to discharge her office of evangelising the people.

The expansion of the Church and the hold which it has upon the affection of the people may fairly be tested in a diocese like this, by the erection of new churches; by the number of candidates who offer themselves for Confirmation; and by the voluntary contributions in aid of Church purposes.

Applying, then, these three tests to the question of Church progress in this diocese, the following are the conclusions arrived at :—

In the five years which preceded the formation of the see of Ripon in 1836, the number of Churches consecrated within the limits of the present diocese was exactly 4. In the five years which immediately followed the constitution of the see in 1836, the number of Churches consecrated was 33. In the five years ending with the present, the number of Churches consecrated is 42.

I have not any lists of the candidates who were confirmed during the episcopate of Bishop Longley. Bnt the number of those who were confirmed in the five years from 1856 to 1861 was 19,086; and the number confirmed in the five years terminating with the present is 29,776.

I have no means of ascertaining how mnch was raised in the diocese for Church purposes at an earlier date: but I have exact returns for the three years ending with 1866; and the three years ending with 1869.

In the first of these triennial periods the diocese raised for Church purposes, £308,565; in the second triennial period it raised £330,215; making a total in six years of £638,780, which may be regarded as the free will offering of her members in furtherance of the work of the Church within this diocese. These figures do not include the contributions which have been given in aid of Church extension beyond the limits of the diocese.

These are facts from which I augur hopefully for the progress of the Church not here only, but throughout the length and breadth of the land. They are not solitary facts; other dioceses might, I doubt not, furnish a parallel. But these facts speak for themselves—they tell of a depth of attachment to the national Church, of an amount of zeal and liberality which must spring from a deep conviction that the national Church is a national blessing; that notwithstanding all her faults and all her shortcomings she is a witness for God and for truth in the land, a bulwark of the throne and the constitution, a tree planted in our midst whose leaves are for the healing of the nation.

But I will not transgress the limits which are assigned me for this preliminary address. Bear with me for a moment longer whilst I advert once more to the object of our present gathering. It has never been the practice of the Church Congress to come to any decision by vote upon the questions submitted for debate. We meet for free discussion: every member of the Congress who is a member of the Church of England, or of any Church in communion with her, is at liberty to advance whatever opinions he holds, so far as they fall legitimately within the scope of the matter in debate; no member of the Congress is committed to any opinion which he does not himself entertain. Different and even conflicting views may be advanced upon the questions which are raised for discussion; this is inevitable. It cannot be expected, and on many grounds it is not to be desired that it should be otherwise. A Church Congress if it really answers to its name must represent all who belong

to the Church. But a national Church is necessarily comprehensive; it can only avoid the exclusiveness of a sect by tolerating diversities of opinion so far as they do not clash with essential truth; and a Church Congress must therefore allow free range for the expression of many different phases of thought. Let us be prepared for this. Let us approach our debates in a spirit of mutual forbearance and charity. By the conflict of opinion truth is often elicited; by being brought into contact with others who hold opposite opinions on matters not affecting the foundations of the faith, we may often learn to correct our own imperfect judgments, to shake off the trammels of prejudice, to appreciate what is excellent in those with whom on many points we still differ, and to discover points of agreement whose existence so long as we stood aloof from each other we scarcely imagined. I rely upon the Congress to support the President in maintaining the rules which have been framed for the convenience of debate, and I fervently pray that by the guidance of God's Holy Spirit we may be animated in all our discussions by brotherly kindness and charity; by an earnest desire to follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another; and by a constant aim to advance the glory of God and the edification of His Church.

One word more. We commenced our proceedings by an act of worship—of prayer and praise. I think it is meet that a Church Congress should also commence its proceedings with an act of faith, by showing to the whole world that we cling fast to apostolic truth. I therefore invite this vast assembly, accordingly, to rise as one man and recite with me the Apostles' Creed.

In compliance with the President's invitation, the whole audience rose and repeated the Apostles' Creed.

PAROCHIAL SYSTEM OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, MISSION SERVICES, AND OTHER SPECIAL MEANS OF SPIRITUAL INFLUENCE ON TOWN AND COUNTRY POPULATIONS.

The Rev. Canon Fremantle read the following address:—

My Lord Bishop and Gentlemen,

"The wind bloweth where it listeth," is a truth which the History of the Church has illustrated from the day of Pentecost to the present moment. There have been alternations of calm and of storm, in which it has pleased God to impart and revive spiritual life.

The records of the religious movements which have taken place in America, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and England during the last 150 years, will abundantly confirm this statement. There can be no question as to the fact that extraordinary manifestations of the Holy Ghost have been given, vast numbers of souls have been converted and added to the Church, and that for the most part there has been a remarkable uniformity in the means which have been employed, and as remarkable an agreement

in the results which have been produced. Making every allowance for much that evaporates in excitement and sensation, and for the disappointment which is occasioned by the hypocrisy and heartlessness of time-serving professors, nevertheless there has been the same unmistakeable evidence of the work of the Holy Ghost in the general character of the persons brought under the influence of a revival, and in the permanency of its effects.

These remarks apply to all the churches and denominations of Christians in which such revivals have taken place.

With a deep conviction of its truth, I proceed to that part of the subject which has been allotted to me, viz. : the parochial system of the Church of England as a sphere for Mission Services, and other special means of spiritual influence in town and country populations.

With all its excellence and adaptation to the social habits of Englishmen, with all the love and veneration we bear to the quiet, orderly, uniform organisation of our beloved Church, and I give place to no man in my hearty attachment to it; yet if its standard of spiritual life be tested by the history of the past, it will not be found to have maintained an equable level of power and of progress at all times. It has had its alternations of lukewarmness and zeal, of apathy and revival. From its very constitution, and strict conformity to ecclesiastical rule, its tendency, and I may say its danger, is to settle down into a dignified groove of formal routine, and unless some stimulus had been given to it from time to time it would have become like other churches which have a name to live and are dead. But in no Church has the revival element been more marked than in the Church of England. Its existence as a Reformed Church, originated in the genuine spirit of life which animated the Reformers, and its periodical awakenings must be traced to the same cause. Life has sprung up in the moments of greatest apathy; and it is to be noted that just in proportion as the Church has cherished or rejected such manifestations of the Holy Ghost, she has gained or lost spiritual strength. If, for example, we compare the state of the Church before and after the exclusion of the non-conforming ministers, or at the time of the persecution of Whitfield, Wesley, Berridge, and Rowlands, there can be no doubt but that the blessing of God was to a great extent withdrawn from the Church of England, and a very large ingathering of souls was vouchsafed to those who had ceased to be of her communion. And it was not until the Church encouraged the preaching and labours of men who were looked upon with contempt, and spoken of as Dissenters, that the spirit of life entered with power into her bosom. It was when the ministry of Venn and Scott and Simeon, Cecil and your honoured relative, Bickersteth, and Wilson, became popular, that the revival returned into the channel of the Established Church, and this has continued steadily to make progress unto the present time. This was emphatically the era of Missions, of Bible, Tract and Evangelical Societies, for propagating the gospel among Jews and Gentiles at home and abroad. Among the agencies which have contributed to bring about this result, none have been more effectual than the pulpit. What Mr. Ryle says of the revival of the last century, may be said of what has taken place of late, and is going on among us now. Mr. Ryle says "they preached everywhere. If the pulpit

of a Parish Church was open to them they gladly availed themselves of it. If it could not be obtained they were equally ready to preach in a barn. No place came amiss to them. In the field or by the road side, on the village green or in the market-place, in lanes or in alleys, in cellars or in garrets, on a tub or on a table, on a bench or on a horse-block, wherever hearers could be gathered the spiritual reformers of the last century were ready to speak to them about their souls."* Can we wonder that it produced a great effect? And this is the agency which has been so signally owned of God in the Mission services, which are becoming very general throughout the country. We have had for many years various movements of this kind. We have had Advent Missions, Lent Missions, Diocesan Conferences, Home Missions, ten days' Missions, Octaves and courses of lectures, and gatherings of the most gifted and holy men, both of clergy and laity, for addressing large congregations on special occasions. And now the subject has assumed a more definite and regular form. We have Missions organised and sanctioned by the Archbishops and Bishops of our Church, in which the revival element, by which I mean the power of Evangelical preaching is brought to bear upon the masses of our population in strict harmony with our parochial system. The importance of these Missions cannot be overrated, for either they must become a most fruitful means of blessing or a very serious hindrance to the advancement of the gospel.

Time will not allow of my doing more than stating wherein the success of a Mission, under God's blessing, consists, and this under the three following heads:—

I. The Preparatives.

II. The Agencies.

III. The Results.

1. The object of a Mission is to call upon God the Holy Ghost to revive His work; to convert the ungodly and formal; to convince of sin and unbelief; and to turn sinners from dead works to the service of the living God.

Its one aim is to bring souls one by one to the point of accepting the gift of everlasting life.

This it may be said is the work of every parochial minister; but where is the clergyman who does not mourn over the indifference, the unbelief, and ungodliness of the many who live in the habitual rejection of the Word of Life? And where is the clergyman who would not welcome with thankfulness any agency which would, by God's blessing, kindle afresh the light of truth and love in the hearts of his people? But every parish is not prepared for a Mission at a moment's notice. There must be time and labour given to prepare the minds of the people for the particular agency which is to be employed. From the correspondence I have had with several beloved brethren, in whose parishes Missions have been held, and from some experience in the work myself, I will venture to say that the success of the Mission depends mainly upon the work of preparation being thoroughly done some time beforehand. There should be no half-measures; no fear of man; no hesitation when once it has been decided to hold a Mission. It must be plainly understood that the Mission is intended to embrace every individual—

* Christian Leaders of the Last Century, p. 24.

high and low, rich and poor. Advertisements with large placards, should be circulated, and short pointed, pithy handbills should be sent to every house. Notices should be sent to the local papers; committees of district visitors, parish workers, and Sunday-school teachers and communicants should be formed. Prayer meetings and gatherings of persons of kindred sympathies and occupations—such as mothers, young men, and mechanics, should be held; they must be urged to make a special effort to attend the Mission services. Visits to employers of labour to ask their assistance by affording facilities to their workpeople; and personal appeals to those who are disposed to stand aloof or sneer at the Mission should be made; and, above all, the prayers of all should be invited, both in public and in private, that the gift of the Holy Ghost may be abundantly given. And all this should be in operation some weeks before the Mission commences. I extract the following from a letter received from the Rev. Mr. Pigou, of Doncaster:—"Thorough and elaborate organisation is essential to the success of a Mission. The ground should be prepared some time before the seed of the Word is sown. To our organisation I largely attribute our success, because we were all one, and did not by local disunion or rivalries grieve the Spirit of God."

2. As to the Agency:

Let great care be taken in the choice of a preacher, who has not only a gift but some experience in this special work, and in whom you can place entire confidence, and associate with him and under him those, both of clergy and laity, who will assist in the addresses, prayer meetings, and after meetings. Short handbills, containing texts of scripture and appeals to the conscience, and hymns selected for the different services, should be distributed at the door where services are held. Lay helpers should be selected to speak and invite the people in the streets to come to the Mission, and after the sermons to attend the prayer meeting. They should assist in the singing of the hymns, and should every one of them be urged to lift up their hearts in prayer while the sermons are being preached; and to lose no opportunity of entering into conversation with any to whom they may speak a word in season; and take down the names of those who may desire instruction from the Mission preacher. The order in which the services should be conducted is of course dependant on local circumstances; but the following arrangement is suggested by a clergyman of one of our great towns in which a Mission was most successfully carried on last year:—

(1.) Morning meetings for prayer of the clergy and religious laity, with some earnest address on Mission work with the Holy Communion.

(2.) Afternoon addresses by some competent speakers in workshops, warehouses, railway stations, &c.

(3.) Evening sermons in Church or in School-rooms, as awakening and rousing as possible.

(4.) After-meetings in School-room, as quiet as possible.

I will add one remark upon this last point, for without the dealing with individual souls the special object of the Mission will not be attained. Those who have had any experience of such meetings will know how difficult, and in some cases impossible, it is to restrain the expression of feeling. Excitement there is and must be, but the object of the after

meeting, if I apprehend it aright, is to confine the excitement to the individual, and as soon as there is any expression of anxiety to have instruction, help, and sympathy, arrangements should be made for bringing the persons so affected into personal communication with the Mission preacher, or the clergyman of the parish, or some one specially appointed for the purpose in another room, or on the following day. I for one do not approve of clergy and laity going about the room while the worshippers are on their knees engaged in prayer, asking questions and suggesting texts of scripture. We may be quite sure the Holy Ghost will do His own work; this moving about at the most solemn moment of the service disturbs the order of the proceedings, and provokes exclamations and exhibitions of feeling which might be far better restrained. Notwithstanding, I am convinced that much good may be done by the wise and sympathising management of the after meeting. It is the time for explanation and answering of questions. It is the moment when, perhaps, for the first time the soul has been convinced of sin, and brought face to face with Jesus. The arrow has pierced the conscience, the wound is open and bleeding and very sore. Who shall pour in the healing balm? It is when the sinner is crying out—"What must I do to be saved?" that such help can be, and, thank God, has been, again and again afforded. Such then is the agency; and if this is continued for a whole week, or rather beginning with a Sunday and ending with a Sunday, so much the better.

3. But I must hasten to speak of results. These will indicate the after-work of the Mission; for the Mission week must not be regarded as the only time of gathering in the lost and making converts, it is rather the beginning of the work to be carried on when the Mission-preacher is gone away. The experience of Missions has shown up to the present time that the attendance, especially of the poor, at the public services of the Church has increased; that a large accession has been made to the number of communicants; and that there is more desire on the part of the people to come to their minister for spiritual counsel and prayer. In the report of the St. Pancras Mission, held last November, the rector says—"The Mission has acted like a gulf stream of sympathy, thawing the ice of shyness and reserve, which to our mutual loss so often in England, and so especially among Church people, keep pastor and people in a wretched isolation." God grant that the ice now thawed may never be permitted to freeze again; and that all may use their ministers as their counsellors, guides, and friends on the road to heaven. If then effort and organisation be required to prepare for the Mission, the same or even greater diligence should be given to secure its results. "The slothful man roasteth not that which he took in hunting; but the substance of the diligent man is precious." (Prov. xii. 27.) And to this end the pastor must be prepared to gather around him earnest workers, who will give their time, their prayers, and their zeal, to definite spheres of labour. There are few, if any, parishes which do not admit of a more effective and lively classification than that which exists among us. Let there be something besides the meeting of the Sunday-school teachers and the district visitors. When the hearts of a people are yearning for spiritual life, there will be room for a great variety of arrangement for instruction

and mutual edification. Men's Bible Classes and Prayer Meetings; boys who have left school; girls and mothers, in separate gatherings, as candidates for Baptism, Confirmation, and the Holy Communion; a Saturday Night Prayer Meeting; Monthly Missionary Lectures; these and other arrangements by which particular classes of the people may be brought together under the immediate supervision of the pastor will, by God's blessing, keep alive the coal which has been lighted upon the altar, and carry on the good work which has been commenced by God's blessing in the Mission. Let not the minister imagine that a Mission will diminish his work, or increase his congregation and number of his communicants, unless he himself moves onward with the Mission. No doubt his labours will be greatly increased, but he will have the satisfaction and joy of knowing that it is easy and light, and full of blessing. He will have a willing people around him, thirsting for the water of life; holding up his hands with their prayers; and approving his efforts for their good with their hearty sympathy. Those only who have seen the effect of a movement like this upon a congregation can appreciate the difference between preaching to a praying and an unpraying audience; and those whose hearts have been quickened by the renewing presence of the Holy Ghost will be quick to discern the grace, and power, and liberty which has been granted to their minister. The revival draws together the pastor and people in a holy fellowship of freshened zeal and love, and gives a new impetus to all parish work. Where this is the result it is the best evidence that can be given that the Church of England is worthy of the love and confidence of the nation.

Mr. Thomas Salt, M.P., read the following paper:—

It is always difficult to treat a subject of which every one knows or thinks he knows something. We confide in the science of astronomers, being ourselves unable to follow the wanderings of the moon, or to describe the courses of the stars. We trust the knowledge of miners, who deal with matters far out of our own sight below the surface of the earth. But a speaker who has to discuss a topic of every day life, addressing himself to hearers both eager and competent to criticise, risks a charge of ignorance, or of disregarding some local or professional prejudice. Our Parochial system is eminently a topic of this kind, and it is moreover surrounded with difficulties peculiar to itself, since it presents many points fertile of dispute, as to its origin, its character, and its application.

One of the most careful and laborious writers upon this subject states, with much appearance of authority, that the parish was originally a purely civil institution. It was a secular division of the land made for the purpose of local administration. It was the basis, as well as the result, of our habits of freedom and of self-government. When the piety of the wealthy led them to build and endow churches, they naturally selected the territorial areas already in active existence. Another well-known author describes the gradations of the process by which

churches were introduced. The Cathedral long continued to be the Mother Church, alone possessing the right of baptism and of burial. Itinerant clergy, dependent upon and removable at the pleasure of the bishop, served chapels at a distance, wherever a congregation could be assembled. These chapels became parish churches, since the minister, as soon as he obtained a house and glebe and tithes, settled himself permanently in the locality where they stood. Thus, as parish after parish was enabled to maintain its own resident minister, the work progressed, and the land was filled with churches.

Owing to the effects of recent legislation the parish is losing its importance as a secular institution; whilst its value, as an area for ecclesiastical labour and jurisdiction, is becoming more prominent. Many changes have taken place since this ecclesiastical system was completed. In its early days Nonconformity did not exist; the Reformation, the Revolution, the Restoration, were things of the future; the Act of Uniformity had not been passed; the peculiar rights of incumbents had not been claimed or established. Bearing in mind these important events we may arrive at a tolerably accurate definition of the parochial system of the Church of England. Theoretically it is a scheme for dividing the country into districts, and for maintaining a competent pastor in each district, so as to afford opportunities of religious worship to every inhabitant. But unfortunately this grand theory, the boast and pride of the ablest defenders of the system, so simple, so complete, so worthy of a great National Church, is marred in practice by two circumstances. First, the ministrations of the clergy are not universally accepted by the people; and secondly, the convenient division of the country, according to population, is impeded by an absolute territorial authority claimed over each parish by its incumbent.

Yet whatever importance may be attached to the antiquarian history of the Parochial system, or to a correct definition of that system according to our modern ideas, it is certainly of far greater consequence that we should answer the questions: What has it done for us? What has it left undone?

And first what has it done for us?

In old times it filled the land with clergy and with churches; in modern times it has striven, though often without success, to keep pace with the varied requirements of an ever-increasing population. In all times it has put forward religion as a duty to be observed by every individual in his own locality; and as a matter that cannot be wisely or safely neglected by the rulers of a Christian country.

It has fostered a body of clergy, of high character and education, independent in their teaching, and possessing a remarkable and a beneficial influence. They have been foremost in every good work; they have held the outposts of civilisation and of religion; they have been the upholders of purity against vice, of gentleness and nobleness of character against rude and vulgar selfishness; they have been found toiling alike in the dense alleys of crowded cities, and in the distant hamlets of lonely moors; and when placed in more favoured situations they have set an example to show how a Christian family should be governed. Our charities, our elementary schools, our almshouses, our societies, home and missionary, the rich in their sorrow, the poor in their need, can alike testify to the

labours of the parish clergyman, and to the usefulness of a Parochial organisation.

Apart, however, from all this the Parochial system has a value from the mere fact that it is a system. It is not a gossamer scheme of a day. It is not a temporary society relying upon the energies of a few able men who stamp their own character upon all they touch. It is a permanent institution, living on through good times, and through bad times, and in its genuine characteristics broad as the nation itself. It does not, like the voluntary system, forsake the lanes of the poor, and court the precincts of the rich; but it fixes educated men in every village, even in the most cheerless and repulsive; it embraces the length and breadth of the country in its grasp, and if fully and perfectly developed would gather into itself the life and the vigour of a whole people.

There is another picture less pleasant to look upon.

What has the Parochial system left undone?—Its warmest advocates admit that it has in a great measure failed in our large towns; and hundreds of small dissenting chapels bear witness that Church of England services have not been sufficiently provided in the outlying hamlets of our country parishes. Every one will admit that no system is perfect that can, under any circumstances, allow a single clergyman, almost unaided and uncontrolled, to be placed in charge of 5,000, or 10,000, or even 15,000 souls. Such scanty provision for religious teaching has been made in some populous districts, that grown-up persons have been found wholly uninstructed in the simplest truths of Christianity, and so ignorant as never to have heard of the name of Queen Victoria. The occupants of our great public institutions, of our workhouses and gaols, the soldiers in our army, in short, hundreds of thousands of our population have obtained the means of religious worship, only through the operation of special Acts of Parliament, passed in direct contradiction to one of the most cherished ideas of the Parochial system.

Many thoughtful persons have long desired a change in the plan of patronage. The distribution of emolument is inelastic, and too often out of proportion to the services rendered. Several years ago a valuable suggestion was made. It was proposed that, saving existing rights, the surplus income of rich livings, beyond a fixed limit, (say £500 a year) should be applied by the patron towards the augmentation of poorer livings in his own gift. As more than one half of the benefices in the country are in public patronage such a scheme might, partially at least, be brought into operation. Facilities are seldom given for the easy interchange of parochial duties, although a temporary, or even permanent, change might sometimes be attended with great advantages. The fitness of a man for the duties of the particular post that he is chosen to occupy is too little considered. It is by no means conclusive evidence of the capability of a young man to manage a large parish, that he is ordained, that his age is twenty-three, and that he is a friend of the patron. If an incumbent were selected with the direct concurrence of the Bishop and of the leading parishioners, his position would be greatly strengthened and many occasions of discontent would be removed.

But the most peculiar feature of the Parochial system is the position of the incumbent and his relations towards his parishioners. I must

crave indulgence whilst I devote a few sentences to this subject. I desire to speak in no party spirit, and with no other aim than that which Churchmen of all opinions have at heart—to make our Church system acceptable to the people, and as thoroughly efficient as possible. The position of an incumbent is explained in one of the best-known works upon Ecclesiastical law in the following words :

"There is no general principle of Ecclesiastical law more firmly established than this : that it is not competent to any clergyman to officiate within the limits of a parish without the consent of the incumbent."

In addition to this remarkable privilege of excluding all other Church of England ministers from his parish, the incumbent enjoys other great powers. He is head of the parish, president of all parish meetings. He usually elects one of the two churchwardens. He rules the times and the manner of public worship. Not unfrequently he controls the collections and the disposal of the alms. He administers all ecclesiastical affairs. He holds his office as a freehold, and is practically irremovable, even though guilty of drunkenness or immorality. He may, in spite of the remonstrances of his parishioners, conduct a form of services and a system of teaching, that verge upon a positive violation of the practice and doctrine of the Church of England. Most of these pretensions have been disputed, and they are at least of doubtful authority ; but from long custom they are now conceded in almost every place, so that the parish has become, in common talk, the parish of Mr. So and So, the incumbent, and no longer, as of old, the parish of the people.

This departure from the old rule laid down by one of our judges, that, "Parishes were instituted for the ease and benefit of the people and not of the parson," has been most unfortunate. False impressions and misunderstandings prevail; enemies are created; friends are alienated or paralysed ; parishioners keep aloof from their duties, and refuse to accept responsibility where they have no power. The most generous and humble-minded clergyman finds himself an unwilling and often a victimised autocrat. He stands alone, like an officer forsaken by his men in the midst of an action ; the Church system is weakened and brought into disrepute; dissent becomes, in many cases, not only pardonable but almost a necessity.

This is not merely a layman's view. Many clergymen deplore the present position of the parish minister as unsound and untenable. One clergyman, after describing the condition of an overgrown London parish, complains of the present state of the law. He observes, that an incumbent may suppress any meeting for public worship, conducted according to the forms of the Church of England, while it gives him no power whatever to interfere with the propagation of Romanism, Dissent, Infidelity, or Red Republicanism. Another very able clergyman calls the rights of the incumbent "the restrictive phase" of the Parochial system, and expresses a fear lest it may ultimately paralyse the whole Church organisation. A third, the Vicar of Pershore, in a recent pamphlet, contrasts the energy of a vestryman in a matter of rating, lighting, or sewage, with his utter indifference concerning any Church question. This indifference he rightly attributes to the fact, that in one case the vestryman possesses

some real authority, and in the other none at all. Probably even a little turbulence would be far preferable to this sleepy neglect.

The position of churchwardens in the Parochial system deserves attention. It is a matter that requires an essay to itself, but I may incidentally remark, that if the old and half-understood customary law were replaced by statute law; if the number of churchwardens, as representatives of the people, in a populous parish were increased; if their ecclesiastical duties and powers were clearly defined; if they obtained some real authority in the management of Church affairs; if they were created a corporation, for the purpose of holding Church property and administering Church funds; many objections to the system would be silenced, and the parishioners would comprehend and acknowledge both their privileges and their duties.

Efforts for the establishment of mission services have been much hindered by the restrictive power of a negligent or incompetent minister in his own parish. If the assent of all the incumbents in a diocese were obtained, or if Parliament sanctioned a modification of the law, a general and effective scheme of missions might be organised. Let us assume that the care of 2,000 souls is sufficient to engross the attention of any single clergyman. Let us assume also, that a hamlet more than two miles distant from a church, ought to be provided with special cottage or school-room services. On such a basis, a committee might readily report upon the wants of a whole diocese. Many persons, who are willing and able to help, lack opportunity and information. With little expense, additional services, simple and acceptable to the poor, might at once be established. These services might be conducted either by itinerant clergy sent from the Cathedral, as in old times; or by volunteer clergy in the neighbourhood; or, in case of need, by laymen. Such persons should be duly authorised by the incumbent of the parish, or failing the incumbent by the bishop of the diocese. The work would grow and prosper. The cottage room would soon be quitted for a school-room; the school-room would give way to a chapel; the chapel would, before long, develop into a parish church, surrounded by a new and complete organisation. All legal or technical obstacles should be swept away; and every possible encouragement should be given to those who are willing to subscribe for, or to conduct an undertaking of this nature. Hitherto it has been too much the fashion to despise small things and small beginnings. Many new churches and endowments attest the good feeling and the liberality of the rich. They spend their thousands; but church people have yet to learn how to gather in the shillings of the tradesman, and the weekly pence of the mechanic. Teach them that the English Church wants their money and their work; show them that her system can become elastic enough to embrace all who accept her doctrines; convince them that they have a position in their Church, and duties to fulfil; provide them freely with short and homely services suited to their habits and their tastes; measure out to them, with no grudging or timid hand, the influence and the power that are their due; then, at last, they will give that which the Church wants more than anything else—themselves and their hearts.

The efficiency of the Parochial system is challenged. It stands upon its trial. Long ago, a Norman Earl, when asked for the title to his

lands and honours, hurled his huge sword upon the floor. That was not the act of a mere ruffian. It was with his sword that he served and defended his country; and on his service to his country was founded his claim to rank and wealth. So every English institution must from time to time show by what right it exists. It must show that it has served the country well in times past. It must prove also that it is able still to accomplish the object for which it was created, by adapting itself to the new wants and wishes of the people. No other title will, in the long run, avail anything, or be found solid enough to bear the crucible of modern criticism, and to resist the eager rush for half-considered innovation.

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. Canon Hoare, Vicar of Trinity Church, Tunbridge Wells, made the following address:—

It would be a very happy thing for us all if our facts always agreed with our theories. There cannot be a more beautiful theory than that of a parochial ministry, which provides, by national authority, that there shall not be one man, woman, or child throughout the length and breadth of England, without a pastor's care, and a pastor's instruction in the Gospel of the grace of God. Alas! our facts do not always agree with our theories. Sometimes we have overwhelming populations beyond the reach of any man, and sometimes, I fear we must admit, we have pastors in charge who seem to be scarcely competent to supply the needs of any population. You never can secure a sound table made out of rotten wood. So, wherever you find human nature, and wherever you have to deal with the human heart, there you are perfectly certain to come into contact with defect. Construct any theory you please, make any new plans you can devise, alter everything, or overturn everything, you will still have to deal with the old difficulty, the rotten wood in the human heart, and you will still meet with defect. I do not intend, however, this afternoon to speak of the defective side of the parochial system. I wish rather to consider the case of a parish where all is as it ought to be, where there is a holy man of God meeting the wants of the people; and I wish to consider for a few moments the position of such a man and such a parish! What do you find in such a parish? In the first place you will find a large body of devoted men gathered around him, and helping him in all his work. What else do you find? You find a large body of persons outside both church and chapel, whose only meeting place is the public-house or the street corner, who despise your worship, who despise your church, who despise the parson, who despise Christianity, and who are living without God in the world. You will find again when you come within the church a large body of persons in the midst of the congregation, some of whom it is impossible to believe are living by faith in the Son of God. They adopt the principles of the world; they are living for the world, and in the world; and they are unconverted men. You will find another class of persons eager, anxious, and conscientious, but with their souls ill at ease.

And over the whole you will find a tendency to settle down and subside into a quiet, orderly, respectable form of Christianity. I believe the great beauty of our parochial system is in its permanence; the great danger of it is in its tendency to settlement. Men settle down into their places. They all know one another, they are used to one another, and all expectation of a change begins to die out little by little. When the leading farmer, or the leading squire, or the leading manufacturer, has sat under a thousand sermons from the same rector; has sat there shielded and protected by a little sleep, a good deal of inattention, and a great mass of dogged prejudice—I say, when he has sat on untouched, when he has weathered a thousand sermons without altering his tack or shifting a sail, it is very difficult, either for squire, or rector to expect that the thousand and first sermon shall produce a revolution in his whole soul, and scatter all his prejudices to the winds. Hence, there is a great deal of truth as to nature in the old story of the parish clerk—that genus, now scarcely existing—who, when asked by the rector why it was that he kept awake when a stranger preached, but always went to sleep when his rector preached, answered, "Why, you see, sir, when a stranger comes I don't know what he is going to say, and I am obliged to be on the look-out; but when you preach I always know what's coming, and I know it's all right, and so there is no occasion whatever to keep awake." Now, when we have to deal with cases of that kind, we want to consider how we may counteract this tendency to settlement. We have to consider what it may be that will introduce variety without disturbing order. I remember my dear first rector, a man beloved by all who knew him, and remembered, I have no doubt, by many in this room, the Venerable Francis Cunningham, of Lowestoft, used to say, "You must have a system of alteratives." Believing in that, I would ask, in the first place, Is there not great power in missionary meetings and deputations? I believe there never was a greater mistake than to urge on clergymen that they should preach these special sermons themselves, instead of, if possible, procuring help. Let them stay in the churches when the sermons are preached, and not run away for a holiday; but let them get the help of zealous men, in the hope that by this means their own earnestness and zeal may be re-kindled. Is not the name of Charles Hodgson honoured and revered, as a missionary deputation, from one end of Yorkshire to the other? Again, do we not want an order of evangelists as well as an order of pastors? The difficulty, however, is that, those evangelists will be least welcome where they are most wanted. If I may speak in homely terms—the drones will never wish to have a disturbance in the hive. Then, might not great good often result from the interchange of ministerial work amongst brethren? Why should not two clergymen who are of one mind change places for a month or six weeks occasionally—not with a view to recreation, but for work? I am persuaded that both parishes and both clergymen would in many cases be the better for the change. It is the same principle in human nature that gives its great value to parochial missions. Those agencies began about fifteen years ago in S. Martin's Church, in Birmingham, under the care of Dr. Miller, and were carried on by two honoured friends, the Rev. John Ryle, and the Very Rev. Dr. McNeile. The movement

gradually spread out into the Westminster Abbey and S. Paul's services, and latterly it has become embodied in these weekly parochial missions. I believe there cannot be a doubt that those missions have been blessed by God. I believe that all the three classes I attempted to describe can bear witness to the success of the missions. Some of the utterly ungodly have been brought to God, and many of those who were serving God in bondage and anxiety have been brought to a happy peace as justified believers in Christ Jesus the Lord. I cannot doubt it. Now what do we want? We want to have our own spirits stirred. We want to be moved. O, my Lord, we must not rest whilst those souls within our charge are wandering far from the Saviour and far from God. Therefore it is that we welcome such agencies as those missions. But let us all remember one great truth; no organisation can save souls. The ordinary parish minister cannot save souls; the mission preacher cannot save souls; it is not external work that will give internal life. We cannot have a more beautiful picture in illustration of this than that of the golden candlestick; our parochial work and our parochial mission may be like that golden candlestick, in beautiful symmetry, and every part of it of gold. There may be all the branches of your parochial organisation, aye, and all of gold; a holy man of God at the head of a holy family, and helped by a holy and devoted help-meet in the Lord—and all of gold; but, remember, gold never emitted light. It has often quenched light. Gold may reflect light; it may make the candlestick that is to be the light bearer, but gold never emitted light. So it is with the work of God. There must be the oil in the golden branches of the candlestick; there must be the Spirit of the living God moving every branch and every department of our work. Oh, that that Spirit may be breathed throughout all the parishes of the dear old Church of England! Oh, that every branch of the candlestick may be holding forth its light, a light springing from the very light of the Spirit of God within the soul, that so where there is darkness there may be light, where there is death there may be life, where there is doubt there may be peace, where there is sin there may be holiness, where there is dulness and languor there may be a holy zeal for God, moved by the love of Christ, and prompted by the power of the Spirit of God within the soul!

The Rev. W. D. Maclagan, Vicar of Newington, Surrey, made the following address:—

When the Committee of this Church Congress were kind enough to ask me to take part in the proceedings of to-day, I considered that I should better serve the purpose for which they asked me to speak if, instead of preparing any formal address, I rather reserved to myself the liberty of taking up any point that had been omitted or only lightly touched by previous speakers. I shall, therefore, make a few suggestions, which seem to me to be important in connection with the subject which occupies our thoughts this afternoon. I am thankful for all that has been said by my reverend brethren with

regard to the work of parochial missions, and above all, for the testimony they have borne to them as being the work of God the Holy Ghost, and as having been largely blessed by God in the conversion of souls. Specially am I glad of this, because I did not intend to dwell at length upon that subject myself. The truth is I feel that there is little need in these days to encourage the desire for parochial missions, but rather to repress it. I see on every side a tendency in men to take to missions as an infallible panacea for all the evils and miseries of their parishes, and lightly to embark upon them without the preparation needed for them, or without duly considering the causes for which missions are held. Therefore, I should be sorry by any word of mine to-day to encourage the idea that a mission will do all that the loving minister of Christ should desire to be done among his people, although it is an agency that has been mightily blessed by God. I should like to make one remark upon what fell from my reverend brother, who has just sat down, as to parochial missions. There is one arrangement which he did not mention, the omission of which I confess has somewhat surprised and grieved me. I mean the celebration of the Holy Communion. If I may venture to speak from the limited experience I have had in mission work, I feel that nothing is more important, in order to maintain that calmness and soberness of feeling which are so essential throughout a mission week, and to guard against the excitement and sensation of which there is a very real, though a very necessary danger, than the daily celebration of the Holy Communion, and the gathering of the faithful of the parish round Our Lord's own altar, there to plead for the souls whom we are endeavouring, by the help of God's Holy Spirit, to influence by our teaching. I should wish also to make a remark on what fell from Mr. Salt, in reference to the parochial system I protest altogether against what is so commonly said, that the parochial system has broken down. Even in our largest towns (and it has been my lot always to minister in the diocese of London), I believe it has in no sense broken down, but it has never had fair play. The parochial system never meant the kind of arrangement which prevails in our great cities, of leaving a large population under the care of one man; and, above all, the parochial system was never meant to work without spiritual life in those who worked it; and with the revival of spiritual life in the Church, there is every hope that the parochial system would do its work. But whilst I do not intend directly to encourage parochial missions by any remarks of mine to-day, I would plead for more of a missionary spirit in the ordinary ministrations of our church. In every large parish there ought to be something of a continuous mission going on. The missionary side of our work is too often lost sight of. We may be preaching converting sermons in the pulpit, but they do not reach the ears of men in the public-house, and until we have more missionary work from day to day, we shall never accomplish what we all desire. I would further suggest that we should make our spiritual ministrations more continuous and real than they have been in past days. We must have no churches closed from Sunday to Sunday. Although I know how unwelcome the suggestion may possibly be to many of my brethren before me, yet I would plead, as a most important matter, for

the restoration of the daily services of the Church. I speak here as one to whom the objections to such a course might be supposed specially to apply, for it is often urged that it encroaches so largely upon the time of the parish priest that it does not produce a commensurate result. I can only say from experience that there is nothing in all the arrangements of my parish which I should be more unwilling to sacrifice than the daily service. It gives to a man over burdened with spiritual cares and anxieties (to say nothing of secular duties) a time of enforced quiet, when in the House of God and in the service of the Church he may calm his mind and restore that equanimity which is so often disturbed amongst the trying incidents of every passing day. Again, what a knowledge of scripture it helps to give not only to the people but to the parish priest himself! In reading the lessons—where they are distinctly read, and I pray God the habit may not increase among us of reading the lessons as if the great object were to go over them in a *minimum* of time—wherever Holy Scripture is thoughtfully and reverently read, it cannot fail to bring home to the parish priest himself, as well as to the people, new light, and strength, and comfort. The daily service also affords an admirable opportunity for that personal dealing with individual souls, which is, after all, the great end of our ministry—the bringing of men one by one to the knowledge of Jesus Christ, the bringing about a real conversion in individual souls. There the people know that they can find their parish priest, and when the service is over, they can take their turn to go in and receive from him the comfort and help they desire. I believe that by thus making our ministrations more continuous and less spasmodic than they have been, we should not only gain the direct benefit which is gained by these daily services, but we should better secure the beneficial effects of the teaching on the Lord's Day. Again, we must arrange all our services more definitely on the system of the Church; in order that we may carry out all that the Church has prescribed in reference to its times and seasons. The teaching of the Church in those seasons is a continuous preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It is a continual holding up of Jesus Christ Himself; and the more closely we follow that system the more surely shall we be guarded against extravagances of opinion, or against one-sidedness in teaching, and the more fully shall we be able to declare the whole counsel of God. Once more I would plead for making the Holy Communion the great centre round which all our services should gather; that one service, the one only service enjoined upon us by our Blessed Lord Himself; that great service, which is to the believer the memorial of the one grand central fact in the world's history upon which his salvation depends. I believe that, by thus constituting the Holy Sacrament the centre of all our teaching and services, we should best guard against that danger which I should be unfaithful to my Lord if I did not speak of here—the danger of making that Holy Sacrament a mere act of worship at which men may attend, and not an ordinance by which they may receive into themselves the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ. Once more I am thankful for the response which came to your Lordship's appeal for more elasticity in our arrangements and more freedom from the bands of acts of uniformity. We want more teaching and

and less of preaching in our pulpits. We have too many sermons a great deal. If we were to try and teach our people more plainly the meaning of the Word of God, and not let them expect that every Sunday morning and evening they are to have a regular sermon; if we were sometimes to take a passage of the Word of God and simply explain it to them, we should be doing far more to bring them to the knowledge of Christ than by many learned sermons drawn up in the most systematic form. Again, we are told that few of us are able to preach good sermons. No doubt that is true to some extent; but there is no man who, rising from his knees with humble trust in God's blessing, would not be able to explain in a simple way some passage that might bring comfort and strength to the people committed to his charge. With regard to lay co-operation, no man is less jealous of it than I am. I would have laymen help me, not only in parochial councils and such things as churchwardens' accounts, but I would have them go forth evangelising in the streets and lanes. I would have them, and do have them, taking part in prayer meetings. I would have them look after the young communicants, and the newer converts, and to see, as a duty committed to them, that these do not go back. I would gather them together into societies or guilds, and make them my friends and helpers in the spiritual work of my parish. In conclusion, let no one suppose from what I have said that I have by any means myself attained to all I have put before you. So far as I have been able to do so, by God's blessing, it has been largely owing to the loving labours of those devoted men whom God has sent to help me, one of them trained in one of the parishes of this great town; and I only desire to contribute my experience in accordance with what I believe to be the object of this Congress, that men coming from all parts of the country, and belonging to various schools of theological opinion, should each contribute to the general good, remembering that our diversities of experience, like our diversities of gifts are given to us for the general good, or, as St. Paul has said, "to profit withal."

DISCUSSION.

Mr. Beresford Hope, M.P.

I feel peculiar difficulty in following one with whose utterances I so entirely agree. To my friend, Mr. Maclagan, however, I owe that I shall be able to avoid many points on which otherwise I might have felt it a duty to speak. I am glad to have met my friend, Mr. Salt, because we have, during the last session of Parliament, been apparently opposed to each other on a question which he has taken under his care. I beg to explain to him and this meeting that I oppose him because I agree with him that our parochial system is not perfect: but my method of cure is not to supplant, but to supplement. I would supplement the parochial system; I would have private chapels, the more the better, but let such private chapels hang on to the parish or minster church, and not be rivals. The way in which we must de-

velop the parochial system in our towns is to make it not parochial only but also collegiate. Bring together works and men; bring together sympathy; exercise the best economy of setting each man to take his own share of work, and do not let a great series of men be each of them separately and inefficiently transacting the same part of that work and leaving the rest undone. Let me point out how this system of working our great towns by the collegiate system—the system of the Primitive Church—will meet this question of lay co-operation, how it will meet the question of missions. The best of all missions, you will agree with me, is the mission that lasts 365 days in one year. How are we to work that mission with a pitiful system of small incumbencies, insufficiently paid, each clergyman by his oath compelled to say the same service every Sunday to a half filled church; whereas, if the two could put up their horses together (to use a homely phrase)—if they could work together—one of them might at any given time be serving one or other church, while the other would be doing the missionary work in the alleys and slums of the town, and as for services at which one officiator be too few, there would be two to help each other, not to mention cases calling for simultaneous worship in both churches. It may seem revolutionary, but surely by the process of legislation we might enact the union of small benefices in towns in which the clergy are overburdened. I do not say, Pull the churches down; I do not propose a neat and ready way of making money, by turning God's House into a colossal warehouse. My plan is to work two churches together under one incumbent, with his one or more curates, and you will do more than if you worked them as two little independent churches with two independent little vicars. I say "little," not referring to the capacity or godliness of the men, but to their material means. The stipend that can only secure two clergymen—both of them incumbents—might fully suffice for three on the collegiate basis. When I talk of "two" I do so to simplify ideas; the scheme admits of a more extended treatment. Then again, if we cannot get anything like a legislative union of parishes, do let me call upon the clergy of these great towns to see if they cannot do the same thing by mutual co-operation. Where is there such an example as in this town of Leeds? What has created that great work of godliness in this town, which makes it of famous name throughout our communion in this country and all over the world—what is it but the working of the collegiate system introduced early in the day by the revered Dr. Hook? Hence has sprung up that crowd of Daughter Churches around the Mother Church, but still it is the parish Church of Leeds, and still the Incumbent of that church is the Vicar of Leeds. I repeat it, in our great towns the parochial system must be developed and supplemented by co-operation, by union of forces, by division of labour. That brings me to another point upon which some persons may think me heretical. Believing as I do in the parochial system, I equally believe in the congregational system in our towns. With that wide diversity of taste, and with that allowable difference of opinion on many questions which exist in our church, it is tyranny and not discipline to drive a man to the church which is not the church most suited to his convictions, when there is another church as near or nearer in which

he can worship with a more quiet mind. Take the disjointed system, the one-clergyman parochial system, and you may tax that man with schism. I do not want to tax him with schism; therefore, I say, create the co-operative system, and then it becomes a Christian system of give-and-take between the different clergymen. No man is wronged; for each clergyman, if he throws his heart into the collegiate system, knows that he is not working for himself alone but for his brethren, and that for each one of the geographical parishioners he has lent to his neighbour, he may and probably does borrow one from him. Then as to missions, and as to the question of lay co-operation, which is vitally connected with the subject, these all work up with the plan. What again is the general and best founded objection to parochial councils? Why, that they would develop rather than heal divisions, that you would have one little council setting up its little canons against the equally infinitesimal canons of an equally minute parish council. Unite your towns into something like a co-operative system, and in the great assembly of churchmen of Leeds or Halifax or Bradford, or any other large town, in the council composed of the churchmen of five or six parishes together, numbers would produce a body broad enough in its views to be a machinery for appeasing and not aggravating differences. In conclusion, I would state how thoroughly I agree with Mr. Maclagan's appeal to make the highest act of Christian worship—the Holy Communion—the centre of all our religious exercises. In that, as a layman, I assert, I believe that the great secret of all spiritual success lies. I am glad to say that as a layman, for I would solemnly impress this upon you, that all questions of worship, all questions of devotion, and most of all, that great question of devotion, which brings us the closest to our Saviour, are the layman's questions more than the clergyman's. The clergyman dispenses the means of grace, but those who receive them are the flock committed to his charge.

The Right Reverend the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham.

We have had to-day placed before us the weakness as well as the strength of the parochial system, and I would merely say a few words upon the remarks which fell from a much respected layman, Mr. Salt, who has given great attention to this subject. I protest against his dogma that the parochial system of the Church has failed in the great towns; and I also protest against the assertion that it has failed in the wide spread rural parishes, for I believe that there are means at the disposal of every parish priest, both in the large towns, and in the wide-spread rural parishes to meet the difficulties with which he is beset. We ought to bear in mind the relations of the parochial system to the church at large. Every church must go through three phases. In the first instance, it must be missionary; it must then progress into a congregational system; and when the congregational system has been raised to its highest pitch, it must then develop itself into a parochial, an organised and local system. Why is it said that we fail, when we have had in this Church of England the parochial system—the most advanced

condition of which a Church is capable—for more than a thousand years? for we must remember that synods existed before Parliaments, and that parishes existed long before the kingdoms of the Heptarchy were brought under one Head. It fails from one of two causes; either that the parish priest is not sufficiently the missionary, or that the parish is beyond his strength. I do not wish to cast a stone at any of my brethren. I am too conscious of my own weakness to do that; but it is obvious that many parishes are not worked, because the clergyman is not imbued sufficiently with a missionary spirit. But suppose he has the missionary spirit, and the parish is beyond his strength, what is then to be done? Mr. Salt spoke of the idleness of putting so many thousands under the control of one parish priest. During many of the years that I was a presbyter I had the charge of 20,000 souls: and what was the necessary result? Simply this: I threw myself upon the people, and elicited from them the aid for work which I was unable to do. I said, give me curates, give me help in district-visiting, in teaching in my schools; give me your aid in the Sunday-school; and thus, by throwing myself on the people, I found a ready response, providing me with means to meet the work that pressed upon me, and opening the way to fresh usefulness. There are two means, especially for meeting the difficulty of a large population, and of an extensive parish. The one is by the planting of new centres. We have heard a great deal to-day about missions in parishes. I want to impress upon everyone throughout the length and breadth of the land the necessity of having one or more Mission-Houses in every large parish. Wherever there is a parish too large for the church, either hire a house in the midst of a dense population; or build some small mission-house if the parish be spread over a wide surface; and then, if you cannot yourself go often, or if you have not curates enough, let some layman work it as the centre of a new district, and so gather together the different members of a new flock who will soon demand a church for themselves. This has been done over and over again. It is now fifteen or sixteen years since I built my model mission-house in a parish (Tydd St. Mary) twelve miles long; since that time there have been nearly 200 mission-houses built throughout the country, so that they have honoured me in South Lincolnshire by calling me the father of mission-houses. Not one of them has been a failure, and a mission-house never will be a failure if it is worked in a right spirit. Let the clergyman himself have a stated time for gathering together some few who will form the nucleus of a large flock hereafter. In the diocese, in which I both rule and serve—for, as a Suffragan, I bow to my chief, the Bishop of Lincoln, who helps me in every possible way; and yet I rule in a certain sense, with the sanction of my superior—in this diocese both the Bishop of Lincoln and myself have given local and temporary missions to laymen who have been willing to work for God. This shows the second means for meeting the difficulties of too dense population, or too wide-spread space for the parish priest. Let one of such men be at the mission-house for the teaching and guidance of the neighbours, not only from week to week, but twice or three times a week, or daily, if necessary; there let him plant his foot in the name of God, and success is certain. By means of the mission-house the difficulty of space is overcome; and by means of the lay-reader, the difficulty as to population is overcome. This also meets

another emergency to which Mr. Salt has very ably alluded. I respect him most highly for the boldness with which he enunciated his sentiments, although I differ from him. He spoke of soldiers and others not being looked after. In many parishes missions for such special classes have been established; in Yarmouth, for instance, we established a mission for seamen, and it was a great success. In the manufacturing and other populous districts it is easy to establish missions for factory hands, miners, and others. There is always in such districts a class of people who need to be dealt with in a special way. They will not associate themselves with the ordinary congregations; but the mission-house meets the difficulty of the specialty in the case of mining or manufacturing or seafaring districts, just as it meets the difficulty of space in the large parish, and of population in the populous parish. Therefore, I wish very much that there may be carried away hence, the idea of extending the mission-house scheme, with local missionaries as "helps" to the parish priest, to meet the three difficulties of population, space, and specialty of employment.

Richard W. Gamble, Q.C., Dublin.

In rising to make a few remarks on the important question before us, allow me, in the first instance, to return thanks to those who did me the honour to invite me, a member of the disestablished Church of Ireland, to take part in this Congress, and to express a hope that in all things touching the spiritual welfare of the people of this United Kingdom the bonds of union and sympathy which exist between these two churches will ever be found too strong to be affected by any State arrangement or regulation —that in the great work of winning souls to Christ the two churches will ever be found to be of one heart, of one mind, and of one spirit. With regard to the parochial system, it and every other matter of Church government and discipline, which is only of human arrangement, deserves support only so far as it is subservient to this end, I shall therefore examine it by this test, its efficiency for winning souls to Christ, and consider whether all the external arrangements of the parochial system have been the best for accomplishing this great and first duty of a church, especially of a National Church. It would, perhaps, be easy for me to speak pleasant things, and to win the applause of this assembly by dwelling upon those parts of the parochial system, which, as churchmen, we all admire, and which have been so advantageous and beneficial; but in view of the attacks which have been so long threatened even against the Established Church of England, in view of the determination to bring these attacks to bear upon her, I think our time will be more profitably spent in dwelling a little upon the defects, and upon seeking out the remedies, than in complacently congratulating one another about those things as to which we all agree—which course might, perhaps, have the effect of lulling the Church into a false security which would be detrimental to her future. I will, therefore, consider one or two things which appear to be defects requiring a remedy. First, there is involved in the parochial system the rule that all the emoluments of the parish belong to the persons who in succession may be appointed to hold the benefice; and when populations are shifted, by the ever recurring demand of trade, from one parish to another, the Church of England is unable, by reason of the strictness of this rule, to follow her people into the parishes where they have gone, in order to provide for their spiritual wants. Though the Church population moves away the Church funds

must remain localised. This, I submit, is a defect. The rule, no doubt, is good as a general rule, but it is a defect in its universal application which requires the consideration of the Church, and the adoption of some means by which it may be remedied. What I have heard to-day with regard to missions does not, I humbly submit, meet the difficulty, because if you are to uphold these missions you must support them in a great measure by voluntary aid, and thus the great endowments of the Church which ought to be utilised in the place where they are wanted, cannot be utilised by reason of the strictness of this rule. You require, therefore, some power within the Church itself by which to relax the strictness of the rule. Now, take two different cases—take one case where a great many members of the Church have ceased to attend the ministration of the Parish Church, or have migrated to other parishes, we find the emoluments are kept still in the same place, and more services than are required are employed without any prospect of a commensurate result. Turn, now, to another place, where the busy hives of industry are growing up, where the endowments are not sufficient to supply the wants, and the flock increase so fast that when the minister of our Church is unable to give them the bread of life, they are left to stray into the fold of whatever religious teacher seems to care for their souls and to look after them; and so they are lost to the Church of England. We want a remedy for this, and I say the remedy should lie somewhere in the Church itself. Some relief has been given, no doubt, by the statutes which provide for the building of chapels of ease; something has also been done by voluntary effort in the building and endowing of trustee churches; but the Church, as a body, has been unable by the strictness of this rule, to do anything to meet this difficulty in comparison with what it was her duty to do. The fault is not with the Church, but with the State; because this is by reason of a State rule, and it is only the State that can give power to alter it. Then another defect is that which has been mentioned to-day, viz., the power of every clergyman to exclude all other clergymen from all public ministrations within his parish. The ministrations of a particular clergyman may not be acceptable in a parish, but this rule excludes every other clergyman of the Church of England, while it cannot exclude the minister of any other church, and it thus supplies the ready means of transferring the congregation from the Church to the Dissenting Chapel; and, in reply to what has been so eloquently spoken to by Mr. Beresford Hope and Mr. Maclagan upon missions, I say that the very place where you most require the mission may be deprived of it by this rule, which enables the clergyman to say that he does not want a mission in his parish. Here, again, the Church, by its union with the State, has no power within herself to deal with this difficulty, and therefore she is obliged to submit to whatever the parochial clergyman, for the time, may permit. It was the strictness of this rule which drove John Wesley away from the Church, and the Church has thereby lost thousands upon thousands who might have now been within her fold. The Wesleyan system of itinerancy is the opposite extreme of the parochial system, they have now been each on trial for some ninety years, and while one beginning from nothing, and without endowments, has won over to its side some four millions of the people in England alone; the other, with all its endowments and its social position, has sustained a loss of a like number. The time of this sad experiment should now suffice, and a remedy at last be sought for. Therefore, in conclusion, I would humbly suggest that the Church would now do wisely to consider whether some intermediate step might not be taken, whether itinerancy might not be imported in some degree into the parochial system, so that all classes of people might be effectively reached by the ministrations of the Church, and this hemorrhage which is draining her life blood at last be staunched.

Rev. Theophilus Bennett, Vicar of Eastrington.

You have just had a layman of the now disestablished and disendowed Church of Ireland addressing you, and speaking rather against the parochial system. Now be so kind as to hear a former Vicar of that Church say a few words in favour of the parochial system. There is an old adage that "a house-going parson will have a church-going people." The more we visit our people in their own homes the more likely are we to get a large congregation in our churches. It is desirable to allow the people to talk to us, and not that we should make our visit altogether a lecturing visit to them. We should be good listeners as well as speakers, and thus we shall better understand how to deal with them. I think it is Ignatius who is said to have known every one of his flock; and it is extremely desirable that a clergyman should know all his flock. When I was a Curate at Withington, Manchester, my first Incumbent paid me the greatest compliment I ever got; he said to me, "You not only know every man, woman, and child in the parish, but I believe you know every animal." I believe it was Polycarp who said that we should not neglect servants in our ministrations. There are many ways in which we can show our interest in their spiritual welfare. We can give them tracts or exhortations, and thus make them feel that they are not neglected. I quite endorse your noble remark, my Lord, that the National Church of England is a blessing to the country, and I trust it will long remain a blessing. If we clergy would go home to our parishes and *work*, the better it would be for our parishes. I quite agree with the remark of the Archbishop of York the other day "that the man who only talked and did not work was a *dangerous* animal." I think it was Leighton who said that if he had to commence his ministrations again "he would follow sinners everywhere, even to their alehouses;" and when I was a Curate in Hertford my Vicar told me to go to every house, not neglecting the beerhouses. I did as he told me, and I will say that I did not meet with a remark which I considered unkind or unbecoming from the persons whom I found in the numerous beerhouses of this borough. When I was in Plymouth I went from door to door throughout the parish. There are about 120 different denominations of dissent, and I think we had representatives of all of them in Plymouth. I called upon all the dissenters as well as upon the church people, and I did not meet with an unkind remark from one of them. Now I mention these things for our encouragement. I quite agree with the remark that Lord Lytton makes, that we should never "cut" anybody. The clergyman ought to be kind and bland to every one, and say a kind word whenever he has an opportunity. As to mission services let me allude to one subject. I have not heard in this meeting any mention of the Home Missions of the Church of England. I see Mr. Stephenson and other brethren here who know well the good which the church missions have accomplished. Each clergyman engaged in them preaches at a different church every night, and so he goes on quickening the religious life and zeal of himself and others. Before I sit down I would say that we ought to give every person in our parishes some interest in the parish church. Give them all something to do—something to interest them. Multiply your number of singers, of bell-ringers to suit those who like it; add to your Sunday-school teachers; do everything and anything to interest people in the Church, because if you want them to be interested in the Church you must give them an interest in something belonging to the Church. It gladdened my heart to hear Canon Hoare recommend an interchange of pulpits. As for me I would gladly interchange. Lord Hatherley has lately presented me to a Yorkshire living; and let me say this—I shall be glad to exchange with Canon Hoare or any of my brethren for a term of five or six weeks, for I believe if there was more of this mutual exchange of pulpits there would, under God the Holy Ghost, be increased quickening of the spiritual life.

Rev. R. Rhodes Bristow, Vicar of St. Stephen's, Lewisham.

Those of us who were privileged to listen this morning to the words of the Lord Primate of all Ireland will remember the description he gave of the Christianity of the average British citizen, and I think most of the clergy will agree with me in considering that the description would almost equally apply to the average British churchman. In our own congregations we have to deal with those who are but half educated, very often, in the principles of the Church, and sometimes even in the principles of vital Christianity. An able novelist, who is dead, has described exceedingly well the good lady who, while she neglected her home and left her children in squalor and ignorance, yet could see very far off to the Fiji Islands, and elsewhere. I think sometimes we clergy forget the good old proverb, that charity begins at home ; and I wish to urge upon this Congress that it is important, whilst we are carrying on active missionary work amongst those who are without the borders of the Church, that we should pay very special attention to those whom we have already gathered into her fold. We ought to have, as has been so well said, not only sermons, but more instruction for those who will come at other times than on Sundays. We ought to have Bible classes frequently held, wherein the Holy Scriptures should be expounded, so that all may understand them ; we ought to have frequent catechising, children's services, and classes for the instruction of domestic servants Also, I think that we ought to have, where it is possible, classes for the instruction of business men. Never was there a day in the history of the world when there was so much wear and tear upon men of the world as we have to-day. Men are working not only with their hands but with their brains, and are spending the very tissues of their life in their efforts to get daily bread for themselves and their families. Whilst, then, we are giving the right hand of fellowship to all who are working parochial missions, I think we ought to remember that there is something else to be done. It is not when the waters are troubled that they will best reflect the light of the sun, but when they are calm and placid, then the Sun of Righteousness may fully shine upon souls. Let us try, then, whether we cannot introduce into our parishes the system of parochial retreats, that is, let us try to carry out what our blessed Lord said to His disciples, "Come ye apart into a desert place and rest awhile ;" and the Evangelist adds, "for there were many coming and going." There is need for those who would have a parish retreat that they should obtain the services of a "discreet and learned minister," who will two or three times a day, during the time that the retreat lasts, address the people on the deep things of God—death, judgment, heaven, and hell ; and when he has brought them to see the state of their own souls, he will have the opportunity of bringing home to them, in Christ's own way, that ministry of reconciliation of which our preacher spoke so well this morning. What I would urge then, is, that whilst giving due consideration to parochial missions, we should look also very carefully to see whether we cannot have parochial retreats for the deepening of the spiritual life among those who are already gathered into the fold.

Mr. Collins, M.P.

I wish to say a few words to my brother churchmen upon what has fallen from my friend Mr. Salt in reference to the parochial system. No member of the Church of England, or any other church, can deny the great benefit, I might almost say the necessity, of such a system. It is the only system, I believe, by which the means of grace can be made co-extensive with the country. Any system which is merely congregational leaves out persons who are scattered in this or that place ; whereas, when you have a terri-

torial system, there is a certain definite person set over by the bishop of the diocese, which person is responsible for looking after the souls of all within that district. I conceive that no system for the propagation or the maintenance of Christianity could long successfully exist unless it is based on the territorial system. In the Church of England we have a twofold territorial system. We have the diocesan in relation to the bishop, and we have the parochial in relation to the priest; and I think it might be wise to consider whether the bishop of the diocese might not be allowed to license clergymen to officiate in any part of the diocese in which they thought fit. I do not wish at present to pronounce a positive opinion upon that either one way or the other, but I think it would be well for churchmen, and the clergy especially, to consider whether in certain cases it would not be desirable, under certain restrictions, such as an appeal to the archbishop, or any other authority, that liberty should be given to the bishop of a diocese to grant such permission. I listened with great pain to some of Mr. Salt's remarks. He spoke of the difficulty of removing immoral clergymen from their benefices. I am happy to say that I believe that an immoral clergyman is very rarely to be met with in the Church of England, and I believe I may say the same as to the ministers of most other communities. These are subjects to which Mr. Salt might direct his attention next session, I think with more success than has attended his late efforts. There would be no difficulty whatever in facilitating legal proceedings and bringing to trial clergymen who were accused of immorality, if that question were separated from the questions of doctrine and ritual. The real reason we have not been able to secure more summary proceedings is because attempts have been made to facilitate prosecutions for doctrine and ritual as well as for immorality. I believe that both Houses of Parliament, and especially the House to which I have the honour to belong, will give no facilities for bringing prosecutions for doctrine and ritual. The great majority of the House of Commons, whether churchmen or dissenters, believe that, although cases may arise in which prosecutions are justifiable and necessary, they should be very rare indeed. and the less we hear about them the better. But there is no desire to shield criminous clerks; and if my friend, Mr. Salt, would direct his mind to that part of the subject, I believe there would be no difficulty in speedily passing a measure, that would accomplish his object, through both Houses of Parliament. Certain remarks were made which I must deprecate, about following people "even to the beerhouses." One would suppose that a beerhouse must necessarily be a place of evil resort. I do not at all agree with that doctrine. If that has been the case hitherto, I hope that in consequence of the Act of last Session these houses will be of a better character, and will not deserve the ill-name they appear to have here. I will conclude by saying that if you are to bring home your parochial system to the people of the parish, you must have free access to your parish churches. You must not invite the masses of the people to be huddled into corners and go just where they can manage to find a place. You must teach them that the Church of God in the parish belongs to every person in the parish. I cannot imagine any system of mission services being a success in any parish where the people of the parish have not got substantially free access to their own parish church.

Rev. Samuel Thornton, Rector of St. George's, Birmingham.

I did not presume to send in my card myself. It was sent in by another; but, having been called upon by your Lordship, and having been told that I must condense my remarks within five minutes, I will say a few words of a very practical nature. It seems to me that an important principle in parochial work is, go rather to those who *want* you than to those who *wish* for you.

When a clergyman desires to do that and pay attention to those whose souls do not come within his ordinary ministrations in the church he finds a difficulty in getting at them, how to lay hold of their hearts and consciences. An obvious plan of reaching the outsiders is to go out into the streets and speak to them there. But there are a great many difficulties in the way of doing that. To begin with, there are the police. I have been locked up more than once for preaching in the streets, and it is not pleasant. Then there is the weather. If you find open-air preaching difficult or impracticable, what do you say to a tent? Get your tent, then, and pitch it here and there in your parish. Pitch it early in the morning, and run up a flag. Then the working-men, as they go to their work in the morning will say one to another, "Halloa! what's up?" A bill will tell them that the Gospel is going to be preached there that evening. Now, in religious matters, working-men are much more modest than women—parochially speaking. All these observations are made in a parochial sense. Working-men will come inside a tent where the light is dim, and where they are not likely to be "spotted," as they call it. I believe many men who are not found in our churches are really very anxious about their souls. They want to hear some one tell them the way to heaven: and they will creep into your tent and listen, especially if you rig up a lantern, as I do, for dark evenings. Another difficulty in preaching out of doors is, how to attract a crowd. What say you to blowing a trumpet? They find in Holland that a hymn, led with a cornet-à-piston, will give a good congregation in five minutes. Now, I will ask you another question, Why are there not Sunday-schools for men? In Birmingham there is a Sunday-school, consisting of about 1,200 men—men only—assembling every Sunday morning. That is not in my parish, and it is not in connection with the Church of England distinctively. The way they get hold of the men is this, they teach them writing—writing the Scriptures, and afterwards reading them, and thus the men learn both to write and read the Scriptures. Some are doubtful about the *writing*, but I myself have parted with all my speculative objections to that kind of work, and I am quite persuaded that it is really useful. Another question is, if you want to visit working-men and get at their souls, what is the proper time? Not in the day, for they are mostly away at work; not in the evening, for they are often tired, if at home. There is a better time than either of these. Then, when are you to go? On Sunday morning, when we are in church worshipping. That is the time for one of the clergy to go round and see these men at home. Let a man try that plan for a month, comparing the number of personal interviews with *men* with those gained in week-day visitation, and he will be convinced. Then there is another way of getting at them in numbers. You cannot get men to come to tea meetings. They think tea is for the goodies, but not for them. What do you say to a supper? Invite working-men to meet you at supper, say at half-past eight in the evening. They are quite willing to come and pay for their supper if they know and respect the clergyman. "No ladies allowed," plenty of cold, rather under-done, beef, and an unlimited supply of red pickled cabbage! After that is disposed of you may speak your mind to them, and they will listen to, and confer with you. May I say a word to employers? One great place to get at workmen is in large factories, where you may address them for ten minutes at a time. I know, allowing this costs money, and may occasion great inconvenience; but, "is there not a cause?" I have no more time. All these things will be of no use unless the parochial clergyman is a man who not only knows what salvation is, but who is burning with a strong desire, not only to improve and benefit, but to *save* men; taking, as the motto for his parochial work, the motto which St. Paul took for his missionary work, "that I might by all means save some."

TUESDAY EVENING, 8th OCTOBER.

SECTIONAL MEETING.

The Right Reverend the PRESIDENT took the Chair at Seven o'clock.

LAY CO-OPERATION IN THE WORK OF THE CHURCH.

The Rev. Dr. NOLAN read the following paper:—

FIRST, I would fain express the deep regret that I feel, in common with you all, at the untoward coincidence that deprives us this evening of the presence of Archdeacon Prest, and consigns his subject to the care of such an unworthy representative. You will imagine the embarrassment under which I undertake it, and this, I am sure, will secure for me an indulgent sympathy, and a generous forbearance. Without further preface, then, I proceed, God helping me, to our subject, viz:—"Lay Co-operation in the Work of the Church."

We have long since got rid of that fallacy, which has done its full share of mischief in its time, that "the Clergy are the Church." Men about to take Holy Orders now do not say that they are "entering the Church." The very submittal of a subject like this for discussion at a Church Congress is proof in itself that, on this point at least, public opinion is now disabused. The exigencies of the Church of England—whether you regard her first and highest function and duty of all, that of leavening the masses with the knowledge of the Saving, Sanctifying Truth of God—or, which might be considered more peculiarly personal to herself, that of vindicating her claim upon the continued gratitude and confidence of the nation, for whose benefit she has been established, and endowed—were never more urgent or intense than at the present moment.

There is, however, this matter of comfort and encouragement, that ought early to be noticed and never to be lost sight of, that is the entire parallelism of the two objects, and the fact that the Church can never commend herself more effectually to the sympathies of the country, than by faithfully fulfilling her mission as the Church of the Living God, which is "the pillar and ground of the truth," proclaiming, expounding, and adorning that truth to every present generation, and providing for its safe and pure transmission to those that are to come after.

I would propose to consider our subject under each of these heads viz.:—

I. What is the legitimate work of the Church, her bounden duty?

II. What is the most suitable machinery for carrying it on?

III. What hinders our heartily and at once employing it in her service?

1. If only we could realise that splendid legal fiction, according to which every sheep has a fold, and every fold a shepherd, we had gone far

towards solving many of the difficulties by which we are encompassed. There is no use in going back to the origin of our parochial system, or ascertaining the proportion that obtained, centuries ago, between the number of the clergy and the population, and extent of the parishes entrusted to them. It would serve no useful purpose, either, were we able nicely to apportion the share of the blame that belongs to those that have gone before us, and that for which we are responsible ourselves. It rather becomes us honestly and boldly to face the state of things that surround us, to encourage one another to concerted action: "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" to stand, as it were, between the dead and the living, if peradventure, the plague may be stayed. "For it is not a vain thing for us, because it is our life."

The work of the Church of Christ militant here on earth is to go into all the world and to preach the Gospel to every creature, making disciples of them, and baptising them into that Triune Name by which we are called. The same obligation rests upon the Church of each separate nation, towards every member of that nation, as does upon the head of every family towards each member of "the Church that is in his house." Such was the testimony that God bare of Abraham, His friend, "For I know him that he will command his children, and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord." The intermediate subdivision, of the parish, follows the same law, and demands the same vigilance and care.

The Gospel of His Grace, through the blood of Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son, quickened by God the Holy Ghost, is God's own and only remedy for all the ruin and ravages of sin. This Gospel is revealed to us in the Scriptures of Truth, for they testify of Him, and where it is faithfully and fearlessly proclaimed, it becomes the power of God unto the salvation of every one that believes it. Upon this Gospel thus preached, a blessing is promised. It is all given by inspiration of God. He magnifies His word above all His name. It cannot return void. Every variety of illustration is made use of to commend it to our confidence, and our affection. It is soft as the dew, gentle as the rain, fearful as the fire, crushing as the hammer, piercing as the sword, spreading as the seed, searching as the leaven. The entrance of it giveth light. It is at once medicine to cure and food to nourish. It makes wise unto Salvation. It is the instrument of Holiness—"Sanctify them through Thy truth. Thy word is truth." The Deacon and the Priest of our Church is presented with it by his Bishop in the act of his ordination, and is sent forth to preach it. He finds it embalmed in the Liturgy, stereotyped into the Articles, expounded in the Homilies, and condensed into the Creeds, to all of which he subscribes an unfeigned assent and consent.

This is the great charm of our blessed Prayer-book, as well as the secret of its power,

> That, like Siloa's brook it flows
> Fast by the oracles of God.

The pillars on which it rests are hewn out of the pure quarry of Scripture. Her formularies are comprehensive and Catholic, nothing narrow or sectarian, that would stamp the pure gold of the sanctuary with her own image and superscription, and so unfit it for general circulation; and

as for her prayers and collects, oh! they may be used wherever man can worship, or where God can hear.

The legitimate work of the Church, then, her bounden duty, is to spread abroad this Saving, Sanctifying Truth of God, through the golden pipes of our own Church's loved ordinances and formularies. "Necessity is laid upon us: yea, woe is unto us if we preach not the Gospel."

2. What is the most suitable machinery for carrying it on?

My object under this head being to recommend the admission of the Lay element into the largest share and partnership possible of the Church's work, I must fortify myself by laying down, in commencement, the clear and undoubted command and model of the Holy Scripture for a threefold order of men, set apart from the beginning, "for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." Bingham, in his "Antiquities of the Christian Church" (B.I.) argues this out fully, meeting all objections, and showing that, from the earliest, the distinction was acknowledged between "Clerics" and "Laics:" that this distinction was in no wise affected by the fact that *all* the baptized body are sometimes called the Lord's κλῆρος more than it was in ancient Israel, when God said to Moses of *all* the circumcised nation, "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests;" or when St. Peter speaks of the whole Christian body as of "a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." The judicious Hooker puts this in a sufficiently clear light, when he says (B. V. 78, 10), "There is an error which beguileth many who much entangle both themselves and others by not distinguishing services, offices, and orders ecclesiastical; the first of which three, and in part the second, may be executed by the Laity, whereas none have, or can have, the third but the Clergy."

The distinct separation of the Clerical order being thus manifest, and, along with it, the lawfulness of employing "Lay co-operation in the work of the Church," it follows, almost at once, that it ought to be called into action upon the largest possible scale, and this in no niggard spirit, but with a generous sympathy worthy of the cause in which we would enlist them, and of the confidence we repose in them. No other aid can be imagined that is at once so near, so ready, so available; in the next place that is so capable of helping us, and so interested in our success; and lastly, so indispensable to the efficiency of the Church, and to the well-being of the community that the Church is intended to leaven with the seeds of Divine truth. The subject affects all alike, and as Field quotes, in his Treatise on the Church: "*Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debet.*"

That the elements of Lay Co-operation abound in the midst of us is obvious and self-evident: that, instead of being utilised as they ought, and might be, these are too often held in dispersion, if not actually arrayed in hostility, is equally manifest. "These things ought not so to be." Again, that out of our Lay parishioners, male and female, suitable helps could be supplied for working out every part of our parochial system, cannot for a moment be doubted. "There are diversities of gifts," saith the Apostle, and that there are fully as great diversities in the materials to be wrought upon, must be clearly known to the minister of even the very smallest of our parishes. Why *these* have not been brought

more entirely to act upon each other, to the mutual benefit of both (the one standing in need of the service, and the other waiting and willing to render it), is an anomaly passing conception. This, at all events, is certain, the interests of religion are compromised, the strength of the Church is weakened, and the parish suffers. "*Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.*"

Under such circumstances is it a wonder that dissent should flourish? Nay rather ought we not to be thankful that *some persons* were found to hold up a banner for the Truth? and if this has been accompanied with hostile feeling to the Church, who are primarily to blame? A better state of things has, through the good hand of our God upon us, sprung up at last. Clergy and Laity are coming together to consult and to take action for the common good, opinions are ventilated, principles are discussed, congresses and conferences are held, associations are formed, Church defences are organised to vindicate the purity as well as to preserve the property of the Church, kindlier feelings are cultivated. For all which, we "thank God, and take courage."

The question here naturally arises, and it is paramount in importance. How are the services of our dear and honoured Lay friends and supporters to be employed to the most advantage, *regarding* (that I may borrow the words of one of our noblest Church Societies) "the wants of the Church on the one hand, and the order of the Church on the other?" The Lay friends whose sympathies we would enlist, and whose co-operation we would secure, it must always be remembered, are men whose intellectual culture, social position, and moral influence, are, to speak within compass, not one whit inferior to our own, while in some respects, it must be admitted many of them have the advantage over us. In approaching them, therefore, due regard must be had to all this. It will not do to issue our behests as if their province were simply to obey; their quick sensibilities would be aroused, they would speedily fly off from us, as they have done in many instances, and leave us to ourselves. But when counsel is honourably taken with them, where they are courteously consulted, both as to what ought to be done, and about the best manner of doing it, and where such share both in the administration, and in the work itself, is fully allowed them, for which many of them are eminently qualified —for spiritual gifts, more than graces, are not confined exclusively to the Clergy; the instances will be rare indeed where either a cordial co-operation will be withheld, or, on the other hand, where an encroaching spirit will be manifested. Experience has proved this to demonstration in the ordinary details of Church and Parish work. School Committees, Church Building Committees, Sunday School Teachers, District Visitors, Penny Banks, Clothing Clubs, Young Men's Improvement Societies, Penny Readings, School Trusts, and such like, are either managed by, or consist of our loved and trusted Lay friends. The difficult point seems to be, how to utilise their services in the grand work of all, bringing the Blessed Gospel home to the ears and hearts of the careless and the degraded, the drunken and the vicious. These classes—and alas! they are but too abundant—will not come near our churches: it is impossible for us to follow them, except in some special cases, not affecting the whole mass; Lay help must be invoked, or else *they* must be left, as they have been, to die as they lived in wretchedness and sin. But, thank God, it has been invoked, witness the "Lay Helpers' Association," formed at

least in the diocese of London, and the principle has been admitted long before, in the formation of "Scripture Readers' Associations" in London, under the sanction of the late Bishop Blomfield and the revered and aged Bishop Sumner, and in most of the great towns of England; a step in which, after all, we had been anticipated by the "London City Mission" and the "Country Towns' Mission" with signal success. The exigencies of the present day, however, are such that we must make further advance, both in the machinery we employ, and in the use we make of it. Our trenches must be laid closer, and our rams must be driven nearer, if we would make a breach upon the dense and festering mass that excites at once our sympathy and our alarm.

Let there be in every parish, if possible, a selected and organised body of intelligent and well instructed laymen, to penetrate the fastnesses of vice and crime, to read the word of God, to teach men to pray, to hold meetings, with a genial manner and a loving voice, to say to them, "Come with us, and we will do you good."

That difficulties will arise I am fully aware—but difficulties have been surmounted before, and may be surmounted again. It is the Lord's work, and is anything too hard for Him? It needs only to be undertaken heartily and in a spirit of prayer, and the very attempt will be found to make its own way in a wonderful manner, as Demosthenes said to the Athenians, "The war itself, the moment you undertake it, will discover the weak points in Philip's policy and his armament." So will it be with our Church, if only, laying aside all jealousy and suspicion, she cordially and gratefully accepts the co-operation of her Lay friends, giving them the largest discretion, taking with them loving counsel, and sending them forth "to the help of the Lord against the mighty." There is no fear but that, with God's blessing, and such machinery vigorously worked out, the wilderness and solitary place would soon be glad, our congregations would receive continual accessions, our schools would be gradually replenished, while

> "The wretch that once sang wildly, danced and laughed,
> And drank in dizzy madness at the draught,
> * * * * * * * * * *
> Abhors the vice he gloried in before,
> And he that stole would learn to steal no more."

3. What hinders our heartily and at once employing this machinery in her service?

That the Church, in order at all to fulfil her mission, is in dire need of more help and power than she can command from the body of her Clergy, is not only a fact, but has long been felt and admitted as a fact. That our Laity are able, and, being properly approached, willing also to render that help most efficiently, and in such manner as cannot be rendered from any other quarter is just as obvious. Is there then any high principle to forbid it? or does some forecasting prudence see only danger in the distance from admitting it? First, as to the principle—which means, What saith the Scripture? In a very valuable pamphlet, published in 1868, by Rev. C. D. Marston, Rector of Kersal, Manchester, on "The Position of the Laity in the Church," he argues logically and exhaustively, by a careful collation of passages, from the *use* to the *significance* of the word ἐκκλησία in the New Testament; by an equally

careful weighing of authorities, he traces the same through the early centuries of the Christian Church, and, to my humble judgment, convincingly concludes,

(1.) "That the term "Church" as used in the New Testament includes the whole body of disciples, lay as well as clerical.

(2.) That the multitude (πλῆθος), "the brethren," who are contrasted with the apostles and elders, acted prominently with the apostles and elders in the most important matters: as the nomination of candidates for various offices, missionary enterprise, decision on doctrine not yet settled by Scripture, discipline and almsgiving."

Lord Chancellor, Sir Peter King, in his "Enquiry into the Constitution and Discipline of the Primitive Church," *i.e.*, of the first three centuries, speaks frequently of the "Synodical assemblies," and of the large powers they possessed, as well as of the important functions they fulfilled. These he defines to be "Convocations of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, and deputed Laymen of several particular Churches, who frequently met together . . . . to advise, regulate, and manage Ecclesiastical and Church affairs, and other such like things." (p. 120.) The Laity appear to have had a voice potential, not only in the election of Bishops, but even in their deposition; and if Ignatius is quoted, "The people were to do nothing without the Bishop," Cyprian, on the other hand, tells us that the "Bishop did nothing without the knowledge and consent of the people." (p. 91.) Would that our Convocation reformers would take the hint, and follow the example.

As years went on, the clerical body, becoming the monopolizers of whatever learning and knowledge was to be had, gradually usurped the power and influence that always follows in their wake, and thus the Laity fell into the back ground, and at last were forgotten and left out of sight in Church matters altogether. The Reformation introduced a new state of things; but after so long a darkness, and the sudden irruption of light, men were dazed and bewildered; it took time before they could settle down to repair the ravages of many generations. Nay more, the centuries that followed were not without disturbing influences and elements sufficient to account for even a slower progress towards truth and order. We had the Gunpowder Plot in the beginning of the 17th century, and the glorious Revolution at the end, not to speak of the Commonwealth and the Restoration in the middle of it. Could much have been effected towards restoring the due balance, between the Clergy and the Laity in Church matters, during the convulsions of *that* century? The century that followed is remembered more for the paralysing chill that wasted out all spiritual life from the Church than for anything else, until at last it pleased God, in His great mercy towards us, both as a Church and as a Nation, to roll back the clouds of darkness, and to say, as it were once again, "Let there be Light, and there was Light"—even "the Light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." Since that, in the goodness of God, we have been making steady, though sometimes but slow, progress. Matters affecting the best interests, and the efficiency of the Church awaken an interest, and provoke a hostility, now, in quarters where they would have met with nothing but contemptuous indifference some years ago. Both sides are arming themselves for the conflict, and the issue of the struggle depends

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on the extent to which we succeed in enlisting the sympathies and the services of our noble Laity on our behalf.

"The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and there is no new thing under the sun." So spake the wise man. The Irish Church has been swept away in the midst of its usefulness, "when best employed and wanted most."

> Oh bloodiest picture in the book of Time,
> Sarmatia fell unwept, without a crime:
> Found not a generous friend, or pitying foe,
> Strength in her arm or mercy in her woe.

The same enemies are whetting their swords against ourselves also. They would swallow us up quick, their wrath is so kindled against us. Our help is in the Lord that made heaven and earth. But He works by means, and our refuge, under Him, is in the energy and heartiness with which our laity rush to the rescue. Ancient Israel disregarded the warnings and wearied out the forbearance of her merciful God, and she fell before the sword of Shalmaneser. Time and warning and opportunity were afforded to her sister Judah, but what said the Lord? "Yet for all this her treacherous sister Judah hath not turned to me with all her heart," and Judah, too, was carried captive into Babylon. *Absit omen.* But the Irish Church speaks to us in the language of encouragement and example, as well as of warning. Having recovered from the first stunning and bewildering effect of her calamity, she seems rising to the height of her emergency. Her noble laity, rallying round her bishops and clergy, and taking counsel together, have made full proof by their sympathy, their prudence, their perseverance, and their generosity, how reliable they are, and how deserving of confidence and regard. Nor is it too much to hope—for is anything too hard for the Lord?—that the dear old Irish Church may yet arise, Phœnix-like, from her ashes, "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners." Similar materials abound to a far greater extent in this country, and are to be found with much larger resources and capabilities within the bosom of our own loved church here. And it is certainly an easier and more hopeful task to increase the efficiency of a church already effective, girt for the conflict, and carrying it on with vigour, than to build up one, ungenerously knocked down, and to reconstruct it, after its framework had been dashed to pieces. But to our Laity we must look; upon them, under God, our hopes we fix. Their proper place must be assigned to them, not as hewers of wood and drawers of water, but as friends, as equals, as counsellors, if we would have them as contributors to our finances, and promoters of our designs. If otherwise, there can be no cordiality in their support, no heart in their co-operation—the very instruction they receive from us renders it impossible. The quick susceptibility of the English gentleman, "clock to itself, knows when exception bids it strike," tells him at once where his proper place is—leave that open for him and you will see the eagerness with which he will press into it. As in the natural body the several members fill harmoniously each their own place and function, so also in the body politic and ecclesiastical. The clergy will find enough to do, and more, of their own proper inalienable work, even after their trusty Lay helpers have done their very utmost, each in his own range and

department. The more that is done, the more will have to be done; the demand will always outstep the supply. But the Church will flourish as a field the Lord hath blessed. Harrowing wretchedness will be diminished, human suffering will be mitigated, sorrow will be soothed, children will be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, sinners will be converted from the error of their ways; the word of the Lord will have free course and be glorified, while the Church, as the honoured instrument of all this improvement, will sink deeper and rise higher in the affections of the people, being filled with those fruits of righteousness which are by Jesus Christ to the glory and praise of God.

The Hon. C. L. Wood read the following paper:—

In considering the question of the co-operation of the Laity in the work of the Church, I shall assume that the question is not as to the manner in which the spiritual and intellectual gifts of the Laity can be made most profitable to the Church, for much of this ground is no longer debated or debatable. All kinds of eleemosynary work, spiritual and corporal, where the supernatural gifts of Holy Orders are not involved, are readily conceded to them.

The complaint is that they do not take nearly their proper share of these burdens. Even the privilege of public teaching under lawful authority is being gradually conceded to them where they are duly qualified, and in all probability will be sufficiently common in a few years time.

The point round which the chief interest and most earnest discussion gather is beyond these.

Why, it is said, should the legislation and government of the Church be held to be altogether remote from lay interposition?

Why, in particular, should the Laity not have a place in the Councils of the Church?

This is what is now energetically claimed for them in many quarters, and beyond all doubt it is a claim of the first significance and importance. Its advocates are many and able, and their arguments deserve respectful consideration.

The question may be argued variously, as of right, or of expediency.

I shall begin by discussing the right of laymen to be constituent members of the Synods of the Church. Since, if there be a direct wrong or right in the case, expediency is shelved unheard.

The question of abstract right hinges upon two others. Where is the essential seat of Church authority? and what is the function of Church Councils?

The first question is answered by some, by the assertion that Church authority resides in the whole body, not in any portion of it to the exclusion of other portions; in the Clergy as well as in the Laity, in the Laity as well as in the Clergy. Consequently, according to such writers, that which is to bind all must bear the authority of all.

Now, to pass by all reasons adduced from the analogy of civil government, for it is by no means obvious that the authority of a supernatural society must follow the rule of civil society, it follows, if this

reasoning is to hold good, that every individual composing the Church, either in person or by deputy, must have accumulated on any proposed law that portion of the diffused authority with which he is invested.

It will be seen that this claim assumes, therefore, two things:

1. That the Church's Government is essentially representative.

2. That in fact the representatives, including Laity, do really represent all whom they are supposed to represent.

And as a necessary corollary:

3. That all valid Church Government has from the beginning exhibited these principles in action.

Let us apply these canons to the history of the Church for the first five centuries. I limit myself only to that period for convenience, because if the asserted principle cannot be substantiated from the records of the first five centuries, it cannot be recognised as a principle at all.

Can a single Council—for I assume that no one denies that the function of Church Councils is the Government of the Church—can any single Council, I say, be found within all that period, the validity of whose acts was stated to rest partly on lay authority, or in which the Laity had any authoritative voice, or in which there was anything of the nature of a "lay element" as representing the persons and exercising the authority of the whole body of the Laity within the area of the Council's jurisdiction.

I believe there is not one.

Instances are indeed plentiful of the presence of the Laity. The Bishop of Salisbury, in his recent Bampton Lectures, speaks of their silent presence—"often, if not always." Yet when present they were not always "silent." They had often complaints to make, accusations or requests to prefer, evidence to give.

But such presence proves nothing as to their forming a constituent portion of the Synod.

What is wanted is proof of the presence of Laity as authorised and authoritative representatives of the whole body for the purposes of government. Nothing short of this will do; and this, as I believe, cannot be found.

The deduction from such facts is obvious. If the authoritative concurrence of the Laity was not necessary in the first centuries, it can never be necessary, because the whole essence of spiritual authority must have been present to give validity to any and every instance of its exercise; and we may conclude, therefore, that the essential seat of Church authority cannot be in the whole body, since the whole body of the Church, neither directly or indirectly, was represented in those Councils, whose decisions are received as infallible by the whole Church of Christ.

It is of no consequence whether a view of this kind is unpopular; the question is whether it is true, or can be disproved.

I proceed to the next part of my subject, and inquire whether it is expedient to give the Laity a voice in Church Government; and this brings me to the consideration of the circumstances which make the cry for lay co-operation so general. In truth the reason is not far to seek. We have come to a time of great religious activity; we have awoke to our responsibilities. Our minds are being stirred to the depths at the

thought of our shortcomings. We are realising how much has been left undone that ought to have been done; how sore are the needs of the Church; how bitter the assaults upon Christian faith and Christian practice. We long to do something to prove that Christian institutions are not the effete superstitions they are supposed to be—to get rid of abuses, to quicken into fresh life what remains—and we find, when we pass from theory to practice, a dead lock in ecclesiastical matters, which paralyses our exertions, and which renders us ready to accept any scheme which seems to hold out a hope of being able to do anything at all for the objects we have at heart.

Men have begun to see in an indistinct sort of way, not perhaps the abstract wrong of the Church being practically reduced to the level of a department of the Civil Service; but the inconvenience of such a system when, as at present, in England, the Church can do little without the intervention of the State; and the State, owing to the various religions represented in Parliament, is either incapable or unwilling to help the Church, even in such matters as, *e.g.*, an extension of the Episcopate, where her needs are the sorest.

In truth, nothing can be more unsatisfactory than things as they are.

The Church of England is practically left without a government; Ecclesiastical legislation is at a dead lock; the principle of living Church authority which can speak to the conscience is well nigh dead, and the result is a general *ἀνομία*, which is deplored by none more than by those who are often accused of being its cause. It remains to ask what is the remedy for such a state of things?

There is none, you may rely upon it, but a return to first principles. We must learn to recognise the Church's spiritual authority quite irrespective of any legal sanction it may happen to possess. The duty of obedience to spiritual authority for conscience sake must be acknowledged; and the first step in that direction will not be to place the Laity in a position for which they were not intended; for, remember, authority is a thing *we* cannot give, and if the Laity have no right to a constituent voice in Synods, the fact that we have put them there can confer no real authority upon them. What is wanted, is, that we should organise ourselves in a manner that will leave authority free to act upon the consciences, and at the same time confer upon the Laity that influence upon all things connected with the Church, its doctrine, discipline, ritual, for I exclude nothing, which they ought to have, but which, for various reasons, they fail to exert, or exert in a wrong way at present.

Here, then, I answer the question, Is it expedient to admit the Laity to a share in the government of the Church; and I reply in the negative:

1. Because it is an innovation upon the rule which the Primitive Church may be said to have universally adopted.

2. Because the principles upon which it is usually demanded are fallacious and dangerous, as giving the Laity a false idea of their spiritual position, and leading them to imagine themselves possessed of an authority which they cannot have.

3. Because all the advantages sought for, may be obtained in another and a better way, which I will now proceed, as far as I can, to lay before you.

How, then, is an organisation for this purpose to be carried out? Here, again, what can be done but state conclusions. But this is an outline of what I would suggest:

1. Let the Bishops, in all their dealings with the Clergy, and in administration of their Dioceses, act *professedly* and avowedly, and as far as possible exclusively, on their purely spiritual authority, as Bishops in the Church of God. Never, where they can possibly avoid it, allege the authority they have by law. The Apostles and their early successors had some authority; some means and principles of ruling the household of God apart from temporal law. Why should not we in our troubles make trial of their system again?

2. Let the Bishops no longer govern alone, but in and through their Diocesan Synods. Let the Priesthood once more feel that their Catholic position as the *Corona presbyterii* is recognised and acted upon.

3. Let the Laity be taken into counsel, and for this purpose, putting aside details of organisation, let there be formally organised in every diocese parallel with the Diocesan Synod a Diocesan Conference, Council, or Convention—call it what you will—composed of all clerical members of the Synod, and, at least, an equal number of elected representatives of the *bona fide* communicant Laity of the Diocese. Let the Diocesan Conference sit under the presidency of the Bishop on terms of absolute equality of the clerical and lay orders. Then, for the working of the Conference, let the Council of Jerusalem be taken as a model, where the question which the Laity co-operated in answering was not "what shall be done, but how shall it be done?" Mere debate and ventilation of general subjects should be excluded. Church Congresses, &c., are enough for these.

The discussions should be strictly limited (*a*) to such subjects on which the immediate or more remote action of the Diocesan Synod is definitely desired; (*b*) to the best means of giving effect to the determinations of the Synod.

Nothing should be submitted to the Synod for determination until it has been presented to the Conference for discussion.

The Conference should also be charged with the function of giving administrative effect to such decisions of the Synod as may require the intervention of an organised machinery.

As to the subjects which should come before the cognizance of the Conference there should be no restriction.

Every question of doctrine, discipline, ritual, ceremonial, or administration, should be open to discussion.

Such, in bare outline, is the way in which it seems to me the co-operation of the Laity may be beneficially obtained in dioceses: and the scheme is capable of expansion, upwards into provinces, and downwards into archdeaconries, rural deaneries, and single parishes; for, apart from the meddling intervention of the law, every parish Priest might have his Council, composed of, or elected by, the body of *bona fide* Lay Communicants, with whose advice, and, as far as possible, with whose concurrence, he should work the ordinary parochial or congregational institutions of his parish or district.

In this way the mind of the Church would be accurately gathered up and focussed; and then, if the intervention of authority was required,

that authority would act on full information, and assisted by the common advice of the faithful.

It will not of course be overlooked that while the Diocesan Conference would be assistant only to the Diocesan Synod, the latter would be, of necessity, subordinate to the Synod of the whole province.

Let me illustrate my proposal by endeavouring to see how it would act in reference to those ritual and doctrinal controversies which we have tried hitherto to settle by an appeal to a court which gives satisfaction to no one, and which even its defenders go out of their way to prove carries with its decisions no spiritual authority.

But, supposing the subject of any of our recent ecclesiastical suits, instead of being referred to the Privy Council, had been referred first to the Diocesan Conference, where the matter would have been thoroughly discussed and prepared for the Synod, and then to the Synod itself which would have proceeded to make rules, if necessary, on the points in question; would not the result have been far more satisfactory than what has been witnessed of late?

It will be said, of course, that the Conference and Synod, having no legal powers, could not enforce their decisions.

Allow me to ask does our present Court of Final Appeal enforce its decisions? Is it wished even that it should? For myself I believe, that if the Bishops were known to be acting in concert with their Dioceses, and carrying the hearts of Clergy and Laity with them, the moral weight of such action as I have now sketched out would bear down all opposition.

It will be said again such a system would be destructive of uniformity. We should be reverting to the Uses of Salisbury, Hereford, and York; but I reply, What if we were? We have no uniformity at present, so, at all events, there is nothing to be lost. While we should gain the principle of obedience to authority, however diverse in various places the results of that obedience might be.

Again, to refer to those subjects which come under the head of necessary Reforms.

It is impossible to defend in theory the mode in which our Bishops are appointed, and yet hopeless, under existing circumstances, to obtain any alteration for the better.

But do you suppose, that if we had a system of Diocesan Conferences and Synods, organised in all the Dioceses of England, and that such Conferences and Synods could agree upon the vacancy of any See, whom to recommend for the vacant Diocese: do you suppose, I say, that in the long run they would not carry the day, and secure to the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England that voice in the appointment of their chief pastors which they now so grievously lack.

Of course they would be refused at first, neither would they succeed to day or to-morrow, but eventually the Crown would as little dare disregard the wishes of an English Diocese as it dares now to disregard the recommendations of the humblest parish of the Established Church in Scotland in the appointment of its minister.

If we would but organise ourselves without asking anybody's help but our own, we should be irresistible.

It will be said such a scheme is visionary and impracticable.

Do you suppose, I shall be asked, that the Laity will interest themselves in a system of co-operation which does not concede to them a share in the real government of the Church; but, as I have said already, and repeat again, the question is not what the Clergy like, or the Laity like, but what are the principles which God has laid down for the government of His Church.

Here it will occur to many to quote the examples of the American and Irish Churches. I will only ask with reference to the last, what are the practical results so far of lay co-operation in Church Government in Ireland? Do they afford grounds for congratulation to Churchmen, or encourage us to try the same experiment here?

Of the first, I am sure that the Americans themselves would endorse my words, I trust we are not about to follow the example of a body which, whatever excuses may be made for it, excuses which could not be made for us if we adopted a like course, has eliminated the Athanasian Creed from the book of Common Prayer.

There remains one important consideration which I will venture to press upon the attention of the Congress. By having recourse now to this spiritual system, even with all its probable imperfections, we shall be doing not only the best for the present, but providing for a future, which, however unlikely it may seem to arise, and however much we may strive to avert it, may still be reserved for the Church of England.

It will be a great and overwhelming advantage, supposing the Church of England to be ever deprived of the support of that temporal power with which she has been so intimately connected, if she should find, when the day of separation comes, an organisation ready to her hand, to supply the place of that which she has lost.

It would be no small thing to avoid the reorganisation of her machinery at such a moment, as it is no mean advantage to have the opportunity of trying new weapons and new schemes, without the possibility of injuring herself in so doing.

In conclusion, to quote the words of one, to whom I am chiefly indebted for this paper, Mr. John Walter Lea, "The political, social, and religious dangers of the times are too glaring to be overlooked, too formidable to be disregarded. The separation between the Church and the world is becoming daily more of an accomplished fact, and on all sides one great question is assuming an urgency which admits of no delay.

"If the Church is to weather the rising storm, she must be re-united; her several portions one with another; each several portion within itself. Hence it is that the assignment of a due place to the Laity in the organic life of the Church is a part, and a very important part, of the great problem of the re-union of Christendom."

None will pretend that the work of the Church must be left to the Clergy,—none ought so to caricature the humility of the Apostolic saying, "Ourselves, your servants," as to wish to see the Clergy made the obsequious executors of the likes and dislikes of a Laity, not seldom ignorant, too often self-willed and tyrannous.

Let us remember that the Church is a body in which each has his proper place, and every member is necessary to the whole. In this body some must govern and lead; others follow and be guided.

The essence of lay co-operation is not to claim to sit in Moses' seat, nor attempt to obliterate the distinctions which must exist between the teachers and the taught, but, within the limits of those distinctions, to exercise that legitimate influence—as opposed to authority—in Church Government, which is the true and inherent prerogative of the Lay members of the Body of Christ.

Mr. Randolph Robinson read the following paper:—

Whatever be the faults and vices of the age in which we live, and they are not few, it cannot be said that it is an age of indifference, of a sleepy acquiescence in the "statu quo;" these are not its characteristics. Facts have to be faced, and "facts are stubborn things;" all things are undergoing a sifting process, and the why and the wherefore, consequences and remedies, are being thrown into the crucible, whence we may hope that, with time and patience, the dross will be removed, and the true metal alone remain; the harvest is thrown upon the floor, from which we trust that the chaff will be blown away and the good grain alone abide.

Few facts are more incontestably established, or more sorrowfully admitted by observing and thinking people than that, in this highly favoured Christian country, there is a surging and fermenting mass of iniquity—multitudes of men and women living either in utter ignorance or total disregard of the purpose of their Creation and Redemption, whom neither the clergy of the Church of England, nor the ministers of any of the denominations have hitherto been able to reach, and for whom it would be idle to hope that a sufficiently numerous priesthood or ministry can ever be provided. Here, then, is a great and pressing need, for which it is my duty to suggest one means of supply. I will endeavour to show that there is good reason to hope that "Lay Co-operation in the work of the Church," effectually stimulated and rightly applied, would go far towards meeting the demand.

I am permitted to address you this evening as chairman of the Committee of the Association of Lay Helpers for the Diocese of London, and I think that I cannot better employ the time allotted to me than in giving some particulars of the principles and work of that Association.

It originated from a Report of a sub-committee of the Bishop of London's Fund on Lay Agency, dated the 15th May, 1865. Its organisation is founded on the principle that the Laity are an integral part of the Church, and it has, therefore, been framed on a plan co-ordinate with the ecclesiastical administration of the Diocese. The Bishop at the head, then the Rural Deans, the Incumbents, a committee of Clergy and Laity, appointed by the Bishop; district secretaries, appointed by the committee; and parochial correspondents, appointed by the Incumbents.

The object is, first, to stimulate, and secondly, to organise the Lay Religious work of the Diocese. The Association claims to be the direct organ of the Bishop in carrying out the Lay department of the work of the Church. The conception of a Diocese, on which the Association

is founded, may be compared to a series of concentric circles, of which the Bishop is the centre, the visible type of the invisible Head of the Church; next in order comes the Priesthood, and then the Deacons, the three regular orders of the Catholic Church; after, come the newly revived Lay readers, then the other Lay helpers, and, finally, the whole body of the faithful. Following out this idea, we see the Bishop at once the head and the heart of the Diocese; from him flow out the pulses of spiritual life through all orders and degrees of the Church, and to him they return. We see the Church an organic, ever growing body, absorbing and assimilating the various elements of life which lie around.

All the members of the Association (males only are eligible), are admitted by the Bishop on the nomination of an Incumbent, or of two Lay members.

And now, three things may be specially noticed—

1. That the being enrolled amongst the Lay helpers of our Association involves no additional obligation on those who were before working for the Church.

2. That any male is eligible who (being a communicant) will undertake to give a definite portion of his time, gratuitously and regularly, to some good work in connection with the Church.

3. That there is no annual or other subscription payable by members.

Lay Readers.

It may be remembered that on Ascension Day, 1866, the Archbishops and Bishops, assembled at Lambeth, unanimously agreed to institute, or rather to revive, the office of Reader in the Church of England. This office is of great antiquity in the Church; it may be traced back to the third century. It was one of several supplementary Orders added in very early times to the three Apostolic Orders of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon. In some Churches we read of only one such order; the Apostolic Canons speak of three; other Canons mention five. The main object of a Reader's ministry was to read the Holy Scriptures in Church; he was not in Holy Orders, though he was admitted to his office, as now, by prayer and the blessing of the Bishop. The words of admission in use in the primitive Church, as recorded at the Council of Carthage, A.D. 252, are "Take this Book, and be thou a Reader of the Word of God, which office, if thou shalt faithfully and profitably perform, thou shalt have part with those that minister in the Word of God." These words differ but little from those now used in the Diocese of London.

That it was not intended at the Reformation to abolish all minor offices in the Church of England, appears from the fact that in 1549 the revisors of the Ordinal were authorised to prepare "a form and manner of making and consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and *other ministers* of the Church," and although no provision was then made for continuing any of these lesser ministries, yet, ten years later, Readers were commissioned under the authority of two Archbishops and several Bishops.

At that period the available supply of ordained ministers was very small, and their place was temporarily supplied by these Readers, who

were allowed a maintenance out of the income of the living. It was their duty to read the morning and evening prayers and the Homilies, but they were forbidden to "minister the sacraments," or to "preach or interpret," and they were required to "give place" to any "learned minister" who might afterwards be appointed to the parish.

It has been reserved for the Anglican Church to revive this office, not as a temporary expedient, but as a regular branch of her work, and she has not hesitated to extend the reader's commission to, not merely the "reading," but the explaining of Holy Scripture.

Our Lay readers are admitted by the Bishop by prayer and the delivery of the New Testament, without imposition of hands, the office is thus held by commission from the Bishop, and is revocable by him, either "ex mero motu," or at the written request of the Incumbent. The Reader exercises his office within the parish of the Incumbent who nominated him, or in any other parish within the Diocese at the written request of the Incumbent thereof. The office is unpaid, and the Commission sanctions the Reader's generally aiding the clergy in all ministrations not requiring Holy Orders, to read the lessons in Church, and to read and explain the Scriptures, or to hold services in rooms or in the open air.

It is submitted that it must be a source of great moral and spiritual strength to a man in whom the Holy Spirit has kindled a desire to tell others the "glad tidings," to feel that he is not taking upon himself an unauthorised office, but that he has been regularly admitted to take a part in the great Commission given to the whole Church, "go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."

There are two annual gatherings of the whole Association, one for religious, the other for business purposes.

The first is the annual Holy Communion at the Cathedral of the Diocese, for members of the Association only, held in the early morning on a week day, in May or June. On the evening of the same day it has been customary to hold another service in the Nave of Westminster Abbey for all Church workers in the Diocese (women as well as men). The Association is indebted to the Right Reverend the President of this Congress for having addressed them there, on the last occasion, in the month of June, the congregation (mostly Lay helpers) having numbered between 2,000 and 3,000. The other meeting is the annual one of the members for the presentation of the Report of the committee and other business. But an association comprehending the whole Diocese would be too impalpable a body for practical purposes, unless brought home to its members in their own neighbourhoods; to effect this object the committee arrange that in each Rural Deanery the district secretary should form the parochial correspondents into a local committee, and arrange regular meetings of the associates, each within his district. The rules they adopt are submitted to the committee, in order to secure general uniformity throughout the Diocese. These meetings are usually held about every second month, they consist of prayer, a paper on some useful subject, and discussion thereon.

The original idea of the Association was that it should be the means of transferring the superabundant Lay power from the richer and more highly educated parishes to the poorer parts of the Diocese, this however

was found less practicable than was at first supposed, and the Association in consequence confined its efforts to drawing out the Lay members of the Church to work each in his own neighbourhood, but it has by no means lost sight of the more destitute parts of the Diocese, which it is now endeavouring to help in the following way. There are many clergymen who willingly place a school-room at the disposal of a small body of Lay helpers, who undertake to go for a limited time, either on Sundays to hold a Sunday-school, or on a week night for an evening school or service; the head of this little Mission (under the Incumbent of the parish) is a Lay Reader. But it must not be imagined that the Association goes into a parish to "set it to rights," it strictly confines itself to its work of *help*, it goes to help the clergy; and in whatever way the clergyman wishes his work done, in that way he will find the Lay helpers willing to help him to do it. Another work of the Lay helper's Association is that of bringing young men, on their arrival in London, into connection with the clergy, introducing them to desirable companions, and encouraging them to undertake some Christian work.

The progress of the Association may be gathered from the following statement:—

Year.		Lay Helpers.		Lay Readers.
1867.	...	90	...	—
1868.	...	187	...	—
1869.	...	383	...	—
1870.	...	836	...	18
1871.	...	1,393	...	30
1872.	...	1,689	...	48

Our only tests are full communion with the Church of England, and a willingness to do something to advance God's kingdom upon earth.

And now let me say that I distinctly hold that every Lay man and woman is bound, is called, to devote some portion of the time which as a "talent" has been lent to him here upon earth, and for the use of which he must give account hereafter, to the glory of God and the benefit of his fellow creatures, some in one way, some in another. I need not remind a meeting like the present, a *Church* Congress, that the Bible teems with exhortations and injunctions *to all* to take part in such work from the time when Moses rejoiced over the Israelites prophesying in the camp to the mission of the seventy, nor that the duty has been recognised and acted upon in all ages of the Christian Church. For example; In the public Services of the Church—

1. Singing Hymns, and the former part of the Litany.
2. Chanting Psalms.
3. Reading the Lessons.
4. (In former times) Leading the Confession at Holy Communion.

In the Parish—

1. Superintending and teaching in Sunday-schools, and
2. Conducting Children's Services.
3. Bible Classes.
4. Evening Classes, and Night and Ragged Schools.
4. Visiting the poor at their homes.

6. Visiting Hospitals and Workhouses.
7. Conducting Services in Mission rooms and in the open air.
8. Distributing Tracts.
9. Reading and explaining Holy Scripture, as commissioned Scripture Readers.
10. Managing Working Men's Clubs and Youths' Institutes.
11. Penny Banks, and Clothing and Coal Clubs.
12. School and Parochial Libraries.
13. Collecting Funds for charitable purposes.

Here are amply sufficient kinds of work in which the "Co-operation" of Lay-workers may be well and most usefully employed in the "work of the Church."

It will not be denied that in very many places the clergy are too often called away from their more appropriate functions to do what might be done by Lay men and women, nor is it reasonable to expect that, at least in large and populous parishes, a number of Clergy can be provided sufficient to supply the spiritual wants of the people.

The Union and "Co-operation" of Clergy and Laity alone holds out a reasonable hope of anything like an adequate performance of this work, and in this Union and "Co-operation" will be found a strength and a power which it is of the utmost importance to encourage and promote by all legitimate means; the absence of it has proved in the past one of the weakest points in the organisation of the Church of England. I rejoice to believe that it is extending day by day, and that, in parishes where the right means are taken for stimulating and encouraging Lay help, that help is almost always to be had, that there is little danger of its overstepping its legitimate bounds, and that a signal blessing must result; but let us not rest satisfied until the parishes in which it is not largely employed shall become the few exceptions, and so may we present a more united, and therefore a stronger front in fighting our Lord's battles against the social, moral, and religious evils of the day.

I would here venture to name two necessary elements in the "Co-operation" which I advocate. First, there must be a willingness on the part of the Lay members of the Church to come to the relief of the Clergy in their work, they should *offer* their services, not wait to be asked, or as is too frequently the case, lay upon the Clergy the necessity of importuning them to take their part in the Church's work, and they should never think that in thus doing their duty to God, and to the Church of which they are members, they are conferring a personal obligation upon the clergyman with whom they work. Laymen should also remember that there must be limits to the exercise of their functions, which they should be careful not to overstep, indeed, they will find that, unless they set an example of *due* subordination, they will fail to obtain it from those to whom they are appointed to minister.

On the other hand the Clergy must make up their minds to *trust* those whose help they accept, and to receive them as "fellow labourers," not merely as individuals whom they employ to do part of their work, and with whose services they may dispense at their will, without ample assigned cause. We Laymen expect, in short, to be received by the clergy as "brethren beloved in the Lord."

And now, as growing old in Church work, let me claim the privilege of an elder in earnestly and affectionately inviting all young men present if there be any such, who have not yet undertaken such work, to do so without further delay—do "go in" for doing something useful according to their individual capacity—all can do something, all have some few half-hours during the week which they could devote to helping others and procuring a blessing for themselves. I have, in a former part of this paper, enumerated many kinds of work, which are generally recognised as being within the province of the Laity, and I have urged the pressing need there is for many more hearts, and heads, and hands, to do it—surely there is variety enough to suit almost every capacity. If you are not at the outset fitted to undertake the work of a Lay reader, or to conduct a School or a Mission Service, you might manage a Penny Bank. If you are not adapted to convey spiritual consolation to a sick or dying bed, you could undertake to collect subscriptions, or to distribute tracts. If your "talent" be not to superintend a Sunday-school, or to teach an upper class, you may have been gifted with a voice which would be valuable in a choir—or if a correct ear for music has been denied you, you might take part in the management of a parochial library, or of a coal fund, or clothing club—there is ample room for all, and a crying need of more help—will you give it? believe me, you will never regret it, but you *may* bitterly repent, perhaps when too late, having refused to listen to the appeals which are ever sounding in your ears and spread before your eyes—if you will but open your ears to hear, your eyes to see.

ADDRESS.

Mr. F. S. Powell, M.P., made the following address:—

It is impossible for me to present myself for a few moments to this great audience without feeling a deep and almost painful sense of the contrast between the magnificence of the subject, "Lay Co-operation in the Work of the Church," and the very narrow limits of time into which I am compelled to compress my remarks. I do not feel that I shall be doing justice to my own feelings if I were to pass over in silence the remarks made by the first speaker with reference to the presence of laymen in synods of the Church. Now I have great hesitation in expressing with confidence an opinion on so mighty a theme. But this has certainly occurred to my mind, when looking upon the records of the earliest ages of the Church, that in those days the message of the truth was conveyed first by our Saviour, then by the apostles, then by the disciples, then by the bishops and succeeding clergy, to an unbelieving world, sunk in every kind of misery and of mischief; and that as the ages rolled on, as culture extended, as religion leavened society, and the Roman Empire itself knelt before the Cross, the relations, so far as regarded the action of the church, between the laity and the clergy were in some sense, at any rate, modified. Certainly the layman has a right to speak in this nineteenth century of the Christian era with a manner, a language, and a tone to which the unbelieving Roman was not entitled, and which would have been presumptuous on the part of the philosophical Roman and the sceptical Greek. I passed some months in the course of last year in the United States, and I give my heartiest and warmest dissent from the opinion of the first speaker with reference to the Convention of the American Church. I was in the United States during those memorable meetings at

Baltimore, although not present at them. I conversed with bishops, clergy, and laymen, and theirs was one united voice, without a note of difference, that that had been truly a blessed meeting at Baltimore, and that in no sense was it more blessed, or more fruitful of good, than in the voice of the earnest laymen gathered from the Eastern and the Western States, from the Northern and the Southern States. North and South animated but a few years ago by hatred of each other, now joined together to further the work of their common Lord in that great Convention of the American Episcopal Church at Baltimore. And now, my Lord, I am bound to make this remark, because I speak as a witness, and am compelled to bear testimony: with reference to the co-operation of the laity and clergy and parochial co-operation, I desire that that should be not of a statutory and rigid and legal kind, but of an informal and consultative character. I do not believe myself that benefit will arise from councils which are the creature of Parliament. I am convinced you will find a difficulty in the threshold when you come to elect and constitute your constituencies, and I am perfectly certain that after your machinery shall have been set in motion, heartburnings innumerable will arise from the minority; a minority, be it noted, not formed in conversation, or the freedom of informal discussion, but a minority of a technical character; for the majority will be invested with certain rights and able to bear down, by rule of law, the will and desires of the minority. I, myself, believe you will not have weighty action, still less will you have sympathetic co-operation from the creation and action of such machinery. Well, then, now I wish to say a few words of practical counsel as regards the co-operation between the clergy and laity. I think there is one matter in which we of the laity have much to blame ourselves for, and that is the manner in which we have left financial arrangements in the hands of the clergy. I, for my part, am unable to see why it must be the function of the clergyman to pass weary days and toilsome weeks in begging from house to house for parochial works which are to benefit the laymen fully as much as the clergyman of the parish. I, myself, do not see any reason why the visit of the clergyman to the library or the counting-house ought in every instance to be associated in the minds of the laymen with the practical exhortation to the exercise of one particular Christian virtue. In this matter, at least, Nonconformists have set us a good example. Day after day do those who reside in the West-Riding receive visits from lay members of Nonconformist communities. Why do we not receive visits in a like spirit and like energy from Churchmen? I do hope that, in regard to this matter, the working-men and the middle classes will exert themselves. It is difficult for a rich man to beg, because the person on whom he calls will be likely to tell him that as he was so zealous, and has the money, he had better give it. But this is what working-men and middle classes in other communities do; and I do hope that some of the laymen, whom I now address, will arouse themselves in this matter, and relieve the clergyman from much wearying labour, and enable him to give his time to those terrible controversies, the result of the stirrings and strivings of the spirits of men of the present day, at one time taking the form of a cold and frigid scepticism, and at another time assuming the form of eccentric and dangerous credulity. Now the next point is one which I have much at heart, and that is education. I do not see why the parish school is to be the parson's school. I think the parish school is the school of the parishioners. It is the intention of our system that such should be the case. Each school has its committee, assisting the clergyman; but do the members of the committee always meet the clergyman in due season? Permit me to offer this suggestion, that not only should the committee meet the clergyman in the school of the parish, but that the church committees of every town should form one large and united committee, to further the cause of church work in the town. Now I am not going to say or to think an evil word or an evil thought respecting school board schools.

We hope the best from them, and we know that we have got the best ourselves to begin with. But I say you will have in the school boards a mighty machinery, and for my part I know of nothing which can be of equal force with that machinery, except the combined committees of our various schools. You will have in the school board schools admirable drill masters and admirable music masters. Each parish can maintain no such staff, but a united committee might, and I do not see why, if there are to be for the school board of Leeds, for example, as there is in London, first-class drill and music masters, a united committee in Halifax, Bradford, and Leeds, conducting the Church schools, should not have a sergeant equally learned in drill, and a master equally experienced in music. And now, my Lord, I believe my time has expired, and I will only say this, if the suggestions which I have made do not meet with a response in the minds of any whom I address, let that discontented person go to-morrow morning to his rector, and let him say, "I desire to co-operate with you. What dost thou wish me to do?" And then let the discontented man go out into the parish, and do the work which he is asked to do. When he has done it, then let him go back to the parson, and say, "I have done that which thou biddest me to do; give me another work;" and a third, a fourth, and fifth time, let the same message be delivered at the same house. Then, I will venture to say, a layman will know, as he has never known before, what are the difficulties of the clergyman; and the clergyman, on the other hand, will find out there is more in the layman than he knew of. More freshness, more vigour, more power and earnestness, will produce still more power and earnestness, and there will be in that happy parish, which possesses them, all that can demonstrate and prove the vitality of church work.

DISCUSSION.

Archdeacon Emery.

I am sure it must have been a very great delight to us all to have had the lay sermon we have just heard from Mr. Powell. If only laymen would act in the spirit of, and according to the example of, Mr. Powell, half, yea, nearly all the difficulties of the Church would be at an end, and this subject of lay co-operation in the Church might almost be dismissed from Congress. But, unhappily, at present such is not the case; and I can only hope, after what we have heard from Mr. Powell, that the laymen will well consider the advice of their brother layman, and take it. There is plenty of work for laymen in connection with parishes and combinations of parishes. Our churchwardens and sidesmen and others may form a voluntary parish council and greatly assist the temporal welfare and spiritual welfare of the parish. They can be, as Mr. Powell has said, collectors of money, and then we need not be called, as we are, clerical beggars. They may assist in Sunday-school teaching. How is it that, in this our Church of England, the teachers are mostly young people, whereas you may go into the Nonconformist schools and find middle-aged men and women teaching? They may help too as regards lay readers. The bishops, from the time of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, have been pressing this subject upon the laymen of England, who declare they wish to do spiritual work, and it is their own fault if they will not come forward to do it. We must be thankful, indeed, for what we have heard this evening of the progress of the movement in London. May every diocese in that respect imitate London, and have a large body of lay-readers and lay-helpers for church work. We have plenty of room also for laywomen. Let them assist as deaconesses, or bible women, or parochial women, or district visitors; there is plenty of work for them. I will merely say with respect to all parish work, and with respect to all combinations of parishes, that I should like to

form, both for the strengthening of the Church in its civil character and spiritual character, a combination of all the laymen and laywomen into some sort of society or guild. Although in many of our parishes we really have a good deal of lay-help, our lay-helpers are too much working as units, and one thing we Church of England people have to do is to gather our Church of England members into bodies to support and encourage each other. I wish now to pass on to a larger division of the subject, namely, that which has been spoken of by the Hon. Mr. Wood. I am not particular to-night to go into the subject of what really was the law of the Church in the beginning. In former Congresses I myself have read papers upon the subject, and there has been a great deal of literature since that time. My idea is we had better get to practical work. Fortunately for us, Mr. Wood, though he seemed at first to be going contrary to what some of us wish, at the end seemed exactly to wish to do what we are doing. For what are we doing at the present time? What has been done, I venture to say, is one of the fruits of Church Congresses during eight years. In all the dioceses of England, except eight, there are at the present time Church Conferences of clergy and laity. This increased communication between the clergy and laity, under the authority of the bishop, is scarcely known to the world, but I have just written down a list of all the dioceses of England, and marked them off. And I can speak really from authority, because in every diocese but three out of those at work, I have had correspondence upon this very subject. We have, as a result, actually advanced very far in the direction which Mr. Wood has said is so desirable. He goes, indeed, much further than I desired, but I am quite willing to go with him, for I have no fear of the laity and clergy being brought into conferences or working under the bishop. But he has gone further than all the conferences hitherto have gone; for he says that he believes it right even that questions of doctrine and ritual should be brought first of all before these conferences. Therefore, he goes further than those who seem in theory to oppose his view with respect to synods. Call them synods, or call them conferences, or anything else, of this I am perfectly convinced, that if only you can get bodies of representative men, clergy and laity, under the authority of the bishop, to discuss the important questions connected with the Church and the progress of religion in the different dioceses, we shall then not need really to discuss the theoretical question even of the best form of church synod, because those discussions in the conferences will gradually solve the various difficulties which now beset us. The Diocese of Bangor may be said to have been first with Church Conferences of laity and clergy under the bishop. Then succeeded my own diocese of Ely, or it may be Lichfield, for we ran neck and neck together, and since then other dioceses have followed our example. There was one curious result at Ely, and it is remarkable with reference to what Mr. Wood has suggested. Our bishop laid down, with the consent of the representative body of clergy, that we should keep our chapters, as clerical bodies, and our synods, as separate bodies from the conferences. But this remarkable result happened, that for the first two or three years the clergy met first, and then the clergy and laity together; but after a while it was found that it was far better as a rule to dispense with the body of clergy meeting by themselves, and, we determined henceforth generally to meet, clergy and laity, together. From that time to this, our deliberations—often of a very serious kind—have been altogether unanimous, or nearly so, and I am quite sure they have tended greatly to bring the clergy and laity together as spiritual men, as having each their part to do in promoting the welfare and extension of the Kingdom of Christ. Therefore, though this paper of Mr. Wood's, historically and theoretically, seems to differ from the views of many of us, practically his suggestion, that you should begin with conferences of the clergy and laity, allays and dissipates from my mind the difficulty which at first arose. What I urge is, don't be in too great a hurry about synods and legislative bodies, but let us try first a combination of clergy and laity.

Mr. J. Inskip.

It appears to me, in discussing this question, that we cannot overlook the fact that if the work of the Church is to be done at all, lay co-operation is necessary. And I say this, not so much, perhaps, on account of the greatness of the work as because of the constitution of the Church and the genius and spirit of Christianity. That spirit recognises no release from the solemn obligation to engage, as far as we can, in spreading the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ. Now, my Lord, the subject this evening appears to me to divide itself into—first, co-operation in the government of the Church; second, co-operation in the work of the Church. As far as I am concerned, I would gladly have passed over that question of co-operation in the authority or government of the Church, had it not been introduced. But we have been told this evening it is well for us to revert to first principles. I quite agree in the proposition, and would have preferred, therefore, had we been taken back to the principles laid down in the New Testament. I should have been better pleased if we had been taken over those ages in which we have uncertainties in our history, and diversities of opinion to that one sure Word which reveals to us the only infallible council. I make bold to say the only infallible council, because it was under the direct presidency of the Holy Spirit of God. The decision was dictated by that same Holy Spirit, and if I am told that the deliberations of that council concerned only the manner of doing things, I say it concerns our Christian liberty, and our most vital privileges which concerns the freedom from all obligation to go back to Jewish ceremonies, and rites, and superstitions; and it led to that glorious Epistle to the Galatians, which has laid upon us laymen, as well as upon the clergy, that solemn obligation to stand fast in the glorious liberty with which Christ Himself has made us free. But, my Lord, the consultation of the laity in the government of the Church is also an integral part of this Church of England. We have had our Convocation, which has represented, or professed to represent, the clergy; and we have had our House of Commons, which has represented the laity. We know that at the present time changes have taken place, which render it very difficult for questions relating to the Church and the government of the Church to receive their full and necessary share of attention, and I believe it is that difficulty which has suggested to many churchmen the necessity and propriety of some representative body. I would myself have avoided referring to one other subject, but it has been introduced; and I cannot, therefore, refrain from expressing my sympathy, and the sympathy of many of my brethren, with the disestablished Church of Ireland, and the efforts it is making to fulfil the most important function of the Christian laity, to stand fast in the liberty, and be firm in the good old paths of our Reformation truth. So much for the question of co-operation in the government of the Church. I would gladly have passed it, because I feel when we have masses of fellow-countrymen around us perishing for lack of knowledge, it ill becomes us to raise questions of authority and government, or to talk about jealousies and differences between clergy and laity. And when we come to the question of the work and service of the Church, I yield to no man in my respect for the office of the ordained ministers of the Gospel; but I do most emphatically claim, as a layman, to be free from all assertions of what are called to-night supernatural gifts. I say, without fear of contradiction, that, whenever God has given a man a supernatural power, He has given him the authority to prove and demonstrate that supernatural power before our natural senses. Then comes the question as to the work of the Church. It has been described this evening as carrying the Gospel to those who are perishing for lack of spiritual food, and when I speak of the work of the Church I cannot forget the part taken by laymen in carrying the Gospel to the poor, and assisting, so to speak, in the true spiritual work of the Church. In fact, my Lord, we want more and more of that spirit

which animated the Apostle Paul, who, when he heard the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ preached, was able to cast aside all questions as to the manner and motive in which it was preached, and said his cause of rejoicing was that it was preached at all. Let us recognise the work which is being carried on by others; and let us recognise the wisdom of encouraging the laymen of the Church of England to imitate the laymen of other communities. Amongst the destitute classes, rely upon it, there is much for us to do in the lanes, alleys, and byeways of our towns and villages, without raising any questions as to our right to enter churches, and without asking permission to interfere in the offices of our clergy. At the same time, while I say that I would not for a moment be thought to desire engaging in any work which would in any manner clash or interfere with the work of the clergy, I would not discourage for one moment any of my lay friends who, I know, are going about the country as members of the Church of England and other denominations, and carrying the Gospel of Jesus Christ into various parts of the land. But there is one difficulty, and I will speak freely respecting it. When we speak of lay co-operation, I feel we must have it in the real work of the Church, and not in the fancies of individual clergymen. I believe this is one of the causes which keep back so many laymen in the Church of England, which weakens the attachment of so many, and which has an effect also in weakening the foundations of the Church as an establishment. What I mean is that laymen are sometimes expected not to engage in the real work of the Church, but to carry out merely the whims and fancies which consist in the decorations of churches and things of that kind, without touching real spiritual work.

The Rev. W. Cadman, Rector of Holy Trinity, Marylebone.

My Lord,—There have been many things said to-night which I think must cause great joy and thankfulness to all of us. Some remarks have been made, in which we should not all agree. Concerning them some of us must say, "We have no such custom." But there have been other things on which there seems to be a very general, if not universal agreement. I have noticed this, that when we have been discussing theories there is a difference of opinion on matters of detail, as to this or that way of doing certain things, or as to this or that custom; but when we come to speak in this Congress of the necessity of doing the work of the Church, there seems to be a united feeling, for which I for one am very thankful. For, my Lord, there has been great progress in this matter. I am old enough to remember that when a layman, even under the direction of his clergyman, undertook cottage lectures in some hamlet, or in a wide-scattered parish, he was supposed by the orthodox Churchman of the place either to be a Dissenter or in the way of becoming one; and I have known instances where young men thus employed, if they intended to enter holy orders, have been cautioned against doing so lest the bishops should refuse to ordain them. We ought to be very thankful that all this has passed away, and that it is now universally acknowledged that a young man preparing for the ministry of the gospel cannot be better employed, cannot be making a better preparation for the efficiency of his future ministry, than when he is acting under the direction of his clergyman, either in addressing children in the Sunday-schools, or in addressing poor people that he may gather in houses or cottages, for the purpose, not only of reading, but of expounding to them the Word of God. As far as I have seen, and I have had a good deal to be thankful for because of lay-help, those young men, and other men who are not young, who come forward to help the clergyman in such works as these that I have mentioned, viz., Sunday-school work, cottage lectures, and so on, are men who, though

they may not have had any very extensive reading in theology, are men who understand the main truths which have been brought home to their own hearts. Out of their hearts they can speak, and when men speak from their hearts, as we all know, they speak to the hearts of those whom they address, and, therefore, they are the most suitable instruments for carrying out the work of the Church. I think some principles have been laid down which are of the very greatest importance. Such, for example, as these—that the clergy are not the Church, that every member of the Church has his peculiar office and work, that there is work suited for each, and that every one should be doing something. I will just touch upon the first of these. The clergy are not the Church. Well, then, the clergy alone are not responsible for the well-ordering and well-being of a parish. It has been too much the custom for the laity to blame the clergyman wrongly. Let him be blamed by all means if he deserve it; but let it be remembered that if there be a badly-ordered parish, where abound great ignorance, immorality, Sabbath-breaking, and drunkenness, laymen have something to do with it, and ought to have something to do with the effort to prevent it, as well as the clergyman. Having said a word to the laity, let me now say, with reference to the clergy, that we ought not to be jealous or suspicious of our laity when we call them forth for the work in which they are willing to help us. Let them have all the liberty which Christian men should have. Let them go forth in a spirit of prayer and determination to give the talents with which God has blessed them to the service of His Church. All cannot do the same work, all cannot be teachers in a Sunday-school, all are not qualified to take a cottage lecture, or even to manage the affairs of a penny bank; but it ought to be the determination of every one to do something for Christ, not, as it has been said, merely to please the whim of the clergyman, but for Christ's cause. Mark well, that when a man engages in any work, merely to please the clergyman, he may take offence either because of the imperfection of the clergyman or for other reasons; but if he be working for Christ, whether it be in conducting the secular or more spiritual matters of the parish, he has a principle which makes him move, not by impulse, but with that constraining love which makes him, like Antipas of old, a faithful witness for his Heavenly Master. I trust this work for Christ will be considered, therefore, a work for every day, so that every one may feel that if a day passes without his having done something for the moral and spiritual amelioration of those with whom he is connected, and without seeking to win souls to Christ, or to edify them if they are brought to Him, if he has not been doing or attempting something for Him on any given day of his life, that day is a day lost, and a day about which he cannot think with anything like confidence, when he remembers the account we must all of us one day render before the judgment seat of Christ. I will not refer to other matters further than this, let clergy and laity work for their Heavenly Master, work every day, and I believe many differences of opinion will soon pass away, especially if they work in a spirit of prayer. I have but one word more before my time is done. A disposition to condemn and separate from each other where there are differences of opinion on matters of detail, although the great principles of truth are alike fairly held, is fatal to co-operation of every kind. We must not suppose that if we cannot go thoroughly with each other in matters of opinion we therefore are to condemn each other. We must keep to the great principles of the truth of Christ. The details of those principles may differ. For example, with reference to the Athanasian Creed, which is my illustration for the moment. It is neither just nor right to condemn and anathematise as heretics men who question whether it is desirable for purposes of edification to recite that Creed a certain number of times every year. Men may question this, and yet be willing rather to give up their lives than to yield or deny the great doctrines of the ever-blessed Trinity, and the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. Let us

not excommunicate each other, but rather, speaking the truth in love, follow after the things with which one may edify another, remembering that it is only by union in truth and love that we can now go on working together as we ought for Christ.

The Rev. Prebendary Clark, Vicar of Taunton.

If I have ventured to ask leave to address the Congress on this subject it is because I have in my own parish both a parochial guild and council. But, before I refer to these subjects, I should like to make a few remarks on points which have already been brought before the meeting. I observe, on the part of a great many speakers here and elsewhere, a kind of assumption that the rights of the laity are always to be protected against what is called the clerical party. Now, I think it cannot be too widely known that the most strenuous forwarders of what is called the policy of the clerical party are frequently laymen. When I heard an allusion made just now to such a small matter as the decoration of churches, I was strongly reminded of the point to which I have referred. Now, I may be peculiarly constituted, I dare say, but it is true, although it may be my misfortune, that I might go into my own church ten times, unless some one directed my attention to it, without knowing whether the church was decorated or not. But, whenever the decorations have been in the church it has been invariably because the laity would give me no peace until they were there. And now, just one word with regard to this matter of Church Synods. When Mr. Inskip brought forward as a parallel the Council of Jerusalem, I suppose he did not mean that the authority of the Apostles depended upon the laity there assembled, because that Council differed *toto cœlo* from all other councils. Certainly the Apostles of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ had a direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which enabled them to teach without the consent of the elders or the brethren; and I must believe that the laity of Jerusalem, however respectable they may have been, or however highly educated or proficient in theology, had very small influence indeed upon the theology of the Epistle to the Galatians. I am sorry to say I must slightly disagree with Mr. Wood: in common with all, I am sure I listened to him with great thankfulness. No voice has vibrated with tones of greater truth and earnestness than his to-night. Therefore, if I take the liberty of dissenting from some things he said, it is not from any want of respect for himself. I think he has slightly confused this subject. I think he has slightly ignored the immense difference in our circumstances, and that of the times of which he spoke. In the very earliest days a Diocesan Council had always an Œcumenical Council to overrule its decisions, and we must admit that in the present day our laity are much better instructed in theological subjects. This is not the only oversight. Mr. Wood spoke of Synods as if there were only one kind. Now, the words Synod and Council, although they are sometimes dis-associated, mean exactly the same thing, Synod being the Greek, and Council the Latin. There are at least four kinds of councils, Œcumenical, General, Provincial, and Diocesan. I think you will find it confirmed by the best authorities that, with regard to doctrine, it was not merely that the laity were excluded from a vote on doctrines, but the priests themselves. No members of the clerical body had a vote on doctrinal subjects but the bishops, unless a bishop, being absent, chose to send his archdeacon or other clergy to represent him. Then, with regard to Diocesan Synods, not only were the clergy called, but the laity. If you will refer to the Councils of St. Cyprian, at Carthage, you will find that not only were the priests and deacons present, but the laymen also were in Church Convocation. If you refer to the authorities—such as Bishop Hefele and Van Espen—you will find the bishops desired their clergymen to bring with

them their laity of good character and conversation. Neither the clergy nor the laity had anything more than a consultative vote, in the Diocesan Synod; and the bishop, after hearing the opinion of the clergy and laity, decided what ought to be done, and of course, even what he decided was liable to be overruled by the Superior Council. If Mr. Wood had had these facts in his remembrance, I think he would have stated his principles in a slightly different form. And I must say that I consider those bishops who are calling their clergy and laity together, and allowing both of them to have a vote, according to orders, are acting, if not according to the letter, at least according to the spirit of ancient Diocesan Councils. With regard to the general subject of lay co-operation, we are, I presume, all agreed; but, we all find immense difficulty when we come to details and the application of principles. We are all agreed that the laity ought to have a voice in what is done in the Church, and I am a little afraid not only that we agree in this, but that we are allowing the laity too much of a voice in the matter. I am sure the laity will forgive me if I say this. If the laity object to being snubbed, they also object to being patronised. For myself, I will neither snub nor patronise. When I hear it said "Why should not people have this or that kind of service in their churches if the congregation desire it?" I try to remind myself that we are not Congregationalists: that we are individual congregations and parishes in a diocese, and that the ruling body in the Church of England is not the laity, much as I value them, but the bishops. And, in regard to this question, what we have great need of, and I feel it more deeply every day, is not so much the formal assertion of the rights of the laity, but a louder proclamation of the authority of the bishops.

The Rev. John W. Marsh, Vicar of Bleasby.

About three years ago, a book called *The Church and the Age* was published. It has had a great circulation, and is of considerable value as endeavouring to show the adaptability of the Church to the wants of the age. In that book there is an essay on a subject very nearly akin to that which is now before us; and, as it was written by a layman, Professor Montagu Burrows, it is entitled to all the more attention. I only wish now to quote two short sentences from it: one is, that *the place of the laity in Church government is the great Church question of the day;* and the other, that in settling this question, *there is no time to lose.* That was three years ago, and I think we may say that, as this subject has taken a prominent place in three Church Congresses, it has been accepted as one, at any rate, of the great Church questions of the day. At one time it was thought that the clergy and laity moved in two parallel lines, and, therefore, could not meet in Church government. But matters are rapidly advancing towards a friendly co-operation even in Church government. A great movement is in progress, and it cannot be successfully opposed. What is wanted is, that the position of the clergy and laity shall be so clearly established that both may work together for the common good. The one point to which I wish to address myself to-night is, *the position of the Church layman in the parish.* In some parishes, if a layman were to ask, "What is my place in this parish?" he would be told by his clergyman, "Your place, sir, is in the congregation. It is mine to speak, and yours to listen and obey." As to the power and influence of laymen in Church matters, we are sometimes told that the laity in a parish are sufficiently represented by the churchwardens. But it so happens, that while the clergyman can appoint one of the churchwardens, there is no guarantee, whatever, that the other churchwarden shall even be a churchman, because he is elected by the ratepayers, who are not necessarily members of the Church of England. The position of the parish

churchwarden to the Church is similar to that of a member of the House of Commons to the Church; that is, he may or may not be a churchman, but, if once elected, he holds his position by law, whether he is an enemy or a friend to the Church. It seems desirable, therefore, that committees of Church laymen, distinct from the churchwardens, should be formed in every parish, but the plan which is to call them into existence needs much consideration. At one time I thought that this might be done through an Act of Parliament, but I now think that the dangers of action from that quarter are too great for us to welcome it. On the other hand, a great movement is already at work within the Church, by which lay co-operation is largely effected. If those, who have set on foot the great work of diocesan action, who have established diocesan conferences, arch-diaconal and ruri-decanal conferences, will endeavour to carry it one step further into parochial action, and then link those four agencies together, as part of one scheme, I believe, that as a Church, we shall be in a far more healthy state. Lay co-operation, in all parishes, would then lead up to lay co-operation in rural deaneries, and that to lay co-operation in archdeaconries, and that to lay co-operation in diocesan conferences, under the presidency of the bishop. The great hindrance to such a scheme is a very general fear, on the part of the clergy, that the laity would take too much upon themselves. But I do not think that we have any reason for this fear. I see, on the wall yonder, two mottoes, which we may adopt with advantage: one is, "In union is strength," and the other is, "Weave truth with trust." That is the very thing for us to do in this matter of lay co-operation. I have been told that, if such a plan as I have sketched were to be carried out, many clergymen would find themselves in a hornet's nest. But the hornet's nest theory may be met in two ways. First, by patience. If a parish Church committee consists of communicants elected by the congregation; and if co-operation with the clergyman in the Church work of the parish is the object of it, there ought to be, and, I believe, there would be, little difficulty in securing it, with patience. But if, after all, that patience fails all round, and they get to quarrelling, we must resort to the second remedy, and sorrowfully appeal to the bishop. But, for my own part, I do most honestly believe that there is no cause for alarm, and that such committees would generally result, not in weakness, but in strength. Instead of the terrible conflicts, which now bid fair to rend the Church in pieces, we should have a moderating influence from friendly discussion; we should have, not a shaking of fists, but a joining of hands; we should have, not hornets, but helpers; and the Church would be able better to enter on the great work which lies before her, and which was never greater than at the present moment.

Earl Nelson.

My Lord Bishop,—I did not intend to say anything upon this subject, but I was requested to do so, because there were no other lay cards at the present moment sent in. I hope, as the meeting lasts some time longer, that there will be some laymen following my example. But having been asked, I may say that I feel one part of this subject has been passed over; in other words, that the lay co-operation which I want to see for the real vitality of the Church though it has been very much talked about, has not yet been put into practice. I know that there are laymen of the working classes, as well as laymen of the middle classes and the upper, who are anxious to work for the Church in our parishes. I had a letter at the time that our Diocesan Synod was sitting, from a working man, in Salisbury, who told me, as a layman, how anxious he would be to work for the Church if there was an organised body to carry on the work. It was one of the subjects that we were discussing in our Congress.

He sent me a little pamphlet in defence of the Athanasian Creed, and also in the same form, a conversation between a Nonconformist and a Churchman, explaining the various services of the Church. I remember having been asked, by my own bishop, sometime ago, if I would allow him to nominate me as a lay reader. I should have had no objection, but I said I would not be nominated as a single person; but that if he would gather together persons of all the different grades of society, I would go with them to encourage them, but as the representative of one class I would not go. This is what I really want to see, and what we do not see. I will give you another example of our great lack of growth in this particular. At the time when we were electing, in our small country parish, laymen to represent us at the Synod, or Conference, I was most anxious that a layman and communicant, who was a higher class labourer, a most intelligent man, and a member of the choir, should be elected as a representative with me; but I found an insurmountable class objection on the part of the farmers' class. This is the kind of thing we want entirely to break down. Even in our Church Conference where the laity have been elected, and a great many most useful people of the middle classes have come forward, and are working, and are being worked much more than we were ever worked before, there is not a single representative of the class that I want to have represented. But there is not the slightest doubt that if we consider the condition of the agricultural labourer in the parts from which I come and where I live, it is necessary there should be some agency of the Church, under proper rules, to talk to him in his own way, and to understand the feelings of his heart on these matters. I am convinced we shall never really get the Nonconformists to join heartily with us unless we are able, as a church, to supply that want to the lower members of our flocks. They require some assistance from men in their own class in society, and we have at present entirely failed in getting that sort of lay co-operation. We talk about it, but we entirely fail in getting the description of men that the class leaders of the Nonconformists are taken from, and until we succeed in doing that, we shall not have done that great work which, I believe, is essential for the Church to perform in this matter. We must never be content with one class of the laity; some are willing enough, but others will not come forward at all unless there is an organised system—a sort of order of lay-workers to embrace all classes throughout the entire length of the diocese. This is a point our own Synod has passed a resolution in favour of, but although the resolution has been passed, very little action has been taken about it; and, if there is one thing more than another we must be careful about in these Congresses, it is not to consider that our talking about a thing is doing it. We have not yet touched the real root of the matter, for it will be nothing if we get one or two classes only to co-operate. We must get everyone to come in, for everyone is touched with the influence of God's Holy Spirit, with a desire to work for him; and unless the Church is prepared to embrace them all she will not thoroughly perform the work it is given us to do.

The Rev. P. Marshall, Rector of S. John Baptist, Manchester.

My Lord,—The subject of this evening's discussion has divided itself into two lines. First, the position of laymen in Synods, and second, the position and the work of laymen in the practical operations of the Church. The first and more exciting of these I take no notice of. The second point is, as to the position and the work of laymen in our parishes. To expound my theory upon this subject, I shall have to refer to the assertion which was made by a layman

on the subject of the supernatural. He seemed to my ears to deny the supernatural altogether. Now I will ask you, my Lord, to remember that not long ago was the Ember season, at which I believe your Lordship laid hands upon, and sent forth priests for the work of the Church of England, and when that was done, I believe it was in these solemn words, "Receive thou the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of His Holy Sacraments." Will your Lordship tell this layman whether this was a supernatural gift, or whether it was a lie? This is, to my mind, a clear definition of the supernatural gift of holy orders, and to understand its nature clearly is, I believe, absolutely necessary for a true and earnest co-operation of the clergy and the laity. If it be once clearly understood that there is a three-fold characteristic impressed upon the priest at ordination. (Cries of "Question.") I am speaking to the question, for I am speaking of those characteristics of the clergy, conferred upon them in the supernatural gift of ordination, a right understanding of which alone enables the clergy and laity to work heartily together. Once let the laity understand that there is this three-fold characteristic, the power of consecration, absolution, and benediction, that this is simply and solely belonging to the priesthood, and that all else in the work of the church is as much open to the laity as to the clergy, and then many of the miserable jealousies, which now exist, will be done away with. It is said, *e.g.*, often there is so much work for the clergy to do within their parishes, that their churches cannot be opened for daily prayers. Be it so; yet I cannot see why "daily prayers" should be omitted. With the exception of the absolution, I do not see why a few laymen should not meet in their parish church and say matins and evensong together. When I sent in my card this evening, however, it was because I had, in my own parish, a lay organisation, such as that which was desiderated by Archdeacon Emery. It is composed of upwards of 200 lay communicants, who are all engaged in some work or other in the parish and congregation, and they are organised on the basis of being communicants, and of united prayer with and for one another. The principle upon which the organisation is formed is, that any two or three laymen or laywomen may take up any work that they like in the parish, with the sanction of the parish priest; they draw up their own rules, organise their work in their own way, and, within certain wide lines, do almost as they like. This, I think, meets the requirements spoken of by Mr. Cadman; but I go further than he does. He says, in a sort of recommendatory way, it would be well to give the laity a large amount of freedom. I say, myself, if you are to have any work at all from the laity, not only it would be well to give, but you *must* give a large amount of freedom. I have never hesitated to give it, and the result has been energy and work; but it must, after all, be under the supreme direction of the parish priest. It is proverbial that councils of war never fight, and if clergy and laity, curates and district visitors meet together to discuss what is to be done, or not, no work would ever result from it. This supremacy I speak of is not one that can be conferred upon the priest by his bishop, by his living, by his license; none of these will make him supreme. This power is not of the order of the supernatural, but of the order of the natural. The priest of the parish to be supreme, must first be superior. I suppose that not even this layman would say that the clergy are inferior intellectually to laymen, and if they are not inferior intellectually then with their special education and special experience in their particular work, if they are not superior, the sooner they are supplanted by better men the better. It is not given, I grant, to every priest to be a supreme influence in his parish, by his intellectual superiority, or his administrative powers; but there is one way in which each parish priest may be superior, and that is in the life of sanctity. I hold that the priesthood, as an order, should live a higher life than those to whom they minister. If they

would draw up those around them they must bring themselves up to a higher level; and I can testify, myself, from what I have seen in parishes, where there was very small intellectual power, and little administrative ability, that the sanctity of holy and self-denying life has made a man supreme, and his superiority has made him powerful.

The Rev. R. C. Billing, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Louth.

My Lord,—I rise with great diffidence to address this Congress. Yet I am very glad you have called upon me at this present moment, for I should like to correct a misapprehension with regard to what fell from Mr. Inskip. I am not going to enter into a discussion of the grace of orders, but what he intended to say, as to the supernatural, was this: that when God granted supernatural power, He gave sign of its possession, of which we could take cognisance by our senses. In that remark he spoke what was according to truth, reason, and Scripture. But the subject we are discussing this evening is lay co-operation, and as I have been blessed with the co-operation, in my own present parish, of many godly and able laity, I should like to say a few words to the Congress as to the importance of such co-operation. Every Christian minister must desire to have the prayerful sympathy of the laity, and, I am sure, he will not have it until they are associated with him in spiritual work, and in the difficulties and labours of the Christian ministry. I am very glad there has been a great advance of opinion on the direct spiritual work in which the laity may engage during the last few years. I am very glad the tone of the speakers of the present Congress is different to what we have heard at preceding Congresses. Time was when the laity who were anxious to engage in spiritual work were voted altogether a bore, and as a sign of troublous times; and I am afraid there are still some old-fashioned clergymen who yawn in their easy chairs, after those good old days when the laity left all those matters alone. There are two ways in which these questions present themselves to my mind. In the first place, unless we are thinking of the co-operation of the laity with us in our spiritual work, we do not understand what should be the end of our ministry. I am sure of this. I should grow altogether downhearted if I did not find, as one result of the exercise of my ministry, men coming forward and saying, "Will you give us something to do for the Lord Jesus Christ, who loved us and redeemed us." I think we want to look to direct results from our ministry, and that direct result is the conversion of souls to Christ. When there is that there will be men and women coming forward and saying, "What wilt Thou have me to do," and they will be going to the clergyman to put them in the way of serving Him and His Church. Another point strikes me. We ought certainly three times in the course of the year, from our pulpits, clearly to say, as parochial clergymen, we will find any of our members work, whatever may be their position or station in life, if only they are prepared to do that work. I think if we thus address a godly layman we shall find that, if he is indeed a spiritually-minded man, he will be quite ready to take the work which his pastor may set him to. We may not possibly just at the first moment find a niche where he will be best placed, but we may start from this point:—There is a work for every one to do in the Christian Church, and, whatever the rank, station, or intellectual gifts of the man or woman may be, we are bound to find them the work; and there is something wrong in our parochial machinery if we cannot find them some work to do. With regard to the work of the laity in different parishes, there are none of us who have charge of small country parishes—those very desirable little livings of which we read such charming accounts in the *Ecclesiastical Gazette* every week—yet, something may be done by the clergymen of these parishes to help those who are not so

happily situated as they are. But with regard to those large scattered country parishes I am persuaded here is one of the weaknesses of the Church. There are in our large country parishes a great number of hamlets, and if you drive about amongst those parishes, as I drove not long ago, you find wherever there is a little hamlet there is a little Dissenting chapel. Now, why should not the clergy of the Church of England take a lesson from their Dissenting brethren in this respect, and put their little mission houses down in these hamlets, and send forth their godly laity, under their direction, to hold services there and gather in those sheep who are wandering for lack of pastoral care? Then, if we go from those large scattered country parishes to the town parishes, it is unnecessary for any one to speak of the necessity there is for lay co-operation. When souls are perishing for lack of knowledge it ought to be the great aim and end of the Christian minister to raise up those who would go forth, and follow them to their own haunts of vice, and bring them back as lost sheep to the Good Shepherd.*

Mr. Eugene Stock.

My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I sent up my name, because Lord Nelson said there was a lack of lay speakers. I wish merely to say one word upon one point. I believe I am, speaking generally, in tolerable accord with Mr. Inskip; but I should like to ask him one question with regard to the decoration of churches. Take the decoration of churches at its minimum. Every one in this hall is glad to see holly in the church at Christmas. Now, if a man goes into a church at Christmas time to help in putting up the holly, is it not better that he should do this in a devout spirit, as in God's service and the service of the church, than from any other motive? And if so, is not even *that* to be regarded as, in a sense, church work? Surely laymen's work, however humble it be—"even that of hewers of wood and drawers of water"—should be done to the glory of God. Let the ringers of bells in our churches be regarded as church workers; let the sextons, and the vergers, and the persons who put up holly, be regarded as church workers. Of course, these things are not comparable for a moment with the direct work of Christ. I should be the last man to think so. I have, myself, had the great privilege of engaging in the higher kinds of lay work, such as preaching in mission rooms. I have worked with Mr. Randolph Robinson on the Committee of the Diocesan Lay-helpers' Association in London. But let us not despise the humbler branches of lay-help; let us have charity, and regard everything in the right spirit, remembering the apostolic injunction—"Whether ye eat or drink, or whatever ye do"—even the decorating of churches—"do all to the glory of God."

The Rev. Canon Ryle, Rector of Stradbroke.

My Lord and Dear Friends,—The subject before us to-night is one in which I have so long taken a deep interest, that I am thankful it has been discussed, with whatever difference of opinion, in the course of this evening. It is a very healthy symptom in the state of our Church that the work of the laity, their place in the grand business of the Church of Christ, should have had so prominent a place in the proceedings of a great Congress like this. I

* The last portion of Mr. Billing's speech is suppressed by his desire. It contained a charge against an individual calculated to give pain, and which the speaker has since retracted, having ascertained that the statement was not true, and that he had been misinformed.

am old enough to remember the time when a Society, that has done great and good work for the Church of England, was first started. I allude to the Church Pastoral Aid Society. I had the pleasure of worshipping God in the Church to which the first grant of the Pastoral Aid Society was given. I can remember that one fault found with the Society at its first outset, was that it maintained the principle of employing lay-agents in doing the work of the Church of England. I remember that an outcry was raised against the Society on that very subject. I remember that many lifted up their hands in amazement, and said, "the Church is in danger." That cry has often been raised without cause. Whatever dangers may threaten the Church there is no danger from lay-agency. I rejoice to see at last the subject taken up by all schools of thought in England. However much we may disagree upon some points, we all agree that we do not want to exclude our lay-brethren from the work of the Church. We want them rather to work with us hand in hand, side by side, shoulder to shoulder. When I see all schools of thought taking up the subject as they do now, I thank God and take courage. Whatever men may say against lay-agency, the principle has been admitted. Just as the Italian astronomer said, when they compelled him upon his knees to deny the grand principle of his life, "It moves; it moves,"—so I say with the principle of lay-agency in the Church of England. There have been some things said in the free discussion which has taken place to-night, with which I honestly tell the Congress I cannot entirely agree. I will not go through them one by one. I am bound to say, with all respect to Mr. Wood, that I totally and entirely disagree with him as to what he said of the place of the laity in convocation. It is a tempting subject, and I should like to take it up now; but I have to read a paper to-morrow night, and then I hope to have my innings, and say what I can. The grand principle I stand upon in the matter to-night is this, that no church can ever be in a healthy condition which does not provide for the laity a great deal of work to do. The Church of Rome in all her action has given too much importance to the clergy and too little to the laity, and I hope we never shall go back again, in that respect, to the principles of the corrupt Church of Rome. But, whatever may be our theory, I fear we have often gone back in many respects in practice. Believe me, my friends, in too many cases we have dealt with the laity as if they were sleeping partners in a very shaky concern, with unlimited liability—a concern wherein they had nothing to do but pay up calls every now and then, pull out subscriptions, give their contributions, stand and deliver, and receive no dividends at all. It is high time this state of things should be changed, and I thank God that we are now discussing the subject how to find work for the laity. Out of this discussion I hope will come great principles: out of great principles I hope will come practical action. I subscribe to what has been said by many people, that if we only meet in these Congresses to enjoy the hospitality of kind people, to see each other face to face, to shake hands with old friends, to revive our old college stories,—if this is to be all the result of a Church Congress, it is better it should come to an end. We want work as the result of every Congress that is held. My principle is, "Do nothing without the laity." I have not the smallest objection myself to a layman doing almost everything that a clergyman does himself. In the Parish Church there are certain places I would not let a layman go to. I would keep him back from the font, and the Lord's table, from administering baptism, or the Lord's Supper. I would keep him back from the parish pulpit; I would let him gladly read the lessons, but I think all the other work should be left to the clergy. But outside of the Parish Church there is no spiritual work I would not gladly let a layman do. I am not afraid myself of the laity doing harm by preaching. Some people are afraid a layman would preach false doctrine. Well, we have had clergy enough preaching false doctrine. I think we need not be so dreadfully afraid, if a layman is moved to come forward to preach the Gospel, merely on

the voluntary principle, and for the love of souls, that he will be a likely man to preach heresy or false doctrine. I must, however, be allowed to say, glad as I am to see the spirit which has moved the laity, that when I see lay evangelists going up and down the country, I do wish that when they come to a parish where Christ's work is being faithfully carried on, they would, before they begin preaching in some room, call upon the clergyman and ask where, in that particular place, there is most opening for doing good to the souls of men. I cannot say much more: time will not allow me. Parochial councils, I think, in principle are right, but I would rather they grew up from within than be imposed by law from without. Before I sit down, however, I may be allowed to say that there is one class of men for whom I have the deepest sympathy in the present day, and whom the laity might help more than they do. They are the Bishops of the Church of England. There are no men who are worked so hard, and none so heartily abused. Whatever they do, five men are displeased where one is pleased. Now if we could give them a council of laymen to assist them in many of their difficulties—and advise them what is the best course to take, it might be a great help to the episcopal bench, and might lighten labours which are now almost too hard to be borne.

TUESDAY EVENING, 8th OCTOBER.

SECTIONAL MEETING.

The Right Reverend the Bishop of Hereford took the Chair at Seven o'clock.

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE.

Mr. G. Gilbert Scott, Jun., read the following paper:—

In the limited time which is very properly allowed to speakers upon these occasions, I shall confine myself to one division of the very large subject, which is to occupy our attention this evening.

I shall avoid all merely antiquarian discussion, nor do I propose to enter at all upon the subject of the restoration of ancient churches.

There is much that might be said of the irreparable destruction of ancient art, which is being effected every day under the name of restoration, but this is not the occasion.

In such a place as this, in one of the great centres of English industry, surrounded as we are, on every side by the business and toil of a great manufacturing town, it is natural to turn our thoughts to the new rather than to the old. It is the wants of our own day that are impressed most forcibly upon the mind, as we pass through the busy crowded streets, and it is to these, and to the means taken to supply them, that I wish to confine my remarks this evening.

I propose to speak of modern town churches.

Now, I think that every one will agree with me that our town churches, upon the whole, are not what they should be. We are said

to be a religious people; we are certainly a wealthy people. I suppose that there never was a Church which could compare, in the wealth of its members, with the Church of England. It is the Church of the wealthiest nation the world has ever seen, unless we should except Imperial Rome, and it is especially strong among the wealthier classes of the nation. No one, I think, would have supposed so, who, for the first time entered a modern English town and compared our civil buildings with our Churches.

How striking, from this point of view, is the contrast between the great manufacturing centres of mediæval industry, and those of our own country and our own day.

At Ghent, at Antwerp, or at Rouen, the Churches are on a scale unknown here. The only buildings, which we have, that can compare with them in any respect, are the works, not of our wealthy and prosperous days, but of times when England had but a scanty population, and was poor even among mediæval states.

With the single exception of St. Paul's Cathedral, commenced two centuries ago, and still, in a measure, incomplete, we have produced nothing which will compare with the works of our own forefathers, when England was comparatively poor. Still less can we show anything which can rival those magnificent works, erected in those cities which, in the middle ages, occupied the position which is now held by the great centres of English industry.

And in saying this I am not thinking chiefly of art or style. I am not objecting to the architecture of our churches, poor though it too generally is; what I find fault with is their pettiness. They do not befit their high uses. They do not occupy that position among the secular buildings of our cities, which they ought to. No one, I think, can deny this. In foreign towns the churches tower up above the surrounding houses, and seem to rule the city. And this is true, not of the great churches only, but of numbers in every large town, the ordinary parish churches, into which the general tourist but seldom enters. It is true, too, in the main, of the modern churches as well as of the ancient. The whole scale is large; no matter what the date or the style, the dimensions are always imposing. In Rouen, for example, I know of close upon twenty churches, every one of them larger than any church in Leeds.

The great fault of our town churches is that they are too small. If it were not for their little attenuated spires, competing feebly with the factory chimneys, you would not see them at all. But for these, you would scarcely know, when looking at a great English city from a distance, that it had a church in it. You would see the factories, you would see the railway stations, you would see the new hotels, but you would hardly see the churches.

The fact is that the churches which we build in our towns are founded, too generally upon the type of a mediæval village church.

Even so, if we followed the larger type of our village churches, there would be much less to complain of. Some of the great perpendicular churches of the eastern counties would not be out of proportion to our towns. But we do not get as far as that, our ordinary district church follows, in its dimensions, the average type of a mediæval village church,

it seldom rises much above it. It would even seem as if a small scale were considered proper for a church, for those new churches, which are actually of some fair size, are still planned upon the same model as the lesser ones. They have the look of small designs done large. There seems to be a want of stateliness and dignity, even where the actual scale would well admit of it, a sort of affectation of rural homeliness, like a suburban cottage orné.

Several causes have contributed to bring about this unsatisfactory state of things. For one thing, the mediæval town churches, which remain to us in England, are commonly small in scale, and much upon the same type as those erected in the country. They most frequently stand detached from the buildings of the surrounding streets, in churchyards of their own, thus imitating as far as possible the arrangements of the country churches. There are, of course, exceptions to this statement; at York, at Bristol, and at Norwich, there are many churches which are thoroughly town buildings, though even these are mostly small. But it cannot be doubted that the English custom of surrounding even the town churches with cemeteries, tended to make them resemble those of the country much more than is the case on the Continent, while their smallness is due to the fact, that every large town had, if not a Cathedral, some great monastic church, to which the parish churches were practically chapels of ease.

Thus, the small type of our modern town churches is to some extent due to tradition.

It was directly so, in the case of the London churches rebuilt after the Great Fire, and I fancy that this example had a good deal of influence when the present revival of Church building commenced. It is certainly much to be regretted, that after the Great Fire the city parishes were not grouped together, and a smaller number of churches erected, each upon a large scale. Not only should we, of this generation, have been spared the miserable (even if necessary) work of destroying churches and desecrating cemeteries, but the example then set would have told upon the present movement, and we should have seen a larger scale adopted from the first.

I cannot but think too, although it is almost heresy to say so in Leeds, that the sub division of parishes has been carried a great deal too far. We have pushed the parochial system to an extreme. Everywhere one sees little churches, little parsonages, little schools, where, to meet the real wants of the day, everything should be large. What we want are large churches, served by a numerous clergy, and not these miniature churches, each with its incumbent and perhaps a single curate, with which the Ecclesiastical Commission are providing our towns.

I do not think that among the causes of the present poor character of our town churches is to be included niggardliness. There is plenty of money and abundance of generosity. What has been done already—with all its faults, is proof of this. But such churches as we are commonly content with, are not calculated to excite enthusiasm or stimulate liberality. We forget for whom we are building, and lose ourselves in petty calculations of accommodation. A district of so many thousand souls requires a church of so many hundred sittings. The proportion—quaint as it sounds, of sittings to souls, is to be duly adjusted, and the

area of each sitting laid down in square feet and inches. Nothing really great can be done where such mean views prevail. If the Church is not viewed first of all, as God's house,—*domus mansionalis Dei*—the place where He is pleased to dwell, how can it excite the enthusiasm of Christian liberality. Experience has happily shown that the attempt to erect a church upon a scale not altogether unsuitable to its high purpose, never fails to meet with an abundance of support.

I think then that it is bad policy, in the endeavours that are being made to supply the wants of our great cities, to content ourselves with such small buildings as we are in the habit of erecting. Certainly if the object be to provide places in which, what are called respectable people, may pay their Sunday tribute to propriety, what we do is well enough. The district church matches excellently well the semi-detached villa. But if our object is to act upon the people at large, upon the artisans and mechanics, the labourers and the poor, who constitute the bulk of the nation, then we need quite another kind of building.

It is quite certain that men and women of different classes in society will never be brought to meet in the same church, unless there is, to put it plainly, plenty of elbow room.

In French and Belgian churches, it is common enough to see the poorest and the richest worshipping in the same church; you may see the beggar, the strolling musician, the working man in his blouse, and the fine lady, all assisting at the same mass, without the slightest inconvenience, simply because the church is large enough to give everyone plenty of room. It is only in large buildings that persons of all ranks can be brought together with mutual satisfaction. Small churches will always be—I am convinced, the monopoly of the respectable classes. Into these the people at large are at once too proud and too shy to intrude themselves. The contrast between English and foreign churches, in this respect, is most striking. Here, in England, unless you are the possessor of an appropriated seat, you feel yourself, on entering, a sort of out-cast, you stand forlorn, stared at by the habitués of the place, until some patronising seat-holder or kind official takes pity on you and shows you into a seat, from which you, in your turn, may regard at your ease, the more recent arrivals. In a French, a Belgian, or an Italian church the whole thing is quite different. There are no seats to be appropriated. There is a feeling of space and freedom about the place that is very delightful, after the little cramped buildings in which we worship here. The church, there, is a public place, where one man has just as much right as another, and until we can get that feeling about our own churches, our national Church will never be, in reality, the Church of the nation.

I am not asking that we should build upon the grand scale of the mediæval architects, although in so wealthy a country as our own is, we might well rival them, but let us at least build our churches on the scale of our own factories, our town halls, our railway stations. In the present day, we have such facilities for building on a large scale—facilities unknown to our ancestors, that we ought to have no difficulty in erecting churches imposing, at least, from their size. Let us have larger churches, even if we have fewer of them. A large parish, with a large church, served by a numerous staff of clergy, and fed by mission chapels, will be far more efficiently worked

than it can be upon the present system of sub-division into small districts.

We ought to sacrifice everything to size, and it ought especially to be kept in view, that it is the interior of a church which is the important thing, not the exterior. The exterior, however plain, is sure to have a certain dignity from its dimensions.

It must be our object then to practise every economy which will enable us to add to the dimensions of our churches. With this view, it will be well, in most cases, to take up as little street frontage as possible. The church may, therefore be so placed as to show only its western façade, and on this may be concentrated all the exterior enrichment, which funds allow of. This treatment is very general in Italian churches, and it seems exceedingly reasonable. The facade serves, as it were, to advertise the church.

In other cases, acting on the same principle, the tower alone may stand upon the street front, the church standing completely behind, and the principal entrance being through the tower. The funds which would otherwise be spent in acquiring a valuable street frontage, and in enriching the whole exterior design to suit such a position, will thus be available for adding to the general dimensions.

As regards the planning of our churches, we ought, I think, to feel perfectly free to follow simply and naturally our own requirements; we ought not to allow ourselves to be hampered even by mediæval precedents. We make a great mistake constantly in following too rigidly our middle age models, in laying out the plans of our churches. We do not sufficiently consider the causes which brought about the mediæval type of a parish church. The first original was almost always an aisle-less Norman church, containing a high altar, and possibly two side altars against the jambs of the chancel arch, which was generally narrow. In the 13th century came the great outburst of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and a Lady Chapel became necessary. To provide this an aisle was added—generally upon the south side. A little later the other aisle would be added, forming a chapel dedicated probably to the Patron Saint. It is rare to find both aisles of the same date, and in many cases the church never had but one. The aisles were, in fact, chapels, or naves to chapels. The French call them still the "little naves," *les petits nefs.* The great object, in fact, was to find room for as many altars as possible, and for this purpose to get as much east wall as might be. Transepts were introduced on this account rather than from symbolism. I know a very small church in Northamptonshire, with a nave of only two bays in length, which yet had six altars in a line right across the church, two in each transept, and two against the chancel screen.

The larger churches were perfect nests of chantry chapels. In some of the Cathedrals (Gloucester for example) we have three stories, so to speak, of chapels—the crypt, the church itself, and the triforium, all crowded with altars. In other great churches, as at St. Alban's Abbey, there were altars against the piers all down the nave, and in many German examples, not content with these, altars were placed in the nave aisles, facing eastward with their ends in contact with the walls. The choirs, too, had very frequently in front of the high altar, a second one at which the morning mass was said.

A mediæval church was, in fact, a cluster of chapels each partitioned off by screens, not differing in principle from the usual type of churches in Russia, where the chapels actually form distinct apartments, communicating with each other, only by doorways.

Now how perfectly different is all this from anything that we now require! A very little consideration will show how unreasonable it is to follow, for our own purposes, plans contrived for so different an use, and how entirely we are departing from the spirit of the old builders, in reproducing forms which have, for us, no meaning and no use.

This fact is further most strikingly enforced by the effect of almost any old church which has undergone, what is called, restoration, but what is in reality, adaptation to new requirements. The whole area, nave, aisles, transepts, chapels, all seated with open pews facing toward the chancel or the pulpit, produces a most unsatisfactory effect. The very irregularities of the plan which are so charming, when their purpose is seen, become blemishes and defects in the symmetry of the new arrangements. The pillars which once divided, most naturally, chapel from chapel, supporting the screens which enclosed them, now form merely obstructions to sight and sound, and cut most awkwardly and irregularly into the blocks of new pewing, orderly and monotonous as the lines in a copy book.

It is no use to ignore the fact that our requirements are not the same as those of our forefathers, and in reviving and developing their style of building let us look less to their forms and more to their principles. What we should aim at producing is, not buildings which, but for their inferiority, might be taken for works of the mediæval architects, but such churches as they might have built, for such purposes as ours, and with such appliances as we possess.

Our aim then being first of all size, the treatment of the design should be such that the shell of the building may be constructed at the smallest possible cost—consistently with sound and durable construction. It must be our object to postpone all decoration, that every penny may be spent upon strictly utilitarian work. The ornamentation of the fabric and the furniture of the church may safely be left to future liberality. The design must be such as will lend itself to these conditions. We must trust less to architectural detail and more to the work of the allied arts. How different from this is the usual course of proceeding. With but small funds to expend upon our churches, we do not concentrate that little upon some one leading point of the external or internal design, but we distribute it feebly all over the building—never rising into effective and striking elaboration, yet too timid to trust to a dignified simplicity. Nor are we architects wholly to blame for this. It is the taste of the public which is at fault. People like these dull mouldings, these window labels with inane little heads at the end of them, these foliaged capitals in lifeless imitation of ancient art, or poor caricature of nature: and all these things cost money, which might be far better spent. Most of the commonplace architectural features may be omitted altogether with great advantage, and others may be postponed. For example, it is very common to find in the churches of the Low Countries, the windows destitute of mullions or tracery, the glass being supported by the iron work alone. In many such cases, no doubt, the tracery

once existed and has been destroyed; but in others, I believe that it was in the first instance deliberately omitted with the intention of completing it window by window as funds allowed. Whether this be so or not, the system seems to me a good one. We are already habituated to it in the case of the stained glass. In the same way that we almost always postpone this very necessary portion of a mediæval design, so we may very well do by the stonework itself, saving thereby a very considerable sum, and enabling us to add to our dimensions. The tracery would then naturally be added with the stained glass, and there would be this further advantage, that the stained glass would come under the architect's direction, as naturally as the design of the traceries which are to support it, and a unity of effect would be gained, which we can never obtain while the stained glass is left to the caprice of the donors and their favourite glass painters.

Here, however, I may remark that, in my opinion, we make a great deal too much of stained glass, to the exclusion of the higher arts. Stained glass is, after all, essentially an architectural decoration, quite as much so as the traceries or the mouldings. It is simply the means by which an architect controls the lighting of his interior, distributing it according to the effect at which he is aiming, toning down the garishness of the cold daylight, and carrying the decoration of the wall spaces across the windows themselves. It is one of the arts of design, and not a fine art, and nothing is gained by the attempt to raise it above its true position. We might, with great advantage, spend less upon it, and more upon high class painting.

We have in England a really fine school of painters; and it seems absurd that we almost never employ them upon our churches, departing in this respect most widely from the practice of all past ages. The greatest works of all the great schools of art are those which adorned the buildings consecrated to religion. Perhaps the only exception is the English school. In the last century so little was done in the way of church building, and so mean was the view which men took of the House of God, that it is no wonder that our great school of painting has become exclusively secular. But there is no reason that it should continue so.

There is a school of painters among us who are exactly fitted to the work. To a power of expression, of a very high order, they unite a manner of design essentially decorative. They are inspired rather by the great Venetian school than by the Roman. They are pre-eminently colourists. Yet we never give these men an opportunity of showing what they can do in church work. The few of them who are ever employed upon our religious buildings are confined, by the fashion of the day, to work in stained glass alone; and though, of course, their work in glass is really great and valuable, and becomes better appreciated every day, yet we are wasting our resources sadly in putting them to such work. Were they only permitted to follow freely their own bent, they would fill our churches with great and noble works of permanent interest and value; and render them again what churches once were—a most effective means of refining and cultivating the people at large.

To sum up these few somewhat desultory remarks upon a great subject, let us aim at building our churches more in proportion to our

great civil and commercial erections. Let us regard our own wants, rather than precedent, and the spirit rather than the forms of our ancient models. A new style is no more required than is a new language, nor can we artificially produce the one any more than the other. Let us use what we already possess freely, to provide for and to express our own requirements, and to render our churches, in the best sense of the word, popular.

CHARACTER IN ARCHITECTURE CONSISTENT WITH ECONOMY.

Mr. J. P. Seddon read the following paper:—

The importance of ecclesiastical architecture is great, because, as stated recently by a distinguished prelate—the Bishop of Bath and Wells—if its character be debased, the character of religion is likely to become debased also. It has, however, a wider, if less exalted, claim to consideration from having acted as pioneer to the secular branches of the same art; which character it still maintains.

In this commercial age, the arts, generally, are valued less for their own sake than as safe investments, and yet, without them society would hardly be civilised. Architecture, as the least saleable commodity in the auction room, meets with least encouragement, and owes it mainly to the Church, its liberal patron, that its light has not been altogether hidden under a bushel.

During the last three centuries—the really dark ages in its history—art has become dissociated from daily life, degraded to the service of luxury, and its study a mere dilettanteism. The consequence is that the public have lost interest in it, and have now no conception of what architecture was when alive in the land, nor of what it might become again, as a means of diffusing happiness and health to the poor as well as to the rich.

We roam now in mute wonder amid the ruins of abbeys, as in the lovely dales of this county, and cannot realise that such graceful work was St. Bernard's notion of the ascetic, and was the simplest common-sense manner of carrying out the requirements of that time. Yet, then, not only were the castles of nobles, cathedrals, and town churches more richly wrought as befitted their less retired position, but the manors of the gentry, the houses of the burghers, and the cottages of the peasants, all in due subordination, were in complete harmony therewith.

It was fortunate that the Church was able to maintain, throughout that dreary period, so many of its priceless monuments, while even the memory of the charming contemporary domestic architecture almost perished. These monuments are, however, but solitary features now, in harsh contrast to the rest of our gloomy streets, and not as of old, the culminating points in scenes picturesque throughout.

Since the commencement of this century, there has been some stir among these dry bones, and we are beginning to perceive that there is

practical utility in art, and the Church has again taken the lead in the good work of reviving our old national style.

As to quantity, if not quality, of what has been wrought during the last seventy years, we have certainly cause for congratulation. In the aggregate number of buildings, this period might compare with any in history. Restoration has also, in the same time, nearly effaced the traces of decay which had overtaken those structures, which have been preserved to us as heirlooms of the past. While secular architecture has been, and is still floundering in a slough of eclecticism, the Church, after fair trial of various exotics, has frankly accepted the Gothic style, and, thus, with a definite aim before it, has since followed that out consistently.

Still no high standard of excellence, compared with that of ancient models, has yet been reached by the majority of modern efforts, of which it is that I speak. Even our costly and sumptuous works fall short of quite secondary performances of the middle ages. No distinctive character has been wrought out to meet the requirements of this time, and a spirit of copyism seems to paralyse originality. Many noble buildings, by a few leading architects of the day, enrich, it is true, this and many other localities; yet, such are but exceptions to the rule, the existence of which even the authors of those works would acknowledge.

No doubt it was well that, at first, practice should be founded upon the strictest antiquarian research, and that each step taken should be assured by reference to precedents; and it is this that has saved ecclesiastical architecture from the wild license into which the secular branches have fallen, to the grievous eclectic confusion of our streets. A time must come, however, and many are clamouring that it has come, when we should no longer walk in leading strings; and, it cannot be doubted, but that further advance is now urgently needed.

Yet we must be careful not to lose the standpoint we have gained, and should take heed that all movement be really progressive. No new style, though demanded by some whose names carry authority, is either necessary, or possible; literary men might as well ask for a new alphabet. Many ambitious attempts to graft sundry queer novelties into the architectural language bequeathed us by our forefathers, have been extinguished by ridicule, and the same fate may be predicted for their probable successors.

The stand point that we have attained is a fair acquaintance with the spirit of the Gothic style, as well as a tolerable familiarity with its details. We have, in fact, learned to read and spell this language, and the question now is, How, as authors, we ought to say that which is to be said in each particular case. Hitherto, it must be owned, we have generally been too much of copyists, and that, after the Chinese fashion, imitating even flaws. Our models having become reduced to mere empty shells, shorn of furniture and decoration, we have taken their poverty for purity, and their bareness for purposed design.

If we would sum up what has been effected, allowing for many admirable exceptions, we have but built a multitude of churches, the vast majority of which would be best described in the language of passports, as having naves ordinary, aisles ordinary, chancels ordinary, towers and spires most ordinary, and so on. We reckon up the capitals carved after every

plant in the hedgerows, the windows dyed with all tints both in and out of the rainbow, the marble shafts of pulpits and fonts, and the number of yards of encaustic pavements, as if a collection of things indifferent could make a satisfactory whole.

Perhaps, till we learn to measure art by merit, and not by superficies, it is as well that our church interiors have mostly bare walls and some plain glazing left. But it is sad to reflect that so many years of church building and restoration have done little towards raising up a school of decorative artists, that art workmen generally are a myth, and that an expenditure of millions has not given us as many more works of real high art than might be counted upon one's fingers. Now that funds are forthcoming for the decoration of St. Paul's Cathedral, a difficulty will no doubt be found to get hands to execute it, since our many able painters have, from sheer want of encouragement, devoted their energies to other branches of their art which seem absolutely to unfit them for this.

While speaking thus it would, however, be unjust not to mention the isolated example of eminent artists who have lent their great talents to this decorative work with more or less success, as Messrs. L'Estrange and Gambier Parry for the roof of Ely Cathedral; Dante Gabriel Rossetti, for the reredos of Llandaff Cathedral; and, in connection with Ford Madox Brown and E. Burne Jones, for the able glass paintings of Morris, Marshall, and Company; Mr. Leighton for the walls of Lyndhurst Church, and Messrs. Watts, Cave Thomas, and others elsewhere. In fact it is not lack of zeal on the part of artists that is in fault, for I have offers from some of eminence to execute decorative work almost gratuitously if they could get the chance, but rather of architects and employers who have not afforded them the desired opportunities.

Turning, however, to the few experiments which my limited opportunities have afforded me to put principles into practice, with painful consciousness of their openness to criticism, I proceed to explain what my views as to some of those principles are.

In the first place I think much greater scale than is usual seems needed for churches in large towns. It would be cheaper to build a few of noble size, rather than many inferior ones, and the former would be far more impressive. If churches are to maintain dignity as compared with secular buildings, they want greater height, having to stand beside many storied houses. As to area, too, they are now sadly pinched, and the sight of a congregation issuing in rain, donning cloaks, and unfurling umbrellas, while hustled out in a crowd, is ignominious. What it would be in case of fire can only be conceived. Ample space in the approaches, as common in German churches, would be at once a useful and dignified addition. Within doors it would be well that there should be room beyond what is occupied for seats and necessary for passages; and in churches, where all seats are free after a certain time, this open space would be a convenience for the congregation waiting permission to enter those seats. Vestries for clergy and choir should not be mere closets, and if at the western end, instead of, as usual, at the east, a more direct and wider processional path would be obtained.

A different arrangement of plan consequent upon change of ritual seems desirable in town and large churches, though, perhaps, for small country ones there is no such need. The division into nave and aisles

has lost its original use and significance, and the columns it entails cause inconvenience to many in a large congregation. The desirability that as many as possible should see the single altar, and that all should hear both service and sermon, calls for altered treatment of the body of such churches. I assume that the entire accommodation is on the ground floor, for although galleries could be treated, as in many German churches, with excellent architectural effect, they are quite inadmissible, as opposed to the proper idea of Anglican worship.

There are, however, limits to the size of the single unobstructed hall that would best meet these demands. Its width calls for corresponding height for the sake of proportion. This is a desideratum in towns, but costly, and as economy has usually to be studied it would necessitate sacrifice of other features as also in character of material. Brick, however, may well be used instead of stone, and ornament eschewed to gain that effect which scale alone can achieve. One rule of the Incorporated Church Building Society, which restricts the width of naves to 24 feet, would have to be honoured rather in the breach than the observance.

Modern science and appliances may well be called upon to do what has been done before, and precedents, if needed, are not far to seek. The Church at Temple Balsal, in Warwickshire, is a simple parallelogram, 93 feet by 30 feet internally. It is a fine specimen of early geometrical work, with but few features, but those treated nobly. The old Church, *quondam* Cathedral, of Llanbadern Vawr, near Aberystwith, has a simple aisleless cross plan, with each arm and central tower, 40 feet externally, and 32 feet between the walls. It is of the Lancet period, and its simplicity and grandeur are most striking. There was a church at Ghent, destroyed some years since, which was 167 feet long by 53 feet wide, and accommodated 1,500 persons on the floor. This was built by the Dominican Preaching Friars, and, though it consisted of a nave only, with chapels between the side buttresses, it was most imposing in effect. The Cathedral, at Gerona, described by Mr. Street, has a nave no less than 73 feet in width. This accommodates 2,200 persons on the floor, and the whole are within reach of the preacher's voice.

In England we have many churches of still larger area and capacity, though of more ordinary treatment. Among such are prominent, St. Botolph's, Boston; St. Michael's, Coventry; Holy Trinity, Hull; and St. Mary's, Nottingham. The largest of them all, however, is St. Nicholas', at Great Yarmouth, which may be cited as an example of grandeur in a parish Church, capable of holding a vast congregation, and also on account of the scale of some of its features. In it can be seated upwards of 4,000 persons, and upon occasions it has held on the floor between 5,000 and 6,000. All the aisles are about 40 feet wide, internally, and the arches between them and the transepts have spans nearly as great. Those who have seen the congregations that fill weekly the greater part of the vast area of this church know how inspiriting the sight is, and how suggestive of what might be done beyond the cramped dimensions of ordinary routine.

In another new church, which is in progress, dedicated to St. James, in the same town, I have endeavoured to follow, to a certain extent, the same type, with some modifications, to suit a very peculiar square

site and modern usage. The plan is a Greek cross, formed by the nave and chancel, with a transept, each 32 feet wide internally, with longitudinal aisles, 25 feet wide, completing the square. The only internal supports are the four columns of the Crux; 1,300 persons will be able to be seated on the floor, and it is obvious that, in a site that would admit of extension westward, the accommodation could be greatly increased with advantage to the design, and without surpassing the size convenient for hearing. To show how such works may be done by degrees, I may state that the chancel only as yet has been built, having its arch carried upon the two eastern columns, and with the side arches temporarily filled in; this small portion of the permanent structure is connected with a temporary iron one, that was previously on the site, and both together are now used for service. The same spirit which has animated the inhabitants of this comparatively poor town to undertake the restoration of their grand old Church of St. Nicholas, and to commence the erection of this new one upon such a scale, and to do the whole in the best manner, if but by slow degrees, might well be imitated in other richer and rising localities. Thus at length would be obtained buildings worthy the name of churches, although the funds forthcoming have been but small from the first, and have been spent as collected.

It seems hardly fair to restrict buildings within narrow limits at first, and thus to prevent their subsequent development. Yet to this, being the common practice, we owe that ordinary character of the majority of the churches, built in our towns and their suburbs, to which I have alluded. At the outset of an undertaking of this nature, the future, rather than the present, need should be considered; and, if the fulfilment of these be more than can be attempted, it is better to put up a mere temporary structure than to saddle posterity with one just too good to pull down, and yet too poor to give satisfaction to any one concerned.

Fourteen years ago, in conjunction with Mr. Prichard, of Llandaff, I designed a church for St. Andrew's district, Cardiff, which was an early experiment to work out an idea for a town church, with the nave a wide parallelogram, 95 feet by 32 feet, and aisles literally merely for passages to the seats, leaving the space for the congregation wholly unobstructed. This design, though accepted, was, from faintheartedness on the part of a few concerned, not realised, but the building, though modified from this, and spoilt, sufficiently explains the general character intended. Mr. Street has developed the same type on a still larger scale in his noble Church of All Saints, Clifton.

These instances may serve to show that it is practicable, in Gothic language, to meet very varied demands, and that it is by no means necessary to adhere strictly to old precedents in order to express what the church may require in any place or circumstances. At the same time also it may be borne in mind that even where the wants of the church have already been otherwise expressed in any place, it is quite possible to clothe the structure afresh and re-translate, at any rate, some of the features into Gothic.

This is a cheering thought, when we consider that many charming sites in this county and elsewhere are disfigured by Pagan barnlike churches of the last century, and nondescript Peel churches of the early part of this century. The ground plan of most of these is not

dissimilar from that suggested above, and they are more capable of being re-modelled satisfactorily than is often thought, and of producing in the process effects which would hardly perhaps be attempted in new buildings.

The churches, at Fishponds, near Bristol, and at Lacey Green, in Buckinghamshire, were of this character; the former being 40 feet wide internally, and the latter less. To both these structures I have added chancels, so as to allow of the future improvement of the naves, without altering their general arrangement. In another case of additions to a modern suburban church I have tried to give an apsidal termination of the chancel more dignity than usual, and at the same time more space for numerous communicants, by making it wider than the chancel itself, and nearly a complete polygon on plan. This enables each side to contain a larger traceried window than is possible in an ordinary apse, the cramped appearance of narrow windows in which detracts from the beauty of this otherwise charming feature.

All the churches of which I have spoken, however, must remain somewhat exceptional, the majority being of the usual cheaper class, which may, however, be redeemed from commonplace without additional cost. Instead of frittering away the means at command over the whole building, striving to make it in miniature complete at all points, effort should be concentrated upon some few good features. Individuality would thus be attained, and each church made specially interesting.

I can only touch further upon a few points connected with the treatment of such buildings, as instances in which the last suggestion may be carried out. Instead of making nave and chancel separate, and each too short for effect, one continuous roof, covering both, is preferable, and the very considerable sum that the arch and wall of division would cost, could be far more effectively spent upon an open screen, not of flimsy metal, but of wood, which might bear paintings, such as render many ancient ones in Norfolk rich treasures of art.

Towers and spires,—weaknesses of the age, without which no committee would think the most ordinary class of church complete,—were better omitted, unless worthier far than all save a score or so of the multitude, to compass which most modern churches have been starved in other respects. Built usually as mere ornaments, irrespective of bells, a good peal of which would rock one-half into ruins, they hardly rise above the adjoining roofs, and do not generally even clear the structure to which they are attached, so as, like old ones, to send forth all around the sound of their bells. Let us have towers, and spires too, when they can be really fine ones, well furnished with good bells; otherwise let us be content with more modest turrets, the best of their respective kinds.

Within the walls, in place of profusion of indifferent ornament, let each church be the shrine of some one jewel of art at least, that it might thus be worth the pilgrimage of those who now must seek such abroad. Not that churches should be turned into mere picture galleries or museums. I wish that they were made less so than they are by the enterprising so-called art manufacturers of the day; but they were once the Bibles of the poor, and their influence as such was great. It is a mistake to think that this office of theirs has been superseded,

although we have now the written Scriptures in every hand. The Church should make use of all means of driving home to the hearts of men the great truths it is commissioned to preach, and in art it might still find a most able assistant. But the art I mean is not the architectural millinery which is now too often made to stand duty for such.

To be plain, the general conception of church decoration of the present day is an erroneous one, and we have often reason to be thankful for the prudery which makes it a sin to look at it while we are assembled for prayers, and for the beadledom which prevents our doing so afterwards. Scant minutes only are fortunately allowed adventurous strangers to creep at close of service to peep through the chancel screen, if there be no distinction in point of design between the finery of tiles in the reredos and on the floor; or if it be but the glare of mosaic that has been substituted for the former.

The decoration of the church, if it is to teach, should be other than we usually find it. If its children ask for artistic bread, it is hard to give them fantastic diagrams of coloured stone instead. A better intellectual feast is needed than a bizarre medley of coloured bricks, or even a few panels of carving, with figures of the size and with the expression of dolls, smothered amid crocketted canopies, supported on twisted columns, and studded with agate balls.

If our church doors were not shut out of service time, what valuable aids to education might not their walls be made? We blame the poor for dulness of apprehension, but do little to enlighten them. Our own houses are closed to them, and the art provided for their cottages are but pot dogs and bad lithographs.

Suppose, however, our churches were common with drawing-rooms, stored with works of sacred art, leaving secular to grace museums; such might be studied, as no pictures now are, without the distraction caused by other objects competing with them for attention, and in peace and quietness. Surely here is an element of influence well worth cultivation.

Donors would be more ready to give, and more careful as to what they gave, if they thought their gifts would be looked at with other than sidelong repented glances. A higher style of art would be encouraged than the *tableaux de genre* which artists are now doomed to paint, since private houses alone receive their works. Art would be appreciated more than now, when it can only be seen by the public in monster collections, where the gilt frames jostle each other, and spectators are dazed by the crowd of incongruous objects; and people would find out that it had really a tale to tell them, and that that should be both worth telling and worthily told, the Church both could and should ensure.

The limited time at my disposal has prevented my doing more than touch, as it were at random, upon some of the numerous points relating to churches and ecclesiastical buildings generally upon which I had wished to enlarge; but I would remark with regard to temporary churches, which as I have said, should oftener take the place of indifferent permanent ones, the unsightly and rapidly perishable iron construction usually adopted for them, would be better superseded by the equally cheap and far more picturesque fashion of the old English timber construction with plaster panels; and within they might be

cheaply enough decorated in distemper colouring, and made the means of training our hands to this work, and experimenting as to effects for the buildings which are afterwards to take their place.

The practical questions of ventilation and warming of ecclesiastical buildings are quite as vital as those artistic ones of which alone I have spoken; for unless the bodies as well as the minds of the members of a congregation be maintained in comfortable and healthy condition, it is not possible that the services can be joined in with heart-felt worship.

I regret that some notes prepared on these subjects, with the assistance of Mr. John Barber, engineer of this town, must now be left unread, but as matters of importance to all churchmen they may still perhaps be laid before you through the medium of the press.

ADDRESS.

Mr. F. C. Penrose made the following address:—

The invitation which I have had the honour to receive of addressing you to-night, together with the intimation that St. Paul's Cathedral should be the subject of my address, assures me that the Cathedral of London is not wanting in interest here; yet I cannot but feel that I am addressing some whose sympathies are not in accordance with the architecture which we used to call Grecian, but for which Pagan is now the more fashionable designation. I do not admit that St. Paul's stands in need of any apology; but, I am nevertheless aware that in the present state of feeling in England on Church Architecture it would be hopeless to expect to create any interest on behalf of a cathedral merely on account of its merits as a classical work. For nearly three centuries, indeed, preceding the present time it was otherwise. It is a page in our history we cannot disown, and of which, I believe, we have no reason to be ashamed; but, I am not proposing to take up any of your time by entering into the "battle of the styles." I am no opponent of Gothic architecture, but an earnest admirer of its noble productions. My first studies were founded on the Gothic, although circumstances have placed me more immediately in connection with buildings of the classical style. I am as ready as any one to admit that if the question *now* were to build a new cathedral it would be undesirable to design it upon the model of St. Paul's; but, that is a very different thing from hesitating to ask you to recognise that it is a very noble structure, and among the foremost buildings of its class, and that at the time it was built no other style could have been successfully adopted. For, imagine a Gothic cathedral built in the time of Charles the Second! Look what a decadence there had been from the solemnity of Durham to the prettiness of St. George's, at Windsor, or Henry the Seventh's Chapel, at Westminster. The grandeur of King's College, Cambridge, is a unique example to the contrary, and this owes its effectiveness to the simplicity of its plan and purpose, and not to the detail of the architecture. This general degradation of the Gothic is perhaps still more remarkable in the later continental examples. I can scarcely, therefore, believe that I am addressing any one so strongly wedded to Gothic principles who would, supposing it were possible, be content to change Sir Christopher Wren's cathedral for such an one as could have been built in Tudor or Flamboyant Gothic, not to speak of two centuries of further degeneracy. But, besides this, St. Paul's has great and intrinsic merits of its own. There is no mediæval building in which the "lamp of sacrifice" is more evident in respect of solidity, of truth of material, and the

complete finish of the most remote and retired places; and scarcely more so in the variety of ornamental treatment. This is the more remarkable when we consider the character of the age in which St. Paul's was built, and must be looked for, I think, to a considerable extent in that of the man to whom we chiefly owe it. As respects his truth of construction, for instance, we know that Sir Christopher Wren must have seen in Paris, which was the only continental school he visited, colonnades with false architraves, that is to say, having openings spanned by flat combinations of arches, enabling the appearance of massive beams to be given with comparatively small stones; but, he repudiated any such expedients, and confined himself to such a scale in his columns and architraves as could be supplied by the Portland quarries in single stones. We know from the *Parentalia* at how great a sacrifice of his wish for a larger scale to his "order" this was done, and in the building itself we find its full confirmation. Besides, on national grounds, we may feel interest in a building which, above all others in England, has elicited the commendations of foreign critics, and is recognised as the most important structure of its day in this or any other country, and at the very least we have no reason to regret that we possess a first-class specimen of a type varied from that of our other cathedrals. The revival of mediæval art has originated, I believe, and lives on the reaction which it supplies to the vulgarities and common places which too often accompany modern civilisation; but this quality of contrast is becoming gradually weaker by the multiplication of reproductions, and especially as the favoured style becomes hackneyed into the service of the public-house and other buildings of ignoble or ordinary purpose; and it may be confidently anticipated that before many years are over such buildings as St. Paul's, which have a permanent character of nobility, will emerge from any comparative depreciation, and re-assert their true place. But I feel assured that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon this point, and that the Cathedral of London still retains a great amount of interest. During the earlier part of the year there has been much mention of St. Paul's in the London newspapers, and some divergency of views amongst members of the committee has been brought prominently into notice. Whatever temporary check this may have caused, I am confident that it will not hinder the work being prosecuted with energy. As, however, the end of the London season left several matters imperfectly settled, and the committee have not since met to put a finishing stroke on their arrangements, I am not in a position to say anything on their behalf; but must confine myself to an endeavour to explain the views which I hope to have an opportunity of advocating before the committee and to which I have been led, after a long and anxious study, of the building and its requirements. There were two types of classical architecture which were followed by the early Byzantine and Romanesque builders, and which still prescribed the ecclesiastical architecture of the Renaissance. For the change of feeling which led to the Renaissance was no destructive revolution, breaking off from all precedent, but came on by a gradual, although perhaps rather rapid transition, and was always conservative of principles whilst altering external forms. Of the two types to which I refer, one was the great columnar and trabeated Basilica or Court of Justice; and the other, the vast vaulted Hall of the Thermæ or Roman Baths. The Byzantine architects founded their work more especially upon the type of the Thermæ, and the Romanesque on that of the Basilicas. From the type of the Thermæ, however, as Professor Willis has shown, owing to its suitableness to vaulted structures, ultimately was developed our northern Gothic. It requires, however, to be theoretically analysed before we can easily see the resemblance; but in the case of the Italian Gothic, and especially that which remains in Rome itself—I refer particularly to the two churches of Sta. Maria del Popolo and Sta. Maria Sopra Minerva—this derivation from the Halls of the Thermæ is very distinct. Thus, at Rome this type was already recognised

when the rebuilding of St. Peter's became necessary, and this circumstance, together with the great massiveness of this type and its capacity for combination with a great cupola, which was to emulate or surpass the Pantheon, led to its being adopted by Bramante, who determined the architectural character of St. Peter's. For although the actual shape which we see is mainly Michael Angelo's, the general scope of what had been proposed, and even partially built by Bramante, was followed. The extraordinary reputation that St. Peter's obtained led to St. Paul's being based upon the same type; and it is not too much to say, that whilst it is at least as faithful to the spirit of the classical original, it is more ecclesiastical in its form and detail and more available for the services of our Church than the famous example on the banks of the Tiber. The subject then before us is to consider what style of embellishment is most adapted for such a building. It is, I think, obvious that a large and broad style of decoration can alone suit the massive architecture of St. Paul's, and that both on this and on the ground of the highest Christian usefulness, so much only of the symbolism which has become associated with ecclesiastical painting and sculpture should be introduced as may give a Christian character to the decoration, but not enough to fritter away the attention from greater and graver subjects; for the work to have any deep purpose must appeal to the myriads of London rather than the occasional visit of the archæologist, and it must, therefore, in its principal efforts at least be worked out in no unknown tongue, but in earnest and didactic simplicity. There is one enquiry which we are bound to enter upon, as having an important bearing on the subject—namely, what were the views of Sir Christopher Wren respecting the decoration of St. Paul's. Of this only some stepping stones, as it were, can be established, but they are very important. There can be little doubt but that, under the adverse circumstances under which the works upon the Cathedral were brought to an end in the times of Queen Anne, and especially of George the First, Sir Christopher Wren must have despaired of the embellishments being dealt with in any satisfactory manner, and during the latter years of the progress of the works was silent on this subject. All we know, therefore, are some of his earlier impulses fresh from his mind, but not clothed in such a practical dress as to enable us to carry them into effect without a complete and independent solution of the problem. I will now read you an extract from Wren's *Parentalia*, a work written by Sir Christopher Wren's son but not published even in *his* lifetime. He writes thus :—"In the aisles the lesser cupolas are both ways cut in semi-circular sections, and altogether make a graceful geometrical form, distinguished by circular wreaths, which is the horizontal section of the cupola, and the arches and wreaths being of stone, carved; the spandrils between are of sound brick, invested with stucco of cockleshell lime, and which, having large planes between the stone ribs, are capable of further ornaments of painting if required. The inside of the whole cupola is painted and richly decorated by an eminent English artist, Sir James Thornhill, containing in eight compartments the histories of St. Paul. In the crown of the vault, as in the Pantheon, is a circular opening, by which not only the lantern transmits light, but the inside ornaments of the painted and gilded cone display a new and agreeable scene.' That is in the text of the work as written by Sir Christopher Wren's son many years after his father's death; but the note is the cream of the matter. In the note we find the following information :—"The judgment of the surveyor was originally, instead of painting in the manner it is now performed, to have beautified the inside of the cupola with the more durable ornament of *Mosaic* work, as is nobly executed in the cupola of St. Peter's, in Rome, which strikes the eye of the beholder with a most magnificent and splendid appearance, and which, without the least decay of colours, is as lasting as marble or the building itself. For this purpose he had projected to have procured from Italy four of the most eminent artists in that profession. But as this art was a great novelty in

England, and not generally apprehended, it did not receive the encouragement it deserved. It was imagined, also, the expense would prove too great, and the time very long in the execution; but though these and all objections were fully answered, yet this excellent design was no further pursued. The painting and gilding of the architecture of the east end of the church, over the Communion Table, was intended only to serve the present occasion till such time as materials could have been procured for a magnificent design of an altar, consisting of four pillars wreathed of the richest Greek marbles, supporting a canopy hemispherical, with proper decorations of architecture and sculpture, for which the respective drawings and a model were prepared. Information and particular descriptions of certain blocks of marble were once sent to the Right Reverend Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, from a Levantine merchant in Holland, and communicated to the surveyor, but unluckily the colours and scantling did not answer his purpose, so it rested in expectance of a fitter opportunity; else probably this curious and stately design had been finished at the same time with the main fabric." The *Parentalia* was not published until 1750, and its author appears to have taken a more favourable view of Sir James Thornhill's performance in the cupola than is warranted by its conformity with Sir Christopher Wren's architecture. It is almost impossible to believe that Sir James Thornhill acted in concert with Wren, when painting the cupola of the dome All that can be stated with certainty is, that in the year 1711, and not long before Sir James Thornhill commenced his work, Sir Christopher Wren wrote despondingly about it. These are his words: "As for painting the cupola, your Lordships" (he is addressing the Archbishop and the Bishop of London) "know that it has been long in consideration; that I have no power left me concerning it, and that it is not resolved in what manner to do it, or whether at all." This was written in 1711, Sir Christopher then being eighty years old. All then that can be gleaned of his views are these—that as respects the east end he painted the apse in a temporary way to serve the present occasion, and would doubtless, if he had had the opportunity, have finished it more completely; that he desired to have had a magnificent altar piece, *i.e.*, some description of Baldachino, of choice marble; that as respects the roofs, he looked forward to the large surfaces of brick, covered with stucco, receiving further ornaments of painting; and finally, that the cupola should have been embellished with mosaic work, by Italian workmen, after the manner of St. Peter's. It is also clear, from some of the earliest representations, that a pavement, with patterns, and, doubtless, in coloured marble, formed part of the original design; but it was afterwards, with a comparatively small exception, executed in black and white. We are thus left, as I before observed, with certain extremely valuable stepping stones, but still with the whole problem unexplained, and we must look for guidance to other sources. There are, especially in Italy, many valuable examples to point out the proper decorative treatment of St. Paul's. Besides the vast and apposite instance of St. Peter's, much is to be gained from other examples. In Rome, for instance, there are the ancient Pantheon and Sta. Costanza; and at Ravenna, a most valuable one, though small, in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia. This latter, although somewhat debased, is yet truly classical, before the tradition of Roman art had died out or had been mixed up with the Eastern element, which shows itself in the buildings of Justinian's time in the same city. But even these latter, especially San Vitale, have very much more classical feeling than is found in the works of the same period at Constantinople, or even in the probably still older example of the Dome of the Rock, at Jerusalem. In addition to these ecclesiastical examples, there are important lessons to be derived from the remains of the decorations of some of the ancient vaults, of Imperial times, at Rome; and, although most of these are now very much perished, several were fortunately well engraved whilst they were fresh, and are even still better reflected to us in the decorative works of Raphael and Giulio Romano, in the Villa Madama, and elsewhere.

The subjects, of course, of these Roman decorations must be thoroughly and thoughtfully translated from their Pagan designation, to illustrate Christian thoughts; but this has been already done, both in the primitive Christian Basilicas and in the works of the earlier Renaissance. It is also not to be lost sight of, that in the present century the Germans have derived from the same source, and impressed upon the decorations of their churches, a very solemn and religious feeling. This is particularly the case in the Church of St. Boniface, at Munich. I do not, however, quote this example as a suitable model for St. Paul's, but as giving confidence that the desired end in not unattainable. For breadth and general treatment, however, there is no example so apposite as St. Peter's; but the actual decorations, although they breathe the greatness of Michael Angelo, yet were reserved for the later eclectic school to execute, and do not, by any means, come up to the ideal of the earlier Renaissance. Still, there is a grand simplicity of general effect obtained, and unless St. Paul's can reach a similar goal, it would be far better to leave it alone in its present black and grey dress. I do not, however, think there is any necessity for any such hesitation, and I venture to propose a scheme, which, I trust, will be found to be sufficiently rich for all requisite magnificence, and still have due reference to breadth of treatment. Of the arrangement of subjects, or iconography, as it is technically called, I propose to say a few words hereafter, but, firstly, of the general balance of effect. It is the result of many studies on paper and in models (I am sorry that I am unable, from their unwieldy nature, to bring before you the models), and also from comparison of many continental examples. The short statement of my proposal is to decorate the dome and the vaults richly, but to leave the general framework of the architecture for the most part plain stone. If, indeed, it were possible by a totally unexpected abundance of funds to replace the Portland stone of the interior with white marble that might be well, but I consider it by no means essential; and looking at practicable expedients, and with Aladdin's lamp and Fortunatus's purse equally out of the question, I consider that for the general framework the real stone, which has an excellent colour now that it is denuded of the paint with which it was formerly obscured, is better than painted marble, or any such combined appliance of paint, gilding, and veneers of marble, as would be practicable. This still leaves room for coloured or sculptured marbles in panels, and an enriched plinth and pavement. In respect of its ordinary material, St. Paul's has a great advantage over St. Peter's The general framework of the architecture there, and most of the enrichments, are of painted stucco. In St. Paul's, to the minutest flower it is carved stone. Above the Attic cornice throughout, I propose mosaic work, which would carry an uninterrupted line of decoration from end to end, and from north to south. The dome spandrils, enriched with mosaic pictures, would still further connect the vaults of the nave, choir, and transepts, whilst the great cupola on the one hand, and the eastern apse on the other, terminate in the chief features assigned to the vertical and horizontal lines of embellishment. As respects the general framework of the architecture, which I would, as I have said, retain as Portland stone, I make one exception, and that is in the apse, where it would be possible, without any disproportionate outlay, to substitute real marble for the painted marble which was introduced, under the direction of Sir Christopher Wren himself, "to serve the present occasion," as we are expressly told—namely, at the time of the restoration of Divine Service in the choir—long before the rest of the work was complete; but which was not intended to have come down to us in so imperfect a form. In this part the substitution of real marbles would be desirable and practicable; but, in general, I am convinced that the honest stone pillars will be better than any partial application of marble or gilding, neither will the elaborate work in the roofs necessitate any such treatment. I have seen a sufficient number of examples abroad finished very successfully in this manner to be able to form a strong opinion on this point, and in model have

worked out the question on St. Paul's itself; and from these I have come to the same conclusion—viz., that, as the building cannot be treated like St. Marc's at Venice, where almost all the surfaces were expressly designed for marble veneer or for mosaic, there is nothing to be gained; but, on the contrary, much to be lost, by attempting to conceal the stone framework with paint, or any other device. The example of St. Peter's points also in this direction, and it appears to be very nearly, if not exactly, what Sir Christopher Wren contemplated. We have seen by the quotation from the *Parentalia* already read that he advocated mosaic for the great cupola, and contemplated further ornaments of painting on the stucco surfaces of the vaults, and that he actually pointed out what he would have done in marble and gilding in the apse. On one point, indeed, of what is now proposed there is, I believe, an addition to his programme. There is no evidence to show that painted glass was thought of by him. But as this art had fallen so much into decline at the time of Sir Christopher Wren, he was certainly wise in not pressing it into his service. In considering the propriety of what has been done in this material in St. Paul's, and which was set on foot by the late Dean Milman, and those who acted with him, it is important that it should be understood that whilst it was considered proper, and even necessary, that some painted glass should enter into the scheme, yet that it should be confined within very narrow limits, and that, excepting for the windows at the ends of the four arms of the Cross, clear glass, capable of admitting unbroken sunbeams, is of the first necessity both for use and architectural effect. This restricts the number of windows to be filled with painted glass to about thirteen. About eight others might be so treated partially, but with a minimum of colour: but for the majority of the windows improved pattern glazing is alone requisite. If kept within those limits, I believe that painted glass may perform a valuable, but secondary part in the decoration. As respects the subjects to be introduced, of which the choice and proper execution is of extreme importance, it is obvious that they should follow and illustrate as much as possible the purpose of the building. For St. Paul's is peculiarly called upon to perform the highest function of a cathedral both in reminding a crowded city of the Daily Service of God, and in inviting vast congregations on suitable occasions so as to carry on the national and historic office of the St. Paul's Cross sermons. With this view the subjects treated should immediately appeal to the understanding, and the primary religious aspirations of the beholder. The main entrance, in future, will be by the western doors. There are already a series of marble bas-reliefs of Scripture subjects at that entrance co-temporary with the original building. These may very fitly be supplemented by bronze subjects on the doors themselves. Immediately above the entrance there is a cupola about forty feet in diameter. It is proposed that this cupola should be covered with mosaic, representing the Creation; but, above all, reminding us of the fall of the first Adam. The smaller and flatter domical spaces of the roof, which intervene between this and the great dome are ill fitted for subjects, but are well adapted for pattern decoration with emblems of an ecclesiastical character, which should be executed in mosaic. [The speaker here drew attention to a perspective drawing illustrative of the proposed treatment.] But, passing over these subordinate spaces, the spectator is reminded of the message of Salvation by the Prophets and Evangelists occupying the spandrils of the great dome, and beyond these again at the extreme east, the figure of our Lord in glory, the second Adam, pointing out the exact anti-type to the fall, which has been represented at the west end, finishes the whole scheme in this direction. The windows of the apse also help the story, being commemorative of those six all-important events combined in the verse of the litany, "By Thine Agony and bloody Sweat: By Thy Cross and Passion: By Thy precious Death and Burial: By Thy glorious Resurrection, and Ascension: And by the coming of the Holy Ghost." On each side of the choir, by the sides of the windows, are proposed figures of

angels bearing the elements of the Passion, that is, the Cross, the Scourge, the Crown of Thorns, &c. At the extremity of the choir, but considerably in advance of the apse, is proposed the altarpiece intended by Sir Christopher Wren, which has already been mentioned in the quotation from the *Parentalia.* The windows at the end of the transepts offer themselves for subjects, taken from the life of St. Paul, in unison with the great west window, already filled with a painting of his conversion. Besides these works above the cornice of the central and principal aisle there are panels by the sides of the windows in the side aisles, and others in the side chapels towards the west, nearly forty in number in all, which admit of historical subjects; those in the nave and transepts from the Old Testament; those in the choir from the New Testament, whilst the panels of the western chapels might be partly devoted to more recent ecclesiastical history. But the great point and key to the whole building is the dome, and here, immediately above the heads of the great congregation, should be represented with all the rich but sober brilliancy that gold and mosaic can impart the Heavenly Jerusalem. The portion immediately above the whispering gallery, together with the drum and the windows which light the centre of the Cathedral is intended to be plain, or only so much embellished with gold and pattern work as may prevent the interval between the painted subjects of the spandrils and those of the cupola from being too much marked. In the cupola itself, taking the *Te Deum* as the text for the design, the subjects are divided into three distinct horizontal bands; but also conforming vertically to the eight great arches of the dome. Firstly, four of the eight compartments of the lowest tier of subjects are occupied by the Apostles in groups of three each, placed towards the north-west, north-east, south-west, and south-east, seated as judging the twelve tribes of Israel; whilst in the four compartments towards the cardinal points are portrayed the Prophets and Martyrs, and "the Holy Church throughout all the world." In the middle tier of subjects are the Angels, Cherubim and Seraphim, and the powers of the Heavens, represented by Angels bearing the signs of the sun, planets, stars, &c. These, with the triumph of the Cross, and of the Lamb. The last two subjects being in accordance with the inscription below the cupola, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom," occupy the middle eight compartments. The upper row is a continuous ring of angels and blessed spirits, playing on various instruments of music, or chanting "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth." The interior of the cone above the cupola is intended to add to the fulness of the general effect, and to be also covered with mosaic, having gold stars on a blue ground. That is the general scheme, and, as I am warned that my time has expired, I will conclude by expressing the hope that the completion of St. Paul's, by whomsoever and in whatever manner carried out, may not disappoint the interest which the proposal has evoked; but may, whilst adding dignity to the building, perform a still more important office in lending some aid, however weak such external aid must necessarily be, to its usefulnesss as a church, and, above all, may contribute something to the honour of Almighty God.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. J. P. Micklethwaite.

Passing over details, I heartily agree with all that Mr. Scott has told us, except that this is not the place to talk about old churches. There are more old churches in England than new ones, and surely the old are at least as interesting and as worthy of consideration as the new; and I think their proper treatment is a most fitting subject for discussion in such an assembly as this.

I fear few of us ever consider what is the value of our old churches. They are so numerous that we are apt to look upon them as common-place, ordinary sort of things, and to treat them with no more care or respect than if they were being turned out by fifty a month from a Birmingham factory. Whereas really there is no more precious or irreplaceable object in the world than a genuine old English parish church. It is generally the oldest thing in the parish, and even where it is not, the church surpasses all other remains of antiquity, in that it still *lives*, whilst they are but the lifeless relics of a state of society and of manners with which we have now little in common and little sympathy. To the church men still go for worship and for the sacraments, exactly as they did when it was first built, it may be a thousand years ago. All sorts of changes have taken place around it; generation after generation has passed away, and probably everything connected with them, except this old church, which was common to them all. And of all of them the church has memories which it can relate to those who understand its language. This one added a tower or a chapel; this rebuilt the chancel; another adorned it with paintings or added furniture; whilst of others we have less pleasing records in the scars which tell of the mischief which they did. Every generation has left something to the old church, even if it be only its tombstones, and every feature in the church is a valuable historical document, which once destroyed can never be replaced. Now, there is an abominable process called "restoration," which, as usually interpreted, means the deliberate destruction of all those old memories, the taking away of all appearance of antiquity from the church, and making it look as much like a new building as possible. I hate the very word "restoration," and never use it in a good sense. The word has itself been the cause of incalculable destruction. Restore! You cannot restore. If a thing is gone it is gone, and you might as well attempt to call back last week as to restore it. Even allowing that your "restoration" is all that you can claim for it, namely, an accurate representation of something which once was there, what is it but a modern sham? And if it is accurate it almost necessarily follows that you destroyed the real old thing to make room for it. Do not understand me to wish all old churches to be preserved exactly as they are, and simply protected from further injury and decay. If they were the dead relics of which I have spoken, that would be the proper treatment of them, but as we still use the churches, our special requirements need to be met just as much as our fathers' did, and we have an equal right to add our chapter to the history. Your church is dilapidated and inconveniently arranged. By all means repair it and put in convenient arrangements, only in so doing do treat the old building with that respectful consideration which it deserves. If you had an aged mother who was ill, you would not set to work to "restore" her by tearing out her grey hairs and giving her a juvenile wig, and by rasping the skin off her face to get rid of the wrinkles. No. You would endeavour of a feeble old lady to make a healthy old lady. And so do with the church. Of a ruinous old church make a substantial old church—a repaired church ought not to look like a new building just imported from the thirteenth century; it should look like a building which has stood ever since the thirteenth century, and has passed through all the changes and chances of this mortal life, from that time to the present. The first step towards learning how to treat an old building is to get rid of this notion of "restoration"—the notion that you can bring it back to its original design. As a matter of fact, there is not one old church in a hundred which has an original design. They are generally the result, not of single efforts, but of gradual growth, and often contain features separated in time by three or four centuries, yet each equally original and equally entitled to respect. Most men are now more or less ready to grant the value of work done before the year 1500, although, I believe, there are still some who would pull down good, genuine "perpendicular" to make way for sham

"early English." But why should this year 1500 be fixed? Why is English history supposed to end with the fifteenth century? The events of the sixteenth and seventeenth have had more influence on our Church than those of any other two centuries since her foundation, then why should we try to remove every trace of them from the fabric? You will say that the additions of those times are inconvenient and unsightly. But, really this is true of very little more than the pews and the galleries, and not always even of them, whilst many of the works of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, notably the pulpits, are not only admirably suited to our present purposes but æsthetically much superior to the barbarous modern "Gothic" affairs, to make way for which they are often destroyed. If you wish to shew your zeal for the adornment of the sanctuary, do it by addition. Put in as much as you like—not sham antiques—but the best you can, whatever it may be, and posterity will thank you for it. But take nothing out except what is either unfit to be in a church at all, or interferes with the practical use of the building; and sometimes it is even desirable to put up with a trifling inconvenience in order to preserve a feature of interest. If any of you happen to know the scheme proposed by me some time ago for the fitting up of St. Paul's Cathedral, you will remember that it differs from that upon which Mr. Penrose and the committee are engaged, by keeping to this principle. I would have nothing of Wren's altered or removed, but would put into the church whatever is wanted to suit our present requirements. Time will not allow me to enter into details, or I should like to have said something about the very common, but perfectly indefensible practice of destroying monuments and tombstones, which is not only an error of taste, but a breach of trust. I will, therefore, conclude by reminding you that the safe keeping of every old church lies with the parishioners and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Of course if alterations or repairs have to be made, it is important that the work should be entrusted to a competent architect. But be the architect never so good, he can do little without the assistance of the men on the spot. It is not sufficient that they should abstain from mischief—which they do not always do—we want their co-operation, for it constantly happens that when work is going on features of interest are brought to light, which are destroyed before ever the architect hears of them. Let me ask each of you, if your church is being what is called "restored," to watch over it, and use whatever interest you may have to prevent unnecessary destruction. And for yourselves do get rid of the pernicious notion that nothing can be "Ecclesiastical" unless it is "Gothic." Let me assure you that there is no necessary connection between pointed arches and the Athanasian Creed.

Mr. Beresford Hope, M.P.

I cannot enter at all upon the subject of my friend Mr. Penrose's paper for reasons which he will appreciate. The designs which he explained, no doubt very ably, are designs prepared under peculiar circumstances, to be submitted in a few weeks to a committee, of which I have the honour to be a member. I feel, therefore, that my duty to that committee, my duty to St. Paul's, and the personal affection which I feel for Mr. Penrose, compel me borrowing the words of a man, many of whose words I would not borrow, I mean Speaker Lenthall, to say that, until after that time I have neither eyes to see, nor ears to hear anything about the designs, except as the committee may direct me. But I can recall the attention of this meeting to the two very able papers we have heard from Mr. Scott and Mr. Seddon, and to the clever remarks of Mr. Micklethwaite. Having listened attentively to them, I cannot admit that there is any real discrepancy between their views, only they approach the

question from different sides, the two papers having dealt with the building of new, and the speaker with the restoration of old churches. As a veteran in this great fight of church building, I hail what we have heard to-day as a proof of the building up, in this church and country, of that science, which some of us, a few years ago, were laughed at for calling a science—the science of ecclesiology. It shows that the question of the building and the adaptation of churches, for the purpose of our reformed Catholic ritual, is a science, and not a mere matter of art—not a mere matter of fancy. The longer I live the more conservative I am with regard to old churches, and the more progressive with regard to new churches. I am able to accept nearly the entirety of Mr. Scott's and Mr. Seddon's papers—I do not adopt every turn of expression—but I can accept them in their general scope, and at the same time, I can heartily echo the warning with which Mr. Micklethwaite concluded his observations. In our old churches we cannot be too conservative of historical landmarks. There may be there many quaint inscriptions, many grotesque busts of periwigged justices of the peace, which mark epochs often of parochial, sometimes of English history. Of those we should be more conservative than we were twenty years ago. As to new churches, both the gentlemen who have addressed you, one of whom represents Gothic art in the second generation, and the other, Gothic art in the first generation, have impressed upon us the necessity of our town churches being minsters, rather than little imitations of country parish churches—that they should have breadth, height, grandeur, provision for large congregations and magnificent services, crowds of clergy, crowds of choristers, the whole municipality gathered together, as it were, as in the Basilicæ of old Rome, Constantinople, and Antioch, the capital cities of primitive Christendom, gathered together, as one people, for the great act of worship. Here, too, in this town of Leeds, I must pay a tribute to the architect, and to the vicar, who built your parish church in 1839. No doubt the church is heavy in its style; the galleries are not what we should tolerate now; the painted glass is not good. It is full of faults; but the whole thing is grand and impressive, and the man who conceived it got hold of the right idea of building a central church for the worship of a great town. Therefore, I assert that Leeds Parish Church, with all its faults, is in some main features an example for us to follow. It has things which more recent beautiful and "correct" churches have, by excessive refinement, missed. So much for the general principle. I will not say more about the question, because I am glad to have been forestalled by my friends; but I wish to put the matter before you in another light. Why are these old churches repaired and new churches built? In the one case, they are structures built for, and in the other, they are structures adapted to, the rites, according to a certain code—the Prayer Book—of the Church of England. I believe that not merely from the artistic side of the question, but from the religious standpoint, which ought to be the standpoint of a Church Congress, with a view to the spiritual edification of the flock, with a view to the building up of our most holy faith, in the hearts of all the people there is no instrument more potent, because no instrument more really blessed by God, than the creation of a means for carrying out that worship which the Church, as the interpreter of our Lord's mind, prescribes to us as our duty to God, and sure channel to us of grace. Why is the sentiment raised by a large church so grand? Mr. Scott truly said, because you can worship there, rich and poor together; because you are not elbowed out; because you do not feel yourself patronised and allowed on sufferance. That is true: but there is a higher reason than the feeling of human independence. If you go to a theatre or to any large assembly-room, you are simply availing yourself of what is generally only a luxury of this temporary life; but when you go to church, you are dealing with the necessities of the life everlasting. The life everlasting is opened out to you by the spiritual corporation to which, as churchmen, you have

given your allegiance as the channel of the means of grace. I appeal, therefore, to you whether Ecclesiology—the rule, that is, for providing the material appliances of worship—is not a science. It is an art also; but it is more than merely an art. It is one of those, I will not say means of, but aids to grace, which every rightly formed Christian community is bound, by the very charter of its existence, in the first place to recognise, then to study, and to analyse; and when it has studied and analysed them, then to carry out.

Rev. George Nash, Vicar of St. Michael's, Louth.

I must confess that I have already partly repented my presumption in venturing to come forward to make any observations this evening, especially in reference to the paper of so distinguished a man as Mr. Scott. To venture to differ from him upon any point, strictly belonging to architecture, at least as regards the science of architecture, I certainly would never dare; but on a matter, which is in no small degree a question of fact, I feel compelled to ask permission to make a few observations. I must venture to put in a few words in defence of our old English custom of having long benches or sittings, whatever they may be called, in parallel rows in our churches. It is a well known characteristic of our nation that we are rather too fond of drawing comparisons between ourselves and our own customs and habits, and those of other nations, to the advantage of the latter. It is a custom that, I think, is often carried to an extreme, and not unfrequently has led us, in many respects, to copy those things which are in themselves not desirable to copy, and not worthy of our imitation. There is one point which is certainly admitted by all persons, that when men assemble together for worship there must be sittings of some sort. All of our services recognise, and all Christian services, as far as I know, do recognise, that there are certain times when persons must have something to sit down upon; and when we hear a comparison drawn, with all the power of wit and sarcasm, between the open and free churches in foreign quarters, France especially, and our own hampered with oak benches, I think we are entitled to investigate how far this is really borne out by facts. My experience of foreign churches certainly is rather limited. It has been confined strictly to parish churches, and, as far as I know, we find generally rows of chairs in French churches, instead of our own oak benches, or whatever the material may be, I am happy to say, not pews, as they were formerly. I cannot perceive what is the great advantage of these rows of chairs, as compared with the seats in our churches. It is not in point of their being free, and of their not obstructing the motion of persons about the Church, for they are as secure in their places practically as our own. It is not in the fact that they are in any way protests against the selling of sittings in God's House, as is unfortunately the case in some of our pew-rented churches; because those chairs are sold, not from year to year, or quarter to quarter, but from service to service. Then as to architectural beauty, how far they correspond better than rows of oaken sittings, that is a matter upon which I do not venture to offer an opinion. I am not competent; but I will say this—in point of uniformity, they certainly have no advantage. To give a distinct instance of what I mean, I will refer to one particular church which is very accessible—the Church of Notre Dame de Calais. In that church you will find rows of chairs lashed to poles or bars, so as to attach the chairs of each row to each other. You will see some chairs with rush bottoms, and some handsome oak chairs with leather, some richly got up with gilding; and you will see on some of them the price marked—some two sous a service, some four sous a service, and others as high as a franc or a franc and a half. You will also see the name of Monsieur so and so, and Madame so and so, on the back of those

handsome chairs. Therefore, I cannot see how, in point of real openness and freedom, in point of absence of pew rents, they form any favourable contrast to our own ancient custom. I maintain that every country has its distinct nationality, which ought to be recognised both in churches and everywhere else. Some of the oldest samples probably which we have of our parish churches show us this custom of having oak benches instead of chairs, and I do not, as I have said, see any advantage in the latter. It may be said that the chairs do not form a part of the building, but can be removed at will, if at any time it be desired to clear the space of the church. But in this respect they have no advantage over the benches; for, in Leeds, you have a splendid example of a church seated with oak benches, every one of which is perfectly moveable—or was some years ago, when I left Leeds. I refer to the Church of St. John, Holbeck; every one of the seats in which were detached from the floor, and although it would require several men to carry one away, yet they could absolutely be removed from the church with no more difficulty than that arising from their weight.

Mr. C. Hodgson Fowler.

In the very admirable addresses of my friends Mr. Scott and Mr. Seddon, on the subject of churches, in which they have spoken so well of the advantage of large churches, unimpeded by many piers or blocks of stonework, in which I entirely agree with them, there is one thing which I think has been rather left out, or put on one side; that is the advantage in those large churches of having some place in the shape of an aisle rather cut off from the rest of the building. We have in all our large towns some churches where constant services are the rule, where the Blessed Sacrament is, if not daily, yet several times a week offered, and you will there find, if you have a very large church, how disadvantageous it is for small numbers to be distributed over a very large area. It is much better to have an aisle in which you can have a side altar, in which your daily service may be said. I very likely may be addressing many churchwardens who have, of course, to think of £ *s. d.* I would ask them to think of the cost of warming large churches every day in the week. But, take a small chapel—and several churches in the south have small chapels enclosed by screens—such chapels are warmed at comparatively little expense, and people can worship there in comfort. In the north of England, where I live, you cannot get people to church unless the church is warmed. You will, therefore, get your congregation together with comfort if you adopt this plan, and you will get a very much larger congregation than if you have to distribute them over the area of a very large, open church. One word as to the benches mentioned by a previous speaker. I think we are perhaps in danger of sometimes taking up with local or country traditions too much, and making little idols of them. In some cases benches are much better than chairs, and in others chairs are better than benches. I have built churches in mining villages, where the young fellows would take up the stones and throw them at your new church doors for a little Sunday amusement; there chairs would not do, because they would kick them to pieces. Then, it must be remembered, that in many countries abroad you find benches. Take Bavaria. Almost throughout Bavaria and the South of Germany you find magnificent oak benches, with brass on the top to prevent people wearing them out; and in the Tyrol, that perfect land of faith, they have benches not only bound with brass, but appropriated, and with most gorgeous coats of arms upon them. Indeed that is a country that wants the Free Church Association to deal with them, for I have seen old ladies there turn one another out of their pews, as they do in England.

The Bishop of Carlisle.

I think that I should not have risen this evening to take any part in this discussion had it not been for a few words which dropped from one of the readers of papers, Mr. Seddon, who, in enumerating the artists who had enriched our Church with painting in modern times, spoke of my dear old Cathedral of Ely, and of the magnificent painting there by Mr. Gambier Parry. No one can admire the painting of Mr. Gambier Parry more than I do myself; and, I may say, to a certain extent the Church is indebted to me for these paintings, because I was the man who got Mr. Gambier Parry to paint. But I am quite certain that if he were present here this evening he would be distressed to find himself mentioned as the painter of the roof of Ely Cathedral. The design of that painting on the roof of the Cathedral, and half the execution of the work, in fact the whole conception of the work, was due, not to Mr. Gambier Parry, but to Mr. L'Estrange. I offer this correction, because Mr. Gambier Parry himself would be distressed that his name should be mentioned except in conjunction with that of Mr. L'Estrange. I may now, perhaps, offer one or two remarks congruous to the occasion which brings us together this evening. The speaker, who addressed you last, made a remark which rather anticipated something in my own mind. We are very much apt to imagine that "abroad" is a certain country over the channel, which has one language, one race of people, and one practice with regard to churches. Nothing can be more delusive; and, as was very well said by the gentleman who has sat down, even in the land which strikes everybody who goes through it for the religious character of the people—the Tyrol—you certainly find the most extraordinary instances of the love of pews which can be found all the world over. It was the parting remark of the gentleman to whom I have alluded that old ladies turned people out of their pews. I once not only saw one lady turn another out of a pew, but I saw a lady, she was not an old lady, in fact I do not suppose there are such things as old ladies, but she was what might be called a middle-aged female; she had had enough of the service, and I need not tell you that "abroad" it is the custom of people to leave at different parts of the service; they do not remain to the end of the service in that orderly and decorous way, in which, I think, we have the better of them on this side of the channel: however, this lady, having had enough of the service, turned an English lady out of her seat in the body of the church, in order that she might lock up her seat, put the key in her pocket, and go away. I venture to say there is not a pew-loving lady in England who would have ventured to do that; and if she had, the churchwarden could have broken the lock and put in anybody he pleased. With regard to the recognition which has been given to different styles of church architecture, I wish to say a word. In old days, when Mr. Beresford Hope and I were young men at Cambridge, and were exceedingly enthusiastic, it was always the custom to consider that there was no such thing as Christian architecture, except pointed architecture. I think that both of us have probably lived to feel and believe that there may be other styles besides pointed architecture, which may be capable of expressing high devotional feeling, and which may, under certain circumstances, be suitable for churches. I am not going to fight the battle of St. Paul's; I leave that most willingly to Mr. Penrose. I wish to speak of a very different kind of church, and to enlist your sympathy on behalf of myself and my poor diocese with regard to the kind of church *we* want. I wish exceedingly that some architect of genius could devise exactly that which is required for our mountain districts. It is a very difficult problem, which I am endeavouring to solve just now by offering a prize for the best design for a mountain chapel. I do not know what the effect will be, but I think it will direct the attention of architects to a very important subject. The tendency in my diocese, in the mountain districts, is, when a

church is not quite what it ought to be, to pull it down. I struggle for the lives of the dear old mountain chapels. They have a character of their own, which it is very difficult to replace, and you do not replace it when you put up a smart, dandified little chapel, with a tall spire and that sort of thing. I want to have some design which shall be really suitable for the mountain districts, and shall have the same kind of symmetry of character and suitableness to the surrounding scenery which all old chapels somehow have. They were humble and simple buildings, but I do declare that I begrudge every loss we have of one of our old mountain chapels. When you see them on the side of a hill, with glorious scenery round them, although their coats are only white-washed, yet they glitter in the sun, and charm you in an indescribable manner. I feel that none of the modern buildings hitherto designed are adequate to take their place.

The Rev. James Taylor, D.D., Wakefield.

The architects have had their innings, and I think it is nothing but fair that the parsons should have theirs. There has been a great deal said about the beauty of architecture; and no one admires it more than I do. On Friday last, at Cambridge, I was beneath the roof of that splendid chapel of King's, and admired it as I have done twenty times before. I was in the noble church which adorns this town, to-day, and no one can admire it more than I do for its architecture, and for the beauty and Christian character which it bears, on account of its dedication to the service of our God. We have also heard a great deal about the various modes in which congregations ought to be accommodated in our churches. We have heard also about chairs, and benches, and I now wish to make a few remarks, not with regard to those, but with regard to the people who sit upon them. I do not think it is desirable to have huge churches, in which thousands of people can be assembled together. If we are to get hold of the poor of this country, and it is to the poor that I look for the continued support of the Established Church of this land, we must gather them close around us—close to our desks and pulpits, so that they may be able to hear very distinctly everything we say, in order that they may understand what we say. The rich, and those who are accustomed to discourses upon things of an abstract character, can supply a few words of a sentence which they don't happen to hear, but the poor cannot. They can appreciate anything about hard and soft, wet and dry, long and short; indeed, anything affecting the senses, or with which they are conversant; but when we begin to speak to them about the attributes of God, such as justice and mercy, it is a difficult matter for them to understand. My own experience is, that we cannot descend low enough to get the poor to comprehend the most solemn and deep mysteries of our religion. I mean to say we cannot get them to understand why it was necessary that the Saviour should die to satisfy the justice of God; why God's justice must be reconciled with His mercy; "why a God all mercy is a God unjust." I say, unless we can get the poor to be interested in our discourses, we shall never secure their affections to the Established Church. I am perfectly satisfied that there is nothing of abstract fancy or reasoning about that. We want to get the people close to us if they are to understand us. What we want is not large magnificent churches, which will charm the senses in whatever way, and elaborate services. These are very good in some places, under some circumstances, but they are not the things that are wanted generally in our manufacturing towns, nor on the mountain side, in such a diocese as Carlisle. We want small churches. We want them distributed in our hamlets and villages. We want to bring the means of grace home to the doors of our people; and unless we can put up small churches, where the poor can be accommodated without money and without price, and have the simple Gospel of the Blessed God brought home to them, I am satisfied we shall lose

the little hold we have on the affections of our people, and they will turn to other sources of information, where they will receive what will satisfy them. I say, let what the Bishop of Carlisle has said, with regard to churches for his diocese, be seriously considered by us, and then we shall have the hope that people will be instructed when they can feel that the minister is talking to them, when they are not forced to sit at a great distance off where they cannot hear the whole of a sentence, and to go away saying, not "it was good to be here," but "I could not get any information or increase of my spiritual knowledge."

The Rev. Reginald Cayley, Vicar of Scampton.

I quite agree with Mr. Scott as to the building of large churches for large towns, and that we should not build a church for a town just as we should build village churches. I have seen many old English village churches as well as town churches, and one village church especially, which is of a very rare type, and yet it is the most perfectly adapted church I ever saw for a town—Mr. Scott must know it well enough, because it was restored by his father—the church, at Caythorpe, in Lincolnshire. The nave is very nearly sixty feet in width. The way in which it is arranged is such as to give every person a full view of the altar, and there is nothing to obstruct the sound of the clergyman's voice, except two small pillars which are not thicker than a man's body. From the centre of the western wall of the nave there springs an arcade of two arches and a half, supported by two lofty pillars, not much thicker than a man's body, the half arch being turned into the face of the tower, which stands between the nave and chancel. The roof goes up to the central arcade, and the points of the arches are within a few feet of the ridge of the roof. Consequently, you have an immense space, unobstructed by any hindrance to the sound or eye. Mr. Fowler spoke of the necessity of having a side chapel for small congregations on week-days, and for early celebrations of the Holy Communion. There is another point I wish to name. Those who have had parochial work in a large town or any large parish, must know that they have a great difficulty and source of great pain to contend with; which is, that when you go into the miserably poor hovels, such as you find, to minister to the sick and dying, you are not able to celebrate the blessed Sacrament decently; and, consequently, I wish to point out the necessity of having some chapel in the church, where the blessed Sacrament may be reserved without risk of desecration, and taken direct to the sick. We know well enough that when the cholera was so bad in this town, my dear old friend, Archbishop Longley, then bishop of this diocese, allowed it, because of the necessity of it. It was utterly impossible for the clergy to celebrate by every sick bed. I only throw this out as a suggestion. I think that architects when designing churches for large towns, should remember the necessities of the population, and think of such things. Another point is, as to the lighting of a church. There is no greater difficulty, to my mind, than how to light a church effectively. To do so, you must concentrate the light upon one point, *i.e.*, the altar. The whole light must, so to speak, face the same way; otherwise the light is in your eyes and is always giving you discomfort, producing a feeling of glare instead of that peace which ought to be characteristic of worship in the house of God.

The Rev. Sir F. G. Ouseley, Bart.

It seems to me that one particular branch of this subject has been overlooked. I mean the acoustical properties of our churches. Of course, this subject divides itself into two parts, because a church may be very good to speak in,

but bad for music, and *vice versa.* Why is that? Because, where mere distinctness of utterance as regards the syllables is in question, a great amount of reverberation is a disadvantage, whereas, where music is in question, we can hardly have too much reverberation; in fact, I make bold to say that a large amount of reverberation is a considerable safe-guard as regards music. Where there is much reverberation the music must be slow, solemn, and sublime; and the quick and florid style becomes practically an impossibility. But, on the other hand, when we talk of churches being well adapted for service, we have to consider not only the music, but also how we are to read the lessons and preach our sermons. There arises, therefore, a great difficulty how churches are to be constructed so as to be at once fit to make the music thus performed in them sound well, and at the same time to be so constructed as to make it easy to preach in an intelligible manner, and to be heard distinctly. I am strongly of opinion that the mediæval architects understood this better than we do now. Of all the buildings in which service is held, of which I have had any experience myself, I am certain that for the most part the ancient buildings are the best adapted for these purposes. In the case of cathedrals and abbey churches I conclude that it never was the intention that they should be used for the purposes for which we use them at the present day. They are well adapted for music, but not for preaching in the naves; nor do I think it ever entered into the designs of the architects that sermons should be preached in the nave. But, on the other hand, it is notorious that, in the smaller parish churches, the older ones are better to preach in. I am inclined to think that one cause of our modern failures is that too little attention has been paid to the geometrical proportions. If there is some numerical relation between the dimensions of length, breadth, and height, observed in a building, we shall find it much better adapted for sound than where the mere taste has been brought to the consideration of what design shall be adopted. *Dysphonia clericorum* would not be so common if that was attended to. If our modern churches were better built in that respect we should economise the lives of our clergy, and so prevent a dearth of men for the services of the Church. I do not profess (not being learned in the subject of architecture) to suggest remedies for the evil of which I am complaining; but, I throw out this suggestion of the evil existing, in order that others, whose attention has been more devoted to the subject than mine has been, may try to remedy those evils, and to make new churches better adapted, not only for music, but for preaching; to try and combine two heterogeneous elements, so that people may not only be edified by the music, but also by the words that are spoken in the pulpit. It has been said that the poor cannot so well learn doctrine when they do not hear distinctly what is said in the churches. It is not that the churches are large, but because they are ill-adapted for sound. I have (sitting at a long distance from the pulpit) heard distinctly, and the poorest person might hear as distinctly what has been said in the pulpit in some of the old large churches, because they are so well adapted for sound. I think if we studied more the acoustic properties we should be able to combine the large churches of which Mr. Scott spoke, with the requirements of the poor; and we shall be able at the same time to adapt our churches for musical services.

The Rev. James S. Gammell, Vicar of Outwood.

I wish to say a word upon the necessity of churches being planned, with a view to what is to be done in them. We do not now want a church built in a particular way, because somebody built a church in that particular style and shape 500 years ago, when the service was a very different thing. Nor do we want a church of the type of a couple of generations back, when there was another style of worshipping. We want churches for the present day. A couple of generations back the popular idea of a church was a preaching room,

with a west gallery, where the choir were put up to perform along with the organ; and a small recess at the other end for the altar. We have now got quite a different theory. We want a church where the choir shall be between the congregation and the altar, where the pulpit shall not be stuck up in the middle to obstruct the view of the Holy Place. There is nothing more common in the churches that have been built, within the last twenty years, than chancels which are rather too long or too short; too long to contain merely the altar and its surroundings, and too short to accommodate the choir as well. I could name ten churches, within as many miles of where we are now, that have been built within the last twenty years or so, that have this fault most flagrantly; and if I may venture, without blasphemy, to say so, I think the most flagrant instance in the whole of England of the fault that is exemplified in a minor degree in those churches, is St. Paul's Cathedral. The choir of St. Paul's Cathedral is much too large if the congregation is supposed to be placed under the dome; the altar is too far from them. The present arrangement of St. Paul's is most unpractical. That the same fault should be perpetuated in our new churches is a sad thing. We want a certain space for the altar and its belongings, and the ministrations of those who serve there. Architects do not seem to consider that the priest requires so much space to fulfil his ministrations in. They never consider, in a village church for instance, the possibility of there being a second priest. In many new churches there is barely space between the altar and the communicant's rail for two clergy to pass each other as they must do in administering the Holy Communion to the people. I implore architects to study what we have got to do, and to give us a church where we can do it with regard to the rules of the service, and the dictates of common sense; not to give us more space than we want, and not to give us less. There is another point that architects seem often very strangely to overlook. They want an organ; it is stuck into a kind of cupboard somewhere as an afterthought. The organ is made quite a secondary thing; and yet the organ is a most important matter to be considered. If we are not to have an organ, do not give us a place for it, but if we are to have it, let it be properly considered. Again, if we are to have surpliced choirs give us vestries large enough to vest and marshal them conveniently, and if they are to enter the church in an orderly procession, give us vestry doors through which they can walk two abreast. These may be trifles to those who plan and build churches, but they are matters of daily, or at any rate, weekly consideration to those who have to use them. Then about the heating of a church; a church must be heated, but architects treat the heating of a church as if it were a thing to be ashamed of. It was considered a bold thing for an architect to put up an undisguised chimney on a church. If you are to have a fire you must have a chimney, and a proper chimney—not a little toy-thing that smokes. I do, as a priest, know what has to be done in a church. I do, as a human being know what you want to make you feel comfortable in a church; and you cannot worship properly if you are either starved with cold or stifled with smoke. The Bishop of Carlisle has touched upon another point, that is, the adaptation of the churches to the places where they are to be built, not to stick up on a mountain side a little pretty gimcrack of a church which would look nice in a sheltered nook, but will be blown away on a mountain. But they will do so. They will give you an excessively pretty church with doors that won't shut, and a high pitched roof into which the heat ascends. They will stick up this sort of a church on a mountain, where you have sometimes to dig through snow three feet deep before you get in. It is not the right thing in the right place. Not being an architect, but having to deal sometimes to my sorrow with the work of architects, I would express the hope that common sense, as well as what is called "correctness," will be more considered, and that the use to which a building is going to be put, should be made at least something of an important consideration in the designing and building of it.

The Dean of Chester.

It appears to me that Mr. Beresford Hope called our attention to a most important principle, when he reminded us that what we have to do with in the structure and arrangement of our churches is that which is according to the Prayer Book. The Prayer Book is our rule. The language of the Prayer Book, the arrangements prescribed in the Prayer Book are those which we, in consistency, are bound to adhere to in the construction of our churches, and the conducting of our services. I cannot help thinking that two of the recent speakers put the subject before us in a manner which is not consistent with the Prayer Book. You will remember that all our attention was concentrated upon the "altar." We were reminded that the blaze of light should be thrown upon the "altar," that the one great purpose for which we assemble together is service connected with the "altar." Now the fact is, that nowhere in our communion office, whether in the rubrics or the prayers, does the word "altar" occur. I am pleading for consistency. I am not bringing forward any pedantic objection to a word which is full of all sorts of sacred associations, or to the use of it in hymns or in conversation; but nothing can be more certain than that in the reforming of our communion office the word "altar" has been carefully scooped out from every portion, and the word "table" placed there. I simply plead for consistency, remembering that just as the strength of an individual Christian is in consistency, so the strength of the Church of England will be found in our doing all that we do in consistency with our Prayer Book.

The Rev. Boulby Haslewood, Vicar of Oswaldwhistle.

My Lord,—I had no intention, when I came into this room, of venturing to address this meeting, but after listening to the other speakers, I thought, as there was an opportunity, I would say one or two words. When I went to my large parish in Lancashire, fifteen years ago, the church had no chancel, and the whole building had little or nothing about it worthy of the "beauty of holiness." I determined, therefore, if God spared me, to try and build a good chancel, for a chancel I think helps to teach doctrine. I have now succeeded in this, and have also built a transept, and so arranged the benches, that if carried on through the whole church, there will be three aisles leading into the chancel, an arrangement that ought always, if possible, to be attended to. St. Paul says in his Epistle to the Hebrews, "the holy places made with hands are the figures of the true;" and if this was so in the Jewish temple, why may it not be so in a Christian Church? I would always be careful to follow the old British custom of building our churches east and west, that their helms, if I may so speak, may appear to be so fixed as to be ever navigating towards that quarter of the heavens which is emblematic of Him who is the "Sun of Righteousness." I have lately built a small mission room, 34 feet long by 22 feet 6 inches, at a cost of £225, to hold 90 scholars, and about 130 people, when assembled as a congregation. I put a cross at one end of the building, which was objected to by some people at first, and they wished it to be taken down, but on one old man observing, that it "showed the place was intended for nothing but good," they became contented, and the building still uplifts the cross. There are three lancet windows in one gable, and two in the other, and four on each side; and, though it is a plain and simple building, in Gothic style, and I have had to be my own architect, it has a church-like appearance. But let me also observe that I would have churches always built of the most durable materials that can be obtained, that so their solid structure might remind us that the truths to be taught in them shall

never lose their force; and, my Lord, I would have them as *beautiful as possible*, because in them a presence is vouchsafed, which more intimate and more perfect hereafter, shall, to the faithful, be "fulness of joy," and "pleasures for evermore."

The Rev. Theophilus Bennett, Vicar of Eastrington.

I have been pleased to hear mention made of the acoustic properties of our churches; and also, I was pleased to hear that we were not to build our churches exclusively with a view to *altar* accommodation, for I fully coincide with everything that the Dean of Chester said. I wish to draw the attention of our church builders to our pulpits, which are sometimes constructed on the principle of little ease. There is scarcely room to stir about in them; but when one goes in, as one occasionally does, to dissenting places, such as Mr. Spurgeon's Tabernacle, there we see Mr. Spurgeon has ample opportunity of walking about and addressing his congregation. I should have been glad of a little of the liberty I have seen Mr. Spurgeon enjoy, because I hold that if we are to speak fluently and effectively we must consider that whereon we stand. Therefore, I hope that our architects will be careful to construct more commodious and comfortable pulpits than they have been in the habit of doing. And let me conclude by reminding my audience of the wise old saw, "The best way to warm your church is to put a stove in the pulpit."

The Bishop of Hereford.

I wish to say one word upon a subject that has been mentioned. We had a very excellent and pointed speech from one of the gentlemen who addressed you to-night, upon which I feel that I ought to make a few words of comment. It was that gentleman who drew our attention to the reservation of the Holy Sacrament. I agree with very much that fell from the Dean of Chester. We have to build on the lines of the book of Common Prayer; and the reservation of the Sacrament is not a doctrine of the Church of England. Therefore, if any architect were to build a side chapel to a church for the express purpose of reserving the Holy Sacrament, he would not be building a church for the use of the Church of England. I shall be very sorry, indeed, if it should go out to the world (though I am anxious that every person should have an opportunity of expressing his own sentiments) that the general feeling of the Congress was in favour of such reservation. I feel that much of what has been spoken to us has been of the greatest possible profit to us, and I shall be very glad indeed if the spirit of churchmen and churchwomen towards —"restoring" I dare not say, but towards—repairing their parish churches throughout the land may be revived by what we have heard to-night. We have had some very sound principles laid down before us in many of the speeches, and we shall do well to pay very great attention to the papers and speeches which have been read and delivered to us this evening.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, 9th OCTOBER.

The Right Reverend the PRESIDENT took the Chair at Ten o'clock.

VITAL CHRISTIANITY AS AFFECTED BY THE PRESENT STATE OF SCIENCE AND CIVILISATION.

The Right Reverend the BISHOP OF EDINBURGH read the following paper:—

THAT Science, so far as it is the true interpretation of Nature, is the ally of all truth, and therefore of true Religion, no reasonable person will deny. In the progress of scientific knowledge, indeed, as new objects stand out in a light at first partial and often misleading, some temporary advantages will appear to be given to unbelief. But when the noise and smoke of the controversy subside, we find that, notwithstanding the premature triumphs of adversaries, and our own unworthy fears, or perhaps yet more unworthy apologies for truth, the permanent result is all gain to real Christianity. We may have to abandon notions with which human ignorance obscured the Revelation of God, but we have gained a far more intelligent insight into the meaning of the Holy Scriptures; our conviction of the wisdom of God is deepened as we learn the processes through which He has evolved His own glorious creation; and our confidence in His government of the world is "highly confirmed and exalted" (to use the words of Bacon, in his *Novum Organum*), when we observe "that Nature intendeth one thing and Providence draweth forth another;" in other words that God accomplishes His purposes, so that not a sparrow falls to the ground without our Father, not by occasional interferences with the order of Nature, but through the machinery of physical causes unconsciously working out their effects, which makes the providence of God as illimitable as His own mind.*

But although Christianity has nothing whatever to fear from the progress of real scientific discovery, it is impossible not to apprehend injury from the illegitimate use of science. That is, when scientific men abandon the patient and humble methods by which the true victories of science have been won, and again make the imagination the mistress instead of the handmaid, professing to solve the great mystery of life by materialistic hypotheses, which merely conceal the difficulty by keeping

* Mr. Lecky, who will not be suspected of theological proclivities, observes ("History of Rationalism," vol. i. p. 317) that "the more fully the conception of universal evolution is grasped, the more firmly a scientific doctrine of Providence will be established." And again, he says (p. 319), that it cannot "be reasonably questioned that a world governed in all its parts by the interaction of fixed natural laws, implies a higher degree of designing skill than a chaos of fortuitous influences irradiated from time to time by isolated acts of spiritual intervention."

it at a distance*; much more when they would bring the domain of mind under the bondage of physical law, dethroning the will, and constructing philosophies of society and history in which man is the mere creature of circumstances,—we cannot but regard their influence as hostile to the cause of truth. Above all, when they apply the principles of experimental science to our relations with the Eternal and Infinite God; when they question the efficacy of prayer, as inconsistent with the law of the conservation of force,—as if this law, and all others, did not fulfil the will of Him who inhabiteth eternity, in which He hears our prayers; when they even challenge us, as our Lord Himself was challenged, to put God to the trial whether he will fulfil His promises, and to test His word by statistical tables, unconscious (it would seem) that "it is written again, thou shall not tempt the Lord thy God;" we then are compelled to confess that the possession of scientific knowledge is something very different from all that deserves the name of wisdom.

These aspects, however, of science towards religion, do not reach the larger question which I propose to examine to-day, so far as my limits will allow—namely, how Vital Christianity is affected by that condition of modern thought which is the result of the present state of Science and Civilisation. By Vital Christianity, I understand Christianity as a living power in all human life, personal or social, religious or civil. And this power, if we exclude the consideration of those direct Divine influences the operation of which transcends our thought, we all acknowledge to proceed from spiritual truth—that is, from true ideas of God, and of our relations to God and to man in God; which ideas, being received into our spiritul consciousness, become spiritual intuitions, govern the will, and are a new law of liberty and love. These ideas, which it is the office of Holy Scripture to reveal or to expound, all centre in Jesus Christ, the Son of God in our nature. On the reality of His Life, Death, and Resurrection—events that carry us out of the sphere of man's present experience and of the known laws of nature—depends the reality both of the powers and of the motives of the Christian life. We must conclude, therefore, that whatever in the present condition of modern thought tends to enfeeble the sense of the reality of these supernatural events, whatever, also, obscures their significance and force, is prejudicial to Vital Christianity. Whatever, on the other hand, shall tend to make them stand out more really in our consciousness, and to connect them more distinctly with spiritual truth, will have a beneficial influence.

Now, any acquaintance with the history of human thought will convince us, that principles once established, even by the most abstruse reasonings of the thinkers of any age, do, sooner or later, in modern times very rapidly, permeate and powerfully affect the minds of men, even of those who are incapable of appreciating the reasonings on which these principles are founded.† Since, therefore, modern thought is

* Every one who would understand the true character of one of these materialistic hypotheses—a character which more or less belongs to all of them—should read Dr. Hutchison Stirling's singularly able and convincing essay "As regards Protoplasm."

† Mr. Lecky's history of the disappearance of a belief in witchcraft supplies a good example of this, as proving that transitions of opinion are not effected, and hardly retarded, by mere arguments however cogent, but are produced by a sense of the incongruity or discordance of the old doctrines with other parts of our knowledge. But he

nothing else than the reflection, though somewhat partial and distorted, of the higher forms of thought during the age, my argument would not be complete without a review of the history both of science and of philosophy in modern times. As this is, of course, impossible here, I must content myself with stating a few general principles, though I fear that, without further explanation, I may lay myself open to some misapprehension in this very brief and condensed argument. I would remind you, then, that the progress of modern science, and of that dominion over nature which is the peculiar characteristic of modern civilisation, has been due to a method of investigation, which consists in the legitimate use of experience, freed from all disturbing influences and all heterogeneous mixtures. By the critical observation of phenomena, by comparison and classification, by generalisations derived from these data,—the highest conceptions of science,—and by subsequent verifications, science is gradually succeeding, beyond the wildest dreams even of Bacon's imagination, not only in determining empirically the sequences of natural phenomena, but also in explaining the unknown from the known, and accounting for the sequences as the necessary results of universal laws, all of which it is ever tending to unify. The immense practical benefits conferred on civilised man by the dominion over nature thus acquired, have prevented most men from perceiving, or if they do perceive, from caring to recognise, that there is a doubt and difficulty at the very foundation, which science itself cannot resolve, and which compels us to have recourse to another sphere of human knowledge, in order to be assured of the adequacy of the proof of any scientific conclusion.* It is more apparent, however,—and this the scientific mind

falls into the common and very unphilosophical error—which I notice subsequently, in touching on the effect of science as to our faith in the supernatural—of assuming that what is proved of some is necessarily true of all, and that with the belief in witchcraft falls the belief in all spiritual possessions.

* Mr. Mill (for example) in his "Examination of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy" (Introd. p. 2), observes "that the difficulties of Metaphysics lie at the root of all science; that these difficulties can be quieted only by being resolved, and until they are resolved—positively, if possible, but at any rate, negatively—we are never assured that any human knowledge, even physical, stands on solid foundations." The same writer, in his "Essay on Comte and Positivism" (p. 58), notices that the Positive Philosophy leaves one important portion of the theory of scientific investigation, viz., as to what is sufficient proof, in a very unsatisfactory state. The principle, however, which Mr. Mill suggests in order to supply the omission, viz., that every phenomenon has some other phenomenon, or combination of phenomena, "on which it is invariably and unconditionally consequent," needs a proof which science itself never has supplied, and never can supply. That this difficulty at the foundation of science has been distinctly recognised by the President of the British Association, in his opening address this year, is a significant fact, full of interest to all lovers of truth. But the solution which Dr. Carpenter suggests will hardly be accepted as "a means of reconcilement" by *Intuitionalists*. In fact, in the principle enunciated by him, that "*the intellectual intuitions of any one generation are the embodied experiences of the previous race*," he concedes the whole question at issue, and admits the possibility of raising irrationality to reason by degrees; unless, indeed, which from the instances given seems possible, he means, not that intuitions are *created*, but that they are only *developed*, by experience, and that these *developments* are inherited. But of this question of the hereditary transmission of intellectual faculties we know too little, by Dr. Carpenter's own admission, to base upon it so important a principle. He is singularly at variance with Mr. Buckle, who adopts, perhaps, an extreme view on the opposite side—("History of Civilisation," vol. I. chap. iv. "*There is no evidence that the faculties of man improve.*") My own experience, however, in the education of uncivilised races, in South Africa and elsewhere, would lead me to conclude that Mr. Buckle is, on this point, much nearer the truth than Dr. Carpenter. The latter asks, "Who can believe that a Bidder or a Colburn could suddenly arise in a race of savages who cannot count beyond five?" But it is certain that boys of savage races, that do not possess a

readily admits,—that all the knowledge to which science can attain is merely *relative* knowledge; that is, a natural object or phenomenon is known only as it can be compared with other objects or phenomena; and further, not in itself, nor in regard to any final ends, but simply in the effects which it is capable of producing, or the causes by which it is produced*. This limitation does not in the least diminish the legitimate uses and objects of science, but, on the contrary, is essential to its purity and value. But beyond this limit of relative knowledge, all is to science—as is indeed emphatically asserted by its modern leaders—impenetrable darkness and eternal silence.

And although these truths, as to the legitimate purpose and extent of scientific inquiry, are in their technical form unknown to the majority of men, yet they practically govern modern thought. The regularity of natural laws, the sufficiency of physical causes to account for the phenomena of nature, the uncertainty of conclusions not demonstrable from experience, the unprofitableness of metaphysical speculations, under which general name men will class some of the most fundamental of all truths—these ideas have become the very intuitions of the age; they powerfully influence the minds even of those who would revolt from conclusions deduced from them; and they are all the more popular, because they are so obviously and so very intelligibly utilitarian. That they are unfavourable to vital Christianity needs unhappily but little proof; for all the ideas, not only of the Christian faith, but of a living and true God, nay, even of duty and conscience, and of all that is noble and honourable, lie in a sphere of thought in which science can see nothing whatever but the negation of knowledge. Science points, indeed, to a First Cause, for it is continually tending towards the unification of laws: but science must, if it is consistent with itself, disclaim all knowledge of that First Cause; it cannot affirm the intelligence and will, that is, the personality of God, much less the love and truth and holiness of a merciful and gracious Father.† The exclusively scientific mind is driven therefore to one of three courses. It may deny or doubt the existence of any truth out of its own sphere, which is either atheism or a scepticism equally fatal to the spiritual life; its religion can be nothing

written language and count only by their fingers, show no small aptitude for arithmetic *as soon as they are taught the Arabic numerals.* All the intuitions are there which, on Dr. Carpenter's theory, ought to be wholly wanting: if arithmetical geniuses are rare, so are they also in England.

* It may be necessary to observe that I do not refer here to the metaphysical idea of "the relativity of knowledge," as taught by Sir W. Hamilton, but to a much simpler and more obvious truth.

† See, for a confession on the part of Science of its utter incapacity to determine more than the existence of a First Cause, Mr. Herbert Spencer's "First Principles:" (Part I. chap. v. § 31, Second Edition.) If Mr. H. Spencer had confined himself to expressing his conviction of the ignorance and impotence of science as regards all spiritual things, he would merely have stated a self-evident truth. But when he blames Dean Mansel for saying that "it is *our duty* to think of God as Personal," and maintains that "*our duty* is to submit ourselves with all humility to the established limits of our intelligence," we marvel that Mr. H. Spencer should use such unscientific words as "duty" and "humility." And when he argues that there may be a mode of being transcending Intelligence, and that it is, therefore, irreligious and irreverent to ascribe intelligence to God—which it might be if man were not made in the image of God—he supplies a curious instance of extremes meeting. The mystical writer, whose works are known as those of Dionysius the Areopagite, long ago maintained that the attribute of intelligence must be denied to God, "not *κατ' ἔλλειψιν*, by way of defect, but *καθ' ὑπεροχὴν*, by way of

more than the deification of nature, the earliest form of idolatry, or a worship of humanity, in its results even more debasing. Or, secondly, accepting Revelation so far as it seems to be proved by evidence, but subjecting revealed truth to the scientific faculty, it produces a religious rationalism, in which all the distinctive truths of Christianity disappear, and the paralysing effect of which on the life and power of faith is too well known to require any proof. Or, lastly, regarding the spheres of faith and reason as totally and irreconcilably distinct,—which Bacon himself judged to be the only method by which positive truth could be attained in either* — it is content with an irrational religion, and adopts blindfold a hereditary creed, or yields itself to any doctrines or opinions which may seem to be sanctioned by divine authority, and for which it deems it unnecessary to search for rational grounds. The history of scientific thought,—from Bacon, who compared the precepts of religion to the arbitrary rules of a game of chess, to Auguste Comte and the Positive Philosophy in one direction, and, in another, to such an one as Faraday, who, an earnest and single-hearted believer, lived and died a Sandemanian† — would supply abundant and most instructive illustrations, into which, however, it is impossible for me here to enter.

I cannot sufficiently express my deep conviction that the strong tendency of modern thought, especially in England, to run only in the channels which science marks out for the human mind, is in a very high degree prejudicial to the living power of Christianity; and further, that the true philosophy of man is required as the connecting link between science and religion; and that the study of this philosophy is more than ever necessary to the theologian, in order that Christianity

eminency." I quote from Bishop Berkeley ("Minute Philosopher," Dial. iv. 19), who, in his slashing style, calls this "a method of growing in expression and dwindling in notion, of clearing up doubts by nonsense, and avoiding difficulties by running into affected contradictions;" and who points out that the denial of intelligence to God, or, what amounts to the same, the denial of the possibility of any knowledge of God, is nothing else than Atheism.

It may be objected to this argument as to the incapacity of science to discover the existence of a Personal God, that St. Paul (Acts xiv. 15, and Rom. i. 19-20) expressly declares that God is manifest in creation. But the Apostle is not speaking merely of the scientific faculty, *of which alone my argument treats*: he assumes, throughout his teaching, a spirit in man which ought to see God in His works. His teaching does, however, seem inconsistent with the language of some metaphysical writers, to which Sir W. Hamilton expresses his assent in his Second Lecture, that "*Nature conceals God.*"

* Bacon's view of the office of the reason in religion is given in his "De Augment. Scientiarum," IX. chap. i. (*De legitimo usu humanæ rationis in divinis*), in which occurs the singular and startling illustration to which I refer subsequently. The question as to the danger of this separation between Reason and Faith, as exemplified in the history of the Baconian philosophy, is well discussed by Dr. Kuno Fischer, in his very useful little work on Bacon ("Francis Bacon of Verulam, or the Realistic Philosophy:" Translated by Oxenford. London, 1857).

† The fact that Faraday continued all his lifetime a *Sandemanian* is sufficiently explained by the principle, which he frequently avowed, of the entire separation of Religion from Reason. For example, in his address at the Royal Institution, on Mental Education ("Life and Letters of Faraday," vol. II. p. 325), he says: "It would be improper here to enter into the subject further than to claim an absolute distinction between religion and ordinary belief. I shall be reproached with the weakness of refusing to apply those mental operations, which I think good in respect of high things, to the very highest. I am content to bear the reproach." It is truly remarked of Faraday, by one who would make scientific belief the measure of religious faith, that "he saw clearly the danger of quitting his moorings, and his science became the safeguard of *his particular faith.*" ("Tyndall's Fragments of Science," p. 369.)

may be in our days represented as it really is,—as St. Paul represented it, —as the religion according to reason, and may thus produce its full effects in the life of reasonable man. Let us not abandon this field, either to that Transcendental Philosophy which rejects the key to its own problems, or, least of all, to a Mental and Moral Science,—which is neither science nor philosophy,—that makes man merely "the apex of the animal creation," and conscience but a higher form of "retrieving;" or that, laying its foundations in the distinction between the white and grey substance of the brain, teaches that the true type of the freedom of man is the unpunished villain.* If such science should prevail in this land, the form and orthodox profession of Christianity might remain, but its life and power would become an utter unreality. We must brace ourselves for this conflict, and determine by God's help, and by that power which His truth abundantly provides, to break the tyranny and intolerable usurpation of this pseudo-science, which threatens to poison the whole social life of another generation. Shall we be deterred from entering into this region of thought by the shallow objection that man has been ever occupying himself with metaphysical speculations, and yet nothing has been proved to demonstration? But who that is not unworthy of the glorious gift of reason—who, above all, that believes that man is made in the image of God,—will deny that there is a department of human knowledge,—to which, indeed, science owes its first principles,—in which both the method and the results are different from those of all scientific investigation? The latter determines definitely by logical reasoning from the data of experience, and its conclusions may be formulated exactly and completely, admitting of no opposites. There is no danger of being one-sided in physical science, for its conclusions (I do not speak of its provisional hypotheses, such as the Atomic or Undulatory Theory) are either true, within certain limits of approximation which observation determines, or they are false. But in philosophy, properly so called, truths are the direct conclusions of our own consciousness; they can only be known truly as the positive and negative poles of the same magnet, and logical inferences from any single truth, however consistent and plausible, can only lead to error, and indeed contradiction. The value of the investigation of such truth from age to age consists, not in bringing us to definite and isolated formulæ, but in clearing and quickening and developing our own intuitions, and thus enabling us to apprehend the different phases of the same truth. We need not think it all confusion, though one school teaches that the will of a reasonable being must be determined by the strongest motive, whilst Kant convinces us that the very manhood of man consists in the autonomy of the will. We shall find the key to such antithetical truths in the gospel of Christ and the theology of St. Paul; nor is it too much to say that, as the first principles of science must be drawn from philosophy, so, on the other hand, the philosophy of man can only be studied aright by the light of Christianity, without which it presents, and ever must present, nothing else than indeterminate problems, in which (in mathematical language) there are more unknown quantities than there are equations.

I must briefly touch, in conclusion, on the aids which science, supple-

* The credit of exhibiting a result of the new Moral Philosophy in this singularly repulsive form is due to Professor Bain. ("Mental and Moral Science," p. 398.)

mented by a higher knowledge, so as to discern its own functions, is capable of rendering to the cause of real Christianity.

And first, as regards our faith in the supernatural. I need not dwell on that which is sufficiently obvious,—the negative advantage of having the ground cleared of the pseudo-supernatural. The predisposition to believe the miraculous, which belongs to an unscientific age, is not beneficial but detrimental to vital Christianity, because it weakens the significance and force of the really supernatural events which are the foundation of the Christian faith.* But there is a positive advantage yet more valuable, of which we ought to avail ourselves,—I mean, being enabled to recognise more clearly the connection between the natural and the supernatural. For our tendency is to isolate the supernatural; and our belief in it is oftentimes little more than the absence of doubt respecting that which is hidden from us in the haze and clouds of a distant age. Whereas, if we realised it as part of the same order with our daily experience of God's works and dealings with men, there would be more life and reality in our faith. Those, therefore, who, not in any desire to get rid of the supernatural, but in the most hearty confidence in the truth of divine revelation, seek by the aid of advanced human knowledge, to trace the harmony of that which is above nature with nature itself and with human life, really do more to quicken a living and practical faith, and at the same time are nearer the truth as represented in Scripture, than those who would have us regard supernatural events as isolated prodigies.† Nothing, certainly,—to take the most pregnant example of all,—can be more strictly supernatural than the Resurrection. Yet even this St. Paul teaches, not as a mystery to be believed merely on testimony, but as being in perfect accordance with the order of nature. Shall we say, This is but an analogy Yet, what are such analogies but indications of affinity,—the chords of harmony in the works of God?

* The debt which Religion owes to Science on this account, would be much greater, if scientific men did not too often despise the warnings of that philosophy which would teach them to examine more closely the sufficiency and extent of inductive proof. The "tone and habit of thought," (Lecky's History of Rationalism, vol. I. p. 160,) produced by the progress of civilisation, "which makes men recoil from miraculous narratives with an immediate and instinctive repugnance, as though they were essentially incredible, independent of any definite argument, and in spite of dogmatic teaching," is really due to the one-sidedness of physical science, which overshadows, in modern thought, higher and larger truths by inferior and limited truths.

† It seems impossible, except on the principle that the natural is one form of the supernatural, both belonging to the same order, and differing in degree rather than in kind, to explain the view which the New Testament gives of the transition from the supernatural powers of the Apostolic age to the permanent order of the Church with its ordinary gifts and powers. Not only do we find no abrupt break in this transition, but all spiritual gifts, ordinary and extraordinary, are expressly classed together. (See, *e.g.*, Rom. xii. 6-8, 1 Cor. xii. 8-11, Ephes. iv. 11.) We may notice, among Christ's works, the case of the nobleman's son at Capernaum, as an instance of the very close approximation of a *miracle* to one of those *coincidences* in answers to prayer, which devout Christians often recognise still in their own experience.

In fact, a careful examination of the teaching of the New Testament, would show that the promise of Christ, "All things, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive,"—was not confined to one class of objects, and that the same limitations and conditions apply to all alike; those answers to prayer, which we call miraculous, differing in degree, but not in kind, from the others, and the response to faith being miraculous, when the effects are produced without the causes ordinarily required to produce them, so far as our knowledge and experience extend.

A modern writer ("Christ in Modern Life," by Rev. Stopford A. Brooke, p. 132, &c.) considers that he proves the inefficacy of prayer for rain and the like, by the objection that God could not answer such prayers without working a miracle; and that it is not to

Again, in all questions touching Christian doctrine, we ought to derive great benefit and aid from that exact treatment of all subjects of human knowledge which is characteristic of modern science. I can merely suggest the several advantages to be gained; to describe them fully would require volumes. First, we ought to be able to discriminate, more clearly than in former ages, what questions lie within the range of relative knowledge, and are therefore determinable, and what cannot be determined definitely. Secondly, we ought to be assisted, through the progress of human knowledge, in arriving at more definite certainty in regard to all questions that are not insoluble, and thus to attain to more unity. Among these questions, we may certainly include that of the constitution and functions of the Christian society,—the Church. And lastly, in regard to all doctrines that are derived out of the revelation of the Word made flesh, or which, like many that St. Paul discusses, are the Christian philosophy of man, we shall, if we make a legitimate use of human knowledge, recognise more and more that our security against error lies, not in vehemently contending for partial truths, much less in some compromise between extremes, but in that faith which receives with the same clearness of apprehension all the teachings of God's Spirit, however little we may be able to explain or reconcile them. Vital Christianity, indeed, flourishes in proportion not to the breadth of our knowledge, as some imagine, but much rather to the simplicity and godly sincerity of our faith. Yet it is no small hindrance to faith when different forms of truth seem to interfere one with the other; and no small gain to our spiritual life that all truth should, without reserve, become a law to our conscience.

Let us, then, admit of no desponding view of the relations of Christianity to the present state of Science and Civilisation. The adverse influences to which it is exposed in the world are, as they ever have been, exceeding great; they are more subtle than in any former period of the Church's history. But our faith assures us of its final triumph over all these, not through some outward display of power,—which

be conceived possible, either that miracles should be wrought in the nineteenth century, and for no great spiritual results; or, that men should have the power, which he argues this implies, of throwing the order of Nature into confusion by their ignorant prayers. The latter part of this objection implies so hopeless a misunderstanding of the views of those who believe in the efficacy of prayer, that it would be useless to discuss it. But the whole objection assumes that while miracles are no violation of nature, other answers to prayer are impossible without such violation; that is, that when St. Paul prayed that he might have a prosperous journey, if he had been conveyed miraculously, it would have been only "the result of a *prearrangement*, by which the ordinary course of nature changes step, as it were, for a moment;" but that if his prayer had been answered, without any such "change of step" in the ordinary course of nature, all would be confusion! If, however, miraculous and other answers to prayer all belong to the same order, the former being (to use an illustration first, I believe, suggested by Babbage,) the *singular points* of the curve in which the others lie, the whole of Mr. Stopford Brooke's argument falls to the ground. In all cases, undoubtedly, the spiritual result is the ultimate end, the knowledge of which lies in the mind of the Infinite God. But who shall say that the encouragement and confirmation afforded to faith by answers to prayer is not a "great spiritual result" in the eyes of our Father which is in heaven? It is at all events a result of precisely the same kind as that which was effected by the miracles of Jesus Christ Himself, however differing in degree. And however necessary it may be to caution us against building our faith on any remarkable answers to prayer, or making any temporal results a prominent feature in the Christian life,—as Christ Himself taught that true faith was not to be derived from signs and wonders,—yet the denial of the possibility of prayer being answered in nature is nothing else than the denial that God is to be recognised in the order of His universe.

would be no triumph worthy of its divine origin,—but by the spiritual power of its truth being proved superior to all the false reasonings of man, and by its perfect adaptation to man in all stages of his development.

The Rev. Professor Birks read the following paper:—

Christanity shares and reflects the character of its Divine author, who is "the Way, the Truth, and the Life." It is at once a rule of practice, a scheme of doctrine, and a living power. Its high aim, as the gift of Him who is the Life, is to awaken and sustain the life of God in the souls of men. Whenever this object is fulfilled, old things pass away, and all things become new. Guilty consciences find peace. The proud become humble, the sensual pure in heart. Earthly minds attain to heavenly tempers, and cold and selfish hearts are filled with the light, and warmed with the fire, of Christian love.

It is a weighty inquiry, how far the present state of Modern Science and Civilisation helps or hinders this grand aim of the Gospel. Is their influence friendly, neutral, or adverse? If helpful, how may the benefit be increased? If adverse, what remedy can be found for so great an evil?

The answer to these questions, in principle, is easy and plain. Science and Civilisation, in their healthy state, are ministers and handmaids to Vital Christianity. Whenever they hinder or oppose it, they must themselves be suffering from the presence, suspected or unsuspected, of some dangerous moral disease.

The aim of Christianity, as a vital power, is to restore the lost image of God in the souls of men. The main work of Modern Science is to increase men's knowledge of rational laws, and their control, through this knowledge, over the outward universe. Now this second aim, when pursued aright, belongs to the first, and is included in it, as part in a greater whole.

The Bible, in its first page, has linked man's lordship over nature with his creation in the image of God. Midway in its course, the Psalmist refers us back to this double promise; while its complete fulfilment in Christ and His people is twice set before us by the Apostle St. Paul as the crowning hope of the New Testament.

Vital Christianity thus includes in its aim the full restoration to man of that lordship over nature, which sin has weakened or destroyed, but which is to be fully realised in the coming kingdom of God. All that modern science dimly strives after, is only a part of this Divine promise. It is a feeble earnest of what the redeemed creation, with outstretched longing of desire, hopes to attain. Man cannot be fully like God, until he ceases to be a blind slave of the laws of nature, and becomes their sovereign. The discoveries of Science in modern times are only faltering steps of progress towards a far distant goal. And that goal will be fully reached, only when the corruptible is clothed with incorruption, and death is swallowed up in victory in the kingdom of God.

Christianity, then, is a natural friend to the efforts of human science to unlock the secrets of nature. But it also prescribes moral con-

ditions, on which the lawfulness of those efforts depends. These researches must be carried on, neither in vain curiosity, nor with arrogance and pride, least of all, with a profane contempt for higher and more sacred truths; but "reverently, discreetly, and soberly, in the fear of God," with a constant aim to glorify the Creator, and promote the true welfare of mankind. When once Science wanders from this path, its labours, even amid their seeming success, are cursed with vanity. It soon loses itself in a sandy waste of barren speculations; and can never really prosper, till it returns to Faith, its true mistress, and submits itself to her hands.

A further aim of science, by which it ministers to civilisation, is the application of all its discoveries to the service of mankind. So Lord Bacon begins his great work with these impressive words—"We pour forth our most humble and ardent prayers to God the Father, God the Word, and God the Spirit, that, mindful of the sorrows of the human race, and of that pilgrimage of life, in which we spend days few and evil, they will deign through our hands to enrich with some fresh alms the whole human family."

How wide and various are the fruits which have thus been already gained! Astronomy, magnetism, electricity, chemistry, optics, have provided the navigator with his tables, his compass, and his sextant, his marine charts, and lunar observations, and have enabled him, with comparative safety, to cross the pathless ocean. They have given us the steam engine, the steam boat, the locomotive, the electric and ocean telegraph. Medical science has been enriched with new antidotes to disease, and the productive powers of the soil have been more than doubled. The influence of these changes grows wider and deeper, daily, in the whole economy of our social life.

This dedication of the discoveries of science to the wants of man is also in entire harmony with the lessons and objects of vital Christianity. Ignorance will be the mother only of a false and blind devotion. True piety is the child of genuine knowledge. Only it must be a knowledge married to humility, and deeply conscious how much more remains still unknown. We must know God, before we can regain His image. Increased knowledge of His works, which reveals the wide reign of law, and banishes the dreams of mere superstition, is one main element of that progress, by which man's lost dominion over nature is restored, and he learns to offer his Maker a more reasonable service, and a more intelligent worship.

Thus it is the common aim of true Science and Vital Religion, that all nature may be so controlled as to minister to the real good of man. One seeks it directly, by the increase, in this life, of man's power over nature. The other seeks it, in part, by prayer, which secures the promised help of a Higher Will, and partly by preparing us for that nobler life, in which far larger powers will be given to us, unsafe to be trusted now to the selfish and unholy. Only faith requires of man, in proportion as he regains lordship over nature, to submit with deeper reverence to the commands and moral laws of his Creator. The gathered laurels of science, like the crowns of the heavenly elders, must all be cast down before the Eternal Throne.

Modern civilisation, again, in our days, is marked by the interdependence of all classes, and all countries, and an awakened and growing

instinct of the brotherhood of all mankind. The family and the class lose themselves in the tribe and the province, the tribe and province in the nation. The links of commerce and polity, which bind nation to nation, are multiplied in a surprising way. Our daily life is nourished by supplies from the most distant regions of the earth. By our modern inventions, distance in place seems shortened, and almost abolished. The complicated web of commerce and credit is so sensitive, that a touch almost at any one point of the world's surface vibrates through the whole. International links are formed, and gather increasing power. Emperors meet above, working men's republican congresses below. Congresses and meetings of all kinds, and in all lands, scientific, social, ecclesiastical, fill up the interval between them. Some strive so eagerly for an outward re-union of the visible Church as to seem almost willing to purchase it by the costly sacrifice of purity and truth. Others desire to replace national rulers, the ordinance of God, by international arbitrators, a doubtful, feeble, and slippery invention of men. All these movements imply an instinctive craving for some higher law than of brute force and rifled cannon, which ought to bind together the nations of the earth. But this instinct can only find its true fulfilment in those times of restitution, when the Mystic Stone shall become a mountain, and fill the whole earth.

This deep instinct of modern civilisation is a broken and diffracted image of one great law of gospel morality. The restoration of God's image in the human heart must include the enthronement there of that great commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Nay, it must include our Lord's divine commentary, that all are our neighbours, whom we have opportunity to help, to comfort, and to bless in their misery, weakness, and suffering.

Those modern changes, which make each man a neighbour to all his fellow-countrymen, each nation to distant lands, have thus enlarged the range of our moral obligations, and given them a wider field. To each one, whether for good or evil, the openings of possible influence on others are greatly increased. This change concurs with the chief aim of the Gospel as a living power, and supplies help and impulse to the Church for its high commission of love. Civilisation seems thus to repeat in our days, on a larger scale, the office of the twelve disciples by the sea of Galilee. It seats the nations of the earth in due and ordered ranks at the feet of the Great Householder, that they may receive more easily the bread of life, still multiplying as it is broken, and dispensed to them by His wonder-working and gracious hands.

Vital Christianity can thus be only helped and befriended by Modern Science and Civilisation, so long as they are in a state of health, and pursue wisely their proper objects. For these all come within the domain of spiritual religion, when it takes the Scriptures for its guide, and refuses to be narrowed into sectarian selfishness and littleness, or to be turned aside into ecclesiastical pedantry and formalism, by the errors of Christian men. Religion consecrates those objects, and does not destroy them. Its twofold aim is to restore man's dominion, first over himself, and next over nature. Its highest end is to reunite him with the Thrice Holy God; its next, second only to the first, is by the law of love to restore the lost brotherhood of mankind.

But human Science and Civilisation are liable, like man himself, to dangerous sickness and disease. There is a science, falsely so called, which fights against the revealed truth of God, but is equally opposed to the true dignity of man. There is a diseased civilisation, as mean as pretentious, which claims to advocate human brotherhood, but denies all religious faith, and rejects the hope of immortality. What then avails its love of its neighbour? Only to make men confederates in ungodliness, and to give a plural and social form to that old maxim of the sensualist—"Let *us* eat and drink, for to-morrow *we* die!"

Out of this disease there grow up three forms of idolatry, which strike at the root of all Christian piety—the worship of nature; the worship of wealth; and highest of all, but not least deceptive, the worship of humanity.

And first, Modern Science, when a denial of the supernatural is mistaken for scientific progress and insight, and when the reverent spirit of Bacon, Boyle, and Newton has been cast aside, leads direct to a most immoral Nature-worship. Nothing, by its theory, can be known of God. Theism and Atheism are alike unthinkable. Religion is only another name for groping in the dark, and utter nescience. Force, physical force, is the grand reality. Its persistence and activity, its varying forms, and mutable results, its indestructible and immortal essence, may be the subject of subtle thought, and of progressive discovery. With such theorists, Force becomes the sole divinity. The discovery of its laws, the celebration of its wonders, is their highest aim. The God of the Bible, since nothing can be really known about Him, may be safely treated like a worthless idol, and cast to the moles and bats of scientific oblivion. And what image is then set up in His stead? A mere dynamical integral, the shapeless product of a vague, half-understood, unripe dynamical theory. Physical force or solar power, like Milton's spirits,

> "Dilated or condensed, bright or obscure,"

disguising itself in ceaseless masquerade, is the only divinity left for their worship. It is a deity without mind or choice, aim or purpose, reason or will, heartless, joyless, hopeless, a thing and not a person, without tenderness or compassion, holiness or love, and still indestructible, omnipotent, immortal, without beginning and without end.

> "Spirit of nature, all sufficing power,
> Necessity, the tyrant of the world!"

What must be the results where such a theory prevails? The destruction of all morality. The extinction of all conscience and religious faith. The degradation of man into a blind product of solar force, a complex thing without choice or duty, a mere bubble on the surface of the great ocean of being, soon to break and disappear.

When blind Force has thus been enthroned as the Highest Knowable, or practically the Supreme Being, it will soon generate servants and slaves in its own image. From such a theory a brood of tyrants may be expected soon to arise, the Kehamas of perverted science, men of seared conscience and iron heart,—men with whom judgment, mercy, and faith are words with no meaning,—to tread down with iron heel the nations of the earth.

So far as Modern Science accepts this new philosophy, and is

inoculated with its moral poison, it must become the direct adversary of all piety and faith. Already the proposal has been gravely and publicly made, to put the promises of the Living God, and the prayers of His people, into some calculating machine; and then to decide how much they may be worth, or whether they are wholly worthless, in a bargain of life insurance. But one plain truth seems to be forgotten. Prayers must first be weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, before they can be expected to count, in the bags of our modern money-changers, even for thirty pieces of silver. Statistical experiments to settle whether or not there is a God, and whether, if there be, His words are true or false, can be no prayers of faith, but idle and profane mockeries. They fall plainly under the double sentence of the law and the gospel; "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God," and, "Let not that man think that he shall receive anything of the Lord." It is a sign of the times, which calls for grave reflection, that the proposal for so monstrous an experiment, implying such blindness to the first lessons of Christian faith and religious reverence, should have been openly put forth, in our day, in the name of pretended science.

A second disease, near akin to the first, and no less dangerous, is the idolatry of wealth, as the highest end of human activity. Modern Political Economy, whenever it has claimed to be a complete science, independent of all moral questions, has revealed the deadly taint of this disease. It sinks into Chrematistics, the science or art of money-getting, instead of being Economy in its true sense, a scheme of just and wise rules for the guidance of the household and the state. The words of our Lord have thus been forgotten, and an opposite maxim silently set up in their stead, that a man's life *does* "consist in the abundance of the things he possesseth."

The problem,—Given a nation of knaves, to secure universal honesty as the result, is not more hopeless of solution than this other;—Given commercial selfishness, complete, universal, and supreme, to gather from it the fruits of Christian morality, and create a universal brotherhood of kindness and love. The pursuit of wealth, for its own sake, must ever be a fatal snare. It is a cankerworm at the root of social order. Ere long, the root wil be rottenness, and its fairest blossoms turn to dust. Class will then be banded against class in a sullen league of suspicion and hatred. The tyranny of capital will be dashed violently against the tyranny of numbers. A fire of selfish passions may then break out, just as in Tyre of old, amidst the rich harvests and stately palaces, of a luxurious civilisation, and reduce them to ashes in one common ruin.

The frauds of trade, by whatever excuses they are veiled, are its curse and shame, and sure forerunners of its decay. Whenever nations make material wealth their chief aim, and rejoice in casting God's Word out of their counsels, so long as trade prospers, and they have a buoyant revenue, vanity and vexation of spirit will soon be stamped on all their pursuits and policy. Riches, like the manna, when amassed too eagerly, or hoarded too long, breed worms, and become loathsome. Wealth, to be wealth indeed, no mere glut of unsaleable goods, no vain and worthless redundance of hurtful luxuries, must conform to the two grand moral laws — distribution and consecration. For the two great commandments no sooner enter into the field of political economy, than they

assume at once this varied form. "Let no man seek his own, but every man his neighbour's wealth." "Honour the Lord with thy substance, and with the first-fruits of all thine increase." And only when they are fulfilled, will the promise be sure, without the risk of sudden and grievous reversal, to men or to nations.—"Then shall thy barns be filled with plenty, and thy presses shall burst out with new wine." Wealth, rightly applied, becomes a sacred trust, and its fulfilment is one branch of true religion. But Mammon-worship, in Christian lands, is no less fatal to piety and faith than the worst forms of heathen idolatry. That worldly prudence is very shortsighted, even for the interests of commerce itself, which strives to simplify the course of trade and legislation by disestablishing religious faith, and casting out the law and the gospel of God from the counsels of the land.

The last and most subtle disease of civilisation, which turns it from a friend into a foe of vital Christianity, is the worship of Humanity. There is a spurious philanthropy, which renounces the fear of God and faith in Christ, and proclaims the highest end of human action to be the social regeneration of mankind. Collective Humanity, we are told by one writer, is "the true union of two natures, God become man; the worker of miracles, as the spirit more and more subjugates nature; the sinless existence, for its development is blameless. Pollution cleaves to the individual, but does not attach to the race." Another eminent writer, of a different nation and type of thought, ascribes to it boldly the title of "the new Supreme Being." Altruism, adorned and garnished by a fanciful woman-worship, is set up for the religion of the future, to replace the worn-out tatters of Christian theology. This negative school extends its influence far beyond the circle of its own formal and professed disciples. It is seductive, because its object is the highest conceivable, next to those of true religious faith. It is deceptive and ruinous, because morality, once severed from religious faith, must soon die out and perish. It sinks first into a far-sighted expediency, next into short-sighted and eager pleasure-seeking. The Epicurean breeds the epicure. Man's highest good cannot even be sought after, far less attained, when he is looked upon as a mere amount of "psychic force," or as a transformed Ascidian, and not as a being made at first in the image of the Eternal God. The course of descent is easy. First, theology is set aside as worthless. God is denied, and man is left supreme in the universe. Since man is supreme, there can be no moral law above him. The ideal and the actual become the same. It is not that men have risen to their true ideal, but rather that they lose the very conception of its existence. The moral law is dragged down to be a reflection of all the vices and follies of that race, whose development is said to be blameless. Immortality disappears. Mankind sinks into a mere fluxion of itself, the living generation alone. The dead are only bubbles that have burst and vanished on the stream of time. Lastly, the living generation, having only an insect's life, are bound in prudence to care for themselves alone. To give up momentary pleasures for immortal happiness is true wisdom. But why sacrifice our own pleasures to those of only possible successors, pleasures no less transient and momentary, are soon in their turn to perish for ever? This would be a roundabout and laborious folly. Thus man-worship sinks downward in a sure and swift descent, till it ends in a

reign of sensual indulgence, and of riot in the day time, like the days of Noah, or the cities of the plain on the eve of judgment.

Against these three forms of idolatry, these dangerous plague-spots of our modern civilisation, the adversaries of all true religion, we are bound as Christians, as churchmen, and as patriots, to contend most earnestly in these days. The strife may be hard, but the final victory is sure. Then nature, studied aright, in humility and reverence, will become a glorious mirror, reflecting His power and wisdom, by whom its laws were founded, and on whom they depend. Wealth, rightly used, will be a three-fold good, leisure to meditate, freedom to act, and power to bless. It will be an earnest, here on earth, of more durable riches in the kingdom of God. Philanthropy, learned at the foot of the cross, and baptized by the Spirit of God, becomes glorious indeed, one main part of Vital Christianity, and the evidence of the rest. Twice only the word occurs in the New Testament, and the double mention is full of meaning. It includes the largest range of moral ascent, from the philanthropy of the barbarians, who showed no little kindness to the Apostle, and his companions in shipwreck, to the amazing and boundless love of God our Saviour to mankind. (Acts xxviii. 2; Tit. iii. 4.) Alike in the study of nature, the pursuit of wealth, and the love of our fellow-men, some shadowy counterfeits may be found in an unbelieving philosophy, but the grand realities themselves are the portion and sacred inheritance of the Church of the Living God.

The Rev. Canon Rawlinson read the following paper:—

I cannot expect to add much to what you have already heard on this interesting subject from the Right Rev. Bishop and the Rev. Professor; and I therefore do not intend to detain you with a long paper. Neither Science, nor Civilisation, has been at any time a *special* subject of study with me; and I am afraid I have little to say on the mode or degree in which their present state affects Vital Christianity that will not have occurred over and over again to most of you. But having been invited by the Congress to address you on this occasion, and thinking that to refuse would be ungracious, I have put a few thoughts on paper, which I commend to your indulgence.

I will take first the case of Civilisation. Now, it seems to me that in our modern civilisation three principal influences are at work, one identical with Christianity itself, the other two non-christian, if not unchristian. There was a civilisation in the world before Christ came; but that civilisation was effete, corrupt, debasing. The barbarians of the North shattered it, and in the new communities that replaced the old Empire of the Romans, Christianity was for a long time the one and only civilising influence. Christianity ameliorated the condition of the slave, raised woman to her proper position as the help-mate of man, forbade infanticide, discouraged demoralising games and sports, set a brand on self-destruction, brought the virtues of purity, truthfulness, and humanity prominently forward as among the very highest and best. Christianity introduced care for the poor, as poor, and not as physically formidable;

maintained the honourable character of labour by the example of rich societies whereof each member was bound to a life of toil; stimulated, encouraged, and promoted learning and art; softened the usages of war; kept society from disruption by uniting high and low, rich and poor, in what was felt to be a real brotherhood. The type of character which we connect with the word "chivalry" was the produce of Christianity; and European civilisation up to the era of the Reformation was almost exclusively Christian, the result, I mean, of Christian principles and influences. Then, however, a change occurred. In the sixteenth century classical learning was revived, and a civilising power distinct from Christianity was brought into play. At the same time Science reappeared after a death-trance of near two thousand years, and another civilising influence, quite independent of Christianity, began to work. If we trace the progress of modern civilisation downwards from the sixteenth century to our own day, we shall find, I think, that these three influences have worked constantly side by side, occasionally in combination, but for the most part separate, the "triumphs of civilisation," as they are called, being generally due to some one of them. To Christianity we owe it that slavery and the slave trade have been condemned by the great European nations, and for the most part abolished; that persecution has ceased; that almshouses, hospitals, and a thousand other "charities" have been established; that the discipline of prisons has been reformed; that the severity of punishments has been mitigated; that the law has extended its protection to dumb animals; that the usages of war have been still further softened; and that duelling has (at any rate in this country) been exploded. To Classical Culture we are probably indebted for the removal from our manners and literature of much that was gross and coarse, for the gradual spread and increase of refinement, and for that peculiar product of civilisation, "the English gentleman," which some regard as the highest perfection of humanity. Science has given us an enormous increase of wealth, a power of locomotion, which our ancestors in their wildest dreams never imagined; facilities for the communication of thought yet more wonderful; a press prolific beyond all former example; and through these stimulating causes a general activity both of life and thought, that contrasts strongly with the quiescence, approaching to stagnation, that prevailed a century or two ago. The *great* development of Science has been during this present century, and the civilisation of the day has consequently for its special characteristics—those which most markedly distinguish it from any former type—the class of novelties which Science has elicited. Still Christianity holds its place as a civilising influence at the present day. With the wisdom which our Lord recommended, Christianity utilises the discoveries of Science, and civilises by their means. Facility of communication stimulates the action and increases the power of societies, congresses, and the like; a cheap press enables bibles, prayer-books, and a wholesome Christian literature to be brought within the means of all; the active and practical tendencies of the day can be, and are, taken advantage of, to engage the better-disposed in various kinds of Christian work, in teaching, educating, comforting and relieving the poor, gathering together the outcasts, reclaiming sinners, nursing and tending the sick, converting the scoffer and unbeliever.

Thus far, modern civilisation is not only not adverse to Christianity, but is of service to it, and helps its advance. There is, however, another side to the shield, which must now be contemplated; for the contemplation, though painful, may be of some profit.

The life of constant bustle and activity, which the exigencies of modern society impose upon almost all, is unfavourable to the development of those Christian graces which require for their production calm and retirement. Our best Christians are formed upon the model of St. Paul rather than of St. John, of Martha than of Mary, of Burnet than of Ferrar, of Borromeo than of St. Francis d' Assisi. We are all "cumbered about much serving." No doubt the "religious life," as it has been called, has often been a mere cloak for idleness, and for a selfish desire of escape from the trials and temptations incident to ordinary humanity. But I fear we lose by the almost impossibility of any such life among ourselves. I fear that "Vital Christianity" suffers by the whirl, the excitement, the worry in which most of us live. A remedy has been recently sought for the evil whereof I speak in "Retreats"—*i.e.*, in the temporary withdrawal of busy men from their ordinary employments, and the devotion of a certain space of time to religious seclusion, meditation, reading, and prayer. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the facts to say how far the experiment has succeeded; but I think it one that ought to be made, and I heartily wish it success. I think it also worthy of consideration whether societies for the contemplative life, such as that which Nicholas Ferrar established, do not deserve encouragement—societies, in which men or women, free from the snare of perpetual vows, might enjoy a prolonged period of retirement, such as "Retreats" cannot furnish.

Again the phase of civilisation in which we live, has (I think) a tendency to tone down Christianity, and deprive it of many of its distinctive features. The whole world is now brought near together, and all the religions of the earth may meet in a London drawing-room. Socially, we are bound to avoid offending the feelings of those with whom we come into contact in society, and hence we often have to be reticent as to our religious belief. But reticence, much practised, tends to produce indifference; and mingling with men of all creeds, on terms of social equality, tends to create a feeling that all creeds are equal. It cannot, I think, be denied that the tone of modern society, which is a main product of our civilisation, is adverse to much that is essential to "Vital Christianity." Modern society decries Dogmatism, as though there could be any religion at all without dogma. Modern society is so very tolerant that it is inclined to place all belief upon a par, and to regard it as an impertinence if one man condemns as false the creed of another. Hence the cry raised against denominational (*i.e.* definite), religious teaching; hence the statement made, that "rigid neutrality" is the proper attitude of Christians in the present day towards men of other religions; hence the efforts persisted in so strenuously, to remove from the most definite of our creeds those warning clauses which are antagonistic to modern indifferentism. Rightly understood, there may be truth in the line, "He can't be wrong whose life is in the right;" but, understood as modern society understands it, that he cannot be seriously in the wrong whose life

is outwardly decent and respectable—the sentiment is both untrue and perilous.

Even Christian morality, which modern society affects to admire, runs a risk of being toned down and essentially altered in the crucible of our civilisation. The assumption is often covertly or overtly made that we have advanced in our moral knowledge beyond the standard of the apostolic age; are morally wiser than the men of the first century, and are entitled to sit in judgment upon them. Our civilised society accepts as much as it pleases of Christian morality, and denies, or ignores the remainder. The law of divorce and of marriage, as laid down in the Bible, and understood in the Church from the beginning, is declared unsuited to the times, and superseded or inveighed against. The "Counsels of Perfection," which our Lord and His Apostles left us, are put aside as meant only for the age in which they were uttered; all strict views and high aspirations are regarded as mistaken and quixotic; and, like the French official, society perpetually inculcates upon us—"*Point de zéle, Messieurs, surtout, point de zéle.*" Society likes an average, moderate, unpretentious morality; eccentricity, extreme views, odd practices, an unusual course of conduct, it condemns, regarding nothing as right that is peculiar or extraordinary.

But I must not delay longer on this point. I turn to the consideration of "How *Science* affects Vital Christianity!" And here I must at the outset distinguish between Science in the abstract and in the concrete; between the nymph herself and her admirers; between the pure ethereal essence and the men who, at the present day represent Science to us, having devoted their lives to the pursuit of it. Between Science itself and Christianity there can be no manner of antagonism. "The invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made." (Rom. i. 20.) Science—"Natural Science," as it should be called—the knowledge of the material things that God has made, cannot be in any sort of opposition to Theology, which is the knowledge of God, or to religion, whether natural or revealed. But the science of any particular age, the mass of opinions, *i.e.*, held by scientific men at any one time on the subject of nature, its laws, and processes, may undoubtedly be antagonistic to both. It is an invidious task to strike the balance in such a case, and to say towards which side the scale inclines—whether the science of the day is predominantly religious or irreligious, harmonious with, or antagonistic to, Christianity. I will not venture on an opinion, but this I will say, that a large portion of what claims to be science appears to me irreconcilable with Christianity. The science of which I speak lays it down that miracles are absolutely impossible, and thus not only rejects one main branch of the evidences on which our Lord Himself relied, but strikes at the root of Christianity, by denying implicitly our Lord's miraculous Conception, His Resurrection, and His Ascension. Again, the science of which I speak pretends to give an account of the formation of worlds, the primitive condition of man, and the "origin of species." In so doing, it goes, I think, entirely beyond its province, and departs completely from the principles laid down as fundamental by its founder—Bacon. The Baconian Induction was a careful interrogation of nature; and its legitimate object was to establish as abso-

lutely true such general laws as could be distinctly proved by an examination of all the phenomena. Modern science has substituted for this laborious investigation of facts, the easy method of Hypothesis. We are no longer shown what IS true—we have the potential mood substituted for the indicative—and elaborate works are written to persuade us that such and such views *can, may, should,* MUST be true. The "must" here is not a logical, but a presumed *moral* or æsthetic necessity—a necessity supposed to be created by the perfect congruity and harmony of all the parts of the hypothesis, which fit together so exquisitely that we are asked on that account to accept the whole as probably, presumably, *almost* certainly, true. The authors of these beautiful systems, which they have spun out of their own imaginations, naturally become enamoured of them, and are slow to use the tests, which, according to Bacon, are to be applied with the utmost severity to each new and unproved hypothesis. The theory, for instance, of the gradual development of species, one from another, requires (according to Baconian principles) to be tested by comparison with the geological record of the actual changes that have occurred upon the earth, and, if not confirmed by that, should be abandoned. But our modern men of science are slow to make the comparison, and when they make it, and are forced to acknowledge that the record contains *nothing* which confirms their views, then, instead of abandoning their theory, we find them enlarging on the "incompleteness of the record," and determining to maintain their hypothesis nevertheless. What is this but the old obstinacy of the theorist, who exclaimed, "Well, if the facts do not suit my theory, *so much the worse for the facts?*"

It is impossible that from such a state of physical science religion should not suffer. I have heard it said, indeed, that the theories of which I have been speaking need not disturb us; since, if they be true, they only show that the physical world has been even more "wonderfully made" than Scripture had taught us to imagine. But it seems to me that some of the theories in question are irreconcilable with revealed religion; and there is danger lest the name of science, claimed by such speculations, should induce man to believe that there is an actual antagonism between Scripture and the *proved* results of scientific research. I believe that there is no such antagonism; and I think it should be constantly pointed out, more especially to the young and to the ignorant, that the theories in question are mere speculations; that they are *not* the conclusions of real science, and that they are not accepted by a considerable number of our best and ablest scientific men.

In conclusion, with respect to that deification of natural law, which causes the rejection of miracles, and has, amongst its latest developments, a denial of the efficacy of prayer, let me observe that it is based upon a perversion or misconception of the very meaning of the word "law." A law, as Aristotle long ago declared, is "a rule proceeding from some intelligence or mind"—a law, that is, implies a law-giver—it is *nothing but* the determination of an intelligent being to work in certain cases in a certain way. Natural laws are the modes in which God ordinarily acts on nature. To suppose that a natural law cannot be suspended is about as reasonable as to assert that a builder cannot have a general rule

for laying his bricks and yet lay one out of a million in an altogether peculiar manner. To listen to some writers, one would think that God had put nature out of His power; that, having once made her, he had left her to herself; and that now He neither will nor can interfere with her operations. Is it not more true, as well as more religious, to believe that God has never stood aloof from His own creation for a moment, that if He did, it would forthwith fall to pieces and cease to exist, having in itself no substance or stability? Shall we not say with Hooker, "Those things which nature is said to do are by Divine Art performed, using nature as an instrument; nor is there any art or knowledge divine in nature herself working, but only in the God of nature?" For, "in Him we live, and move, and have our being." (Acts xvii. 28.)

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. Canon Tristram made the following address:—

The attitude in which man approaches the Gospel Revelation must, perhaps unconsciously, be affected by the bias of his ordinary studies. There is, no doubt, a tendency, more often felt than expressed, among religious minds, to shrink from the hard and stern tone of physical science, and to suspect it of some *innate* hostility to vital religion. So to turn from physical science, to the study of which the tone of the age pre-eminently tends, is as perilous as to follow the fabled policy of the ostrich hiding its head in the sand. I am not here to deny the danger, but to endeavour to point out how it may be met, and how, from the thorn of present danger and assault, future security and strength may be plucked.

In the attitude of physical science towards Christianity we may trace three epochs. In the first, we find many of the fathers of physical science, men imbued with vital godliness, Newton, Kepler, Galileo, Linnæus, Faraday, Buckland, who were no strangers to faith, yet each of them opened out a new domain of thought to the human mind. In the second epoch, the formula of their faith remained; but the spirit had evaporated. It is scarcely possible to take up any book on physical science, up to thirty years ago, in which there is not homage paid to the spiritual, and a recognition of the harmony and design of the Creator's works. "From nature up to nature's God." "The undevout astronomer is mad." "The naturalist traces a mutual dependency that convinces him nothing is made in vain. He feels that at the head of earth's system of order and beauty stands man, and the finest energies of his soul are roused to gratitude and devotion." Such expressions would now require no ordinary moral courage in their utterer in some circles, which now arrogate to themselves the exclusive title of scientific, and the grandest triumph of whose reason is dogmatically to eliminate the doctrine of final causes in creation. For we have now passed to the third era, in which not even the evaporated shell of religious formula remains; and the piety of the fathers is attributed to the atmosphere of superstition, from which they had not quite yet emerged. Humanity has to kneel before the scientific inquisition, and to say, "God is unknowable;" but Christianity rises up again, and says, "For all that, I know him."

But while we grant the patent fact, that many leading physicists have taken up a standpoint, avowedly hostile to Christianity in its dogmatic form, yet, in considering the effect of certain studies upon human beliefs or modes of thought, we must be careful to distinguish between the direct tendency

and action of those studies on the human mind in general, and the peculiar susceptibilities to unbelief in that especial class of minds whose structure leads them to addict themselves to those studies. Now, in all minds, the tendency of those studies must be to demand exactness of proof. In the case of those possessed of vital Christianity there is a danger, and there is good also in the pursuit of physical study. There is the danger of demanding physical proof on such topics as are not susceptible of it. This has been well handled by Dr. Littledale, in an article on the controversy now raging as to the efficacy of prayer. He quotes Canning's famous question —"Did you ever know a senior wrangler that was not a fool?"—and shows that there is a meaning underlying the joke, namely, that men who have devoted themselves exclusively to mathematics, where necessary sequence does exist, and contingency or the intervention of "will" is totally absent, are sometimes singularly deficient in practical judgment, because they have never learnt to make allowance for unexpected events disturbing their calculations of futurity. So, exclusive devotion to one particular range of study has a necessarily narrowing influence upon the intellect; and physical science, like law, requires for its mastery such undivided and unremitting attention, that it is well nigh impossible for its most fervent devotees to be men of wide culture and broad statesmanlike intelligence.

On the other hand, there are advantages to the Christian student in these studies. Physical science clips the wings of imagination, but it has the advantage of drawing a clearer line of demarcation between the real objects of faith, of which it has moral evidence, and the halo with which imagination invests these objects, so as to present them with a colouring of its own to the feelings. The scientific mind is thus led to reality, as opposed to dilettanteism in religion, to the preference of the true over the beautiful. These studies are utterly incapable of producing vital Christianity, but presuppose it pre-existent, and the devout astronomer surveys nature as a whole. "When I consider the heavens the work of Thy fingers, the moon and the stars which Thou hast ordained, what is man that Thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that Thou so regardest him?" The devout surgeon or physician concludes—"I am fearfully and wonderfully made, marvellous are Thy works, and that my soul knoweth right well. Thine eyes did see my substance, yet being imperfect, and in Thy book were all my members written, which in continuance were fashioned, when, as yet, there were none of them." The Christian naturalist can only conclude—"For all things come of Thee. Thine, O Lord, is the kingdom, and Thou rulest over all."

And as our Lord took His parables from the province of nature, so the study of nature may be a parable to us, teaching us the uniformity of the laws by which the worlds of matter and spirit are similarly governed; the necessary sequence of evil upon evil, the laws by which moral wrong is followed by pain and suffering, which not even repentance and prayer can avert. All this is plainer and simpler to the student of the laws of nature. Seeing the inevitable course of law, he traces the severe outlines of the landmarks of revealed religion on the nature of sin, its necessary results, and its remedy; and he grasps the revealed doctrine of the Incarnation of Deity as the sole platform on which, in accordance with law, mercy and truth can meet together, righteousness and peace can kiss each other. It is to him a law of divine Providence, rational and harmonious,—a solid basis for faith, instead of the dreams and phantasmagoria which, unphilosophically would ascribe to the excited brain of an untaught Galilean youth, the evolution of a system which has enchained and mastered all that was great, noble, and heroic in humanity for near two thousand years.

But presuppose the non-existence of Vital Christianity, consider under what view scientific facts will present themselves, what are the hindrances and the helps to the reception of Vital Christianity, not on the infidel mind, but on that mind which has no fixed predisposition to reject Christianity,

and I believe that even here we shall find helps. (1) There is the benefit of intellectual humility in every honest student. (2) There is the benefit of reality. The objects of study become proved realities on the one side; on the other, the student is led to investigate evidences, so that instead of the vagueness of an imaginative romance of religion, its dogmas become spiritual realities to the mind. The power of believing is in fact intellectually increased. The conviction of the intellect has no effect upon the heart, but it is the removal of hindrances.

On the other hand, there is danger. Physical science has only to do with matter, and the body is not the man. It has been said, "If man is made in the image of God, he is also made in the image of an ape." But man is not formed to reflect the image of the ape, and is less ape-like the more he is a man. The ape-likeness dies, the moral image is immortal, for he is made in the likeness of God. He cannot, therefore, be measured by inches and ounces and chemical tests. "An act of consciousness," says Sir W. Hamilton," "is the condition of all knowledge: I cannot, therefore, define it to you." The knowing that I know, or perceive, or feel, is self-consciousness.

Now, the fact of self-consciousness and the fact of conscience cannot fairly be left out in estimating, for instance, such questions as that of prayer. They have to be accounted for *as facts*, and it is no wonder that dealing too exclusively with physical forms, elements, and forces, the realities of the moral being should so often be blunderingly alluded to by scientific speculatists. They are apt to forget both beginnings and ends, or to imagine beginnings without causes, and ends without consequences, simply because science, *as such*, is engaged with phenomena, appearances, and sensible quantities, and not with the reasons *why* things exist in their differences and relations. The attention is fixed so exclusively upon "law"—*i.e.*, on the orderly sequence of phenomena, and upon the forces we recognise as the immediate causes of phenomena—that men come to think of the Deity as a mere First Principle of the universe, but omit that conscious volitional agency, which is the essential attribute of personality. Without this the universe is nothing else than a great self-acting machine; its laws are but the expression of surd necessity; and all the higher tendencies and aspirations of the human soul are but a mockery, a delusion, and a snare. Hence the unscientific treatment of Theology by scientific men. Hence such a grotesque parallelism as that of Professor Tyndall in his attempt to subject prayer to quantitative analysis, when he adduces the denial of the Antipodes by Lactantius, or the belief in the fixity of the earth, and comparing them with the doctrines of Prayer, fancies that the one must as easily be eliminated from Christianity as the other.

Physicists are apt to ignore psychology, and, as Dr. Littledale well says, to confuse two radically distinct notions—that of the accumulation of human knowledge and the advance of human intellect. Their prophecies are not part of their science, and herein they show themselves as fallible as all other uninspired prophets. Better if, instead of speculating on the future disappearance of Christianity, they would set themselves to account for its present and continued existence. Better if, instead of treating God as a working hypothesis, the Unknowable, they would take cognisance of the various parts of our nature, and, granting the relativity of the human mind, discover that even thus God is a concrete fact.

And if we find, on inquiry, that spiritual temptations do attend researches into science, and that their effect on Vital Christianity has to be guarded by additional securities of Scriptural teaching, and simple faith, and submission to Divine authority,—requiring that the fortress of the faith shall be doubly guarded, and the sentinels armed with the whole armour of God,—we would, did time permit, pursue the subject antithetically, and inquire what is the effect on Vital Christianity of *ignorance* of these subjects among intelligent men. What is the effect if we, instead of being like our fathers in the Church, the pioneers of all research into truth, are found lagging behind

the age in thought, the mere resurrectionists of a buried mediævalism? The study of physical science is an important part of religious duty, for it is part of God's truth, and rightly to advance that study Vital Christianity is demanded. It may be that to pursue science in a merely speculative spirit, and to gratify the desire for knowledge, is a danger. The tree of knowledge is not the tree of life. Something more than faith in the facts of science is required for the apprehension and appreciation of those facts in relation to the student himself, and that is faith in the author of those facts. Without this, a man finds science but as a labyrinth without a clue, and becoming more perplexed the more it is explored. But with this faith, there is no fear lest the mind be lost in mazes, however intricate, since no conclusions will or can be arrived at but such as are consistent with this faith; for what is true science (*scientia*) but the knowledge of truth—*i.e.*, of what God has done?

The Rev. Dr. SALMON made the following address:—

I PROPOSE to occupy the few minutes allotted to me with some remarks on a subject already touched on—the efficacy of Prayer, and the reality of communion with God. One cannot but feel that there are assaults now made on the Bible which cut deeper than some which have been discussed at former Congresses. The question is not now concerning the accuracy of the Bible in matters of geology or history or other points not connected with religion; but whether the conception of religion itself, which is embodied in the Bible, can be admitted. The question is whether we are to think of the world as originally formed, and as still governed by a loving Father, to whom in times of trial or temptation His children can turn for sympathy and succour; or whether the force that moves the universe is blind and unsympathising like that which moves the wheels in a factory—force, by skilfully taking advantage of which the workman can accomplish his ends, but which, if he transgress the laws of safety, will pitilessly tear him to pieces.

In discussing the possibility of real communion with God, some notice ought to be taken of the antiquity of the records of such communion. There is a presumption in favour of the reality of any law of nature, the earlier the record of the experiments from which it is deduced, and the greater the number of witnesses who profess to have repeated and verified these experiments. Now consider the antiquity and immense vitality of the Book of Psalms. It is one of a small number of books which are among the most ancient in the world. It belongs to a civilisation which has passed away, and to a religion in many respects unlike our own. Yet the Book of Psalms passed without alteration from the service of the Jewish to that of the Christian Church. Thousands since have found it to express their deepest feelings, and there are multitudes of living witnesses who have verified the facts which it describes. Many such witnesses are present; and I am even conscious that there are some who will listen to me with some impatience, because I am trying to establish what they know by their own experience better than I can prove it to them.

But faith in the power of prayer is said to be shaken by the growing sense of the universal prevalence of law. We should make a great mistake if we set ourselves in opposition to the doctrine of the prevalence of law. The question at issue is not whether the force that moves the universe be uniform or capricious; but as I said, whether it be blind and unsympathising, or personal, conscious, moral. Great mischief I am persuaded has been done by men, religious and irreligious, looking for God not in the laws of nature, but in what are supposed to be violations of those laws. It would be an unheard-of literary paradox if a critic were to lay down the canon that the

claims of a book to proceed from any particular author must be rejected in case the work have all the characteristic marks of that writer's style, but be admitted at once provided only the work be utterly unlike all his acknowledged compositions. Yet this is literally the way in which men have accustomed themselves to think of the works of God. By the study of the works of nature we can learn to recognise the style of its great Author. Then when any phenomenon presents itself striking by its unlikeness to that style, the confession is ready to rise to the mouths even of irreligious men, "This is the finger of God." But the advocates of religion are supposed to have difficulties to conquer, and certainly have prejudices to overcome, when they claim as God's work that which has about it nothing startling or unusual, but which conforms completely to the laws which sum up the results of our observation of the characteristics of the ordinary working of the order of nature. We must ask if men really believe what they say when they speak of God as the Author of nature. It would rather seem as if they looked on nature and God as two distinct beings, nature presiding over all ordinary phenomena the laws of which are perfectly understood, and God interfering at rare intervals when some urgent necessity arises for a deviation from these ordinary rules. In short, if they cannot account for a phenomenon in any other way, they are willing to give the credit of it to God; but as their power to account for phenomena is daily increasing, the balance left for God is daily diminishing, until they have begun to suspect that none at all will remain for Him. But remember that what we call accounting for phenomena is only reducing our conceptions of them to order. It enables us to answer according to what rules and in what order things take place, and not by whom or why they are done. I can well imagine that there are beings with greater experience of God's ways than ours, to whom much, if not all, that we count supernatural is but the ordinary course of nature, yet I should hold that they recognise God more, not less, than we do.

To illustrate the prevalence of the notion that a thing is not to be owned as God's work if it be possible to give any other account of it, I take the proposed experiment to determine the efficacy of prayer, to which reference has been made already—namely, to take a hospital which shall be made the special subject of prayer, and to observe whether it would differ from others in the proportion of its cures. Suppose the experiment tried and the result to be in favour of the institution which had been made the subject of prayer, you may be sure that before God's hand would be owned in the result it would be insisted on that there should be no secondary means that would account for it. If the Christian institution had the services of abler physicians, if the remedies they had employed were different from those used elsewhere, it would be said that the experiment was not fair and must be tried over again. And it would be forgotten to ask who put it into their minds to use those remedies. If the Christian institution, as very probably would be the case, had the services of Christian devoted women, it would be said the success was due to no special act of God, but to their skilful nursing, and it would not be considered who breathed the spirit which made that work to these women a labour of love. To any one who does not refuse to put these deeper questions, the whole experiment is unnecessary. You want to know whether Christian prayer—and from Christian prayer you must not dissociate the whole circle of Christian ideas which are inseparably connected with it—whether Christian prayer for the removal of disease and the lengthening of human life has any perceptible effect. You refuse to try the question by an isolated case which might give but a chance coincidence, and you wish the experiment to be tried by averages,—and in a hospital. Why those who send us there cannot see the wood for trees. Who can doubt that average health has been improved and average life lengthened by the operation of these institutions unknown to heathenism, which Christian love has imagined for the relief of the sick poor, but which have

turned out to be of no less benefit to the rich. You pray for the recovery of a beloved relative, and it is granted to you. Nay, it is said it is not God who has restored him, but the skill of the physician. But where did the physician acquire that skill? You will scarcely be wrong if you answer that his experience of diseases and their remedies was gained in one of those very institutions which never would have existed if it had not been for that circle of Christian beliefs of which the efficacy of prayer is a part.

But we may go deeper. After all, there is not great disagreement between what Christians have learned from the New Testament to believe about prayer and what irreligious men confess to be the observed result of its effects. Both parties say that if you pray for a temporal blessing, such as recovery from sickness or the averting of any other calamity, you cannot count with any certainty on obtaining the blessing you ask for. Christians assert that God will certainly answer the prayer, but it may be not in the form we desire. On the other hand, we assert, and even atheists do not deny, that prayer for spiritual blessings is, as a general rule, certainly successful; that if when tried by temptation we earnestly seek for help from the source of all purity, power to resist the temptation comes; that if we ask for patience and resignation under trial, the very act of asking is the first step to obtain what we ask—nay, that when we ask for temporal blessings, with that limitation which we have learned to put, "Not my will but Thine be done," if we do not obtain the things themselves we ask for, yet the act of making known our requests by prayer to God, and casting our care upon Him, fills our heart with a peace which is better than the very thing we desired. This is so generally conceded that even Comte in his atheistic system of religion prescribed two hours of daily prayer to his disciples. There is no need, then, of experiment to ascertain the facts, and the only question is, what account science teaches us to give of them? We are told it is not God that produces this purity and peace by any direct action on the soul; they are but the natural effects on our own minds of the prayers we use. But recollect that to say that a thing is a natural consequence, or a law of nature, means no more than to say over again in other words that it is a thing which constantly happens, and on which we can count with tolerable certainty. But the question at issue is whether this result is the effect of blind, unsympathising forces, or the consequence of bringing the soul into contact with a living Father of spotless purity and infinite goodness. And science happily furnishes us with a criterion to determine which of these theories is the true one. When science establishes a real law of nature, it is an increase of man's power over nature. When we learn the law, we have only to comply with it, and, by acting in accordance with it, we receive the fruits which it yields. If we want to know whether we have the true theory of any art, try if it improves the practice of the art. In this way the Christian theory of prayer is verified. They who believe that it is possible for them to enter into communion with God delight to exercise their privilege; and even those who do not share their faith confess that the result is that their souls are elevated and purified. But test in like manner the theory that direct communion with God is a delusion, and that the results of which we speak have been merely obtained by the action of the soul on itself. Just try to obtain them so. Give up faith in God, and that prayer which is the very breath of the life of so many thousands of Christian souls perishes at once. Tell men that they can purify their souls by a process of self-mesmerising, and will you get one man in a thousand to perform it? What would you think of a so-called science of naval architecture if, as soon as a ship carpenter had learned it, he became unable to construct a boat? Science teaches us to think the same of a theory which professes to give an account of the elevating and purifying effects produced by prayer, but which when men have once adopted they become unable to offer a petition.

I hold then that there is no likelihood that Vital Christianity will be undone by the progress of science and civilisation. Let us not be scared by panic so as to do injustice to the age in which we live. I doubt if there was any in which

lived a greater number of persons, the moving principle of whose whole lives was the love of Him whom they have not seen. The light of Christianity burns so brightly that it is reflected even in the faces of its assailants; and, if we were to judge from their writings only, we should say that there were more signs of vital religion in some of those who now assail our faith than in some of those who defended it in the last century. Nor do I believe that there will ever be a time until our Lord's second coming when there will not be thousands to attest their conviction of the truth of the statement of that ancient book to which I have referred already, "The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and His ears are open to their prayers."

The Rev. Prebendary Clark made the following address :—

Whatever may be our opinion as to the proper or the actual relations between science and civilisation on the one side, and Christianity on the other, it cannot be denied that Christian thought has been influenced by modern civilisation. If the Church be the mother of this civilisation, it is equally true that the daughter, in the exercise more or less independent of her derived life, has influenced considerably the parent from whom she derived it. So it always has been. Any one, for instance, who has read only a page of the writings of Clement of Alexandria and St. Augustine, must see how men whose opinions are yet essentially the same, were influenced by the circumstances in which they lived. And the same thing takes place in our own day. No one speaks the same religious language which his grandfather spoke; and I am so far from regarding this as a matter of regret, that I must consider it a subject of congratulation. If the religious language of this generation were precisely the same as that of the generations which preceded it, it would not prove that we had the same religion in our hearts: it would rather prove that the Christian religion had not a true and vital affinity with the civilisation of our own day. It is, however, important for us to distinguish between the proper and improper influence of civilisation upon religious thought. No doubt many of our modes of thought are affected by it, and ought to be affected by it; but there are certain facts and certain principles which must never be modified to meet any form of civilisation. The well ascertained facts of the religious life cannot be affected by such influences. They cannot affect our religious wants. They cannot really explain them away, although they may sometimes try it. They cannot exterminate or quench them; and they cannot meet and satisfy them, nor can they, in the slightest degree, affect the objective truth of Divine revelation. That, in as far as it consists of facts and disclosures of the Divine mind, must be either true or false, either fact or fiction; and, in points like these, no accommodation is at all possible. Whatever may be our interpretation of particular parts of the record, the great truths to which it bears constant testimony must remain for ever the same, unchanged and unchangeable by all the changing influences to which they are subjected. We are here pointing to a distinction which has not been sufficiently observed or borne in mind. The revelation of God in the person, and work of Jesus Christ, and in the Church of Christ—this is one thing; but the incidental notices of natural phenomena, which accompany the record of this revelation, are quite another thing. It is impossible, and it would be absurd, to deny that the progress of civilisation and science does greatly affect our interpretation of such incidental statements as are quite apart from the subject matter of revelation. We have, on the other hand, no hesitation in asserting that the essence of Divine revelation is altogether unaffected by the advances made by science. And this seems to be the question which, in the interests of mankind, and not merely of the Church—much less of what is called the clerical party—we have to meet with a decided negative,

Do the advances of science and civilisation render religion unnecessary? They are so far from doing so, that they not only depend greatly upon the spirit of religion for their own best and truest life, but they confirm the precepts of religion by the results of their own investigations. 1. Take first the most obvious illustration of this statement. The sanction which the Divine revelation affords to the laws of virtue and morality, is given no less by science and by experience. Truth, purity, temperance, honesty—these are all required by the enlightened conscience; they are pronounced to be a due and lawful exercise of the powers and faculties of man by science, and their utility is demonstrated by experience. We do not say that these voices have always spoken clearly and definitely on the subject. On the contrary, they have frequently, although unconsciously, owed their decision of tone to that revelation with which they sometimes imagine that they could dispense; but this is only to say that they do more than confirm the precepts of religion. 2. We may go a step further, and select that virtue or grace, which is, above all, characteristic of Christianity. I mean the grace of humility. This grace is the creation of the gospel, and was unknown, at least in all the fulness of its meaning, to the ethics of heathenism; and yet it is the quality which, by consent of all, forms an essential part of the character and deportment of what we call a gentleman. Here, again, civilisation must confess its debt to Christianity, and set its seal upon the truth of revealed morality. 3. We must admit, however, when we rise higher—into what may be called a more purely Christian atmosphere—that there is one cardinal principle of the Gospel of which the world has no knowledge, and which it has not yet learnt to esteem. I mean the principle of self-sacrifice—the principle of the Cross—"he that loseth his life shall save it." The world, certainly, has not as yet got to see that the only crown of glory which can be rightfully worn by the sons of men is one which is won by the way of the Cross. The world still keeps to its own principle—"the weakest goes to the wall,"—"the meek shall in no wise inherit the earth."—"Providence helps the strongest batallions,"—"no one will undergo suffering willingly unless he be destitute of reason or prudence." These ideas, which seem to be an essential part of our modern civilisation, are certainly not at all in accord with the Christianity of Christ or of His saints. But I would ask, Is this an argument against Christianity? Is it not rather a proof of its transcendent greatness? "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, for they are spiritually discerned." These are things "which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man; but which God hath revealed unto us by His Spirit." And, if it be said that this is the arrogance of a false illumination—that we are dismissing reason and experience when we can no longer make them agree with us, we can appeal from the superficial notions of a day to the deeper conscience of humanity at large, instructed by an experience which extends throughout centuries; and that will tell us that there are no names which dwell in the heart of mankind, no names which shine so bright on the page of history, none which it so moves our hearts to name or to hear, none which bid the tear start unbidden to the eye,—as the names which are borne by those who have had most of that spirit of self-sacrifice which was the very life of the Crucified One—by those who loved not their own life, who loved God and man more and better than their own life. And this is true, not only of those who consciously drew their life from the Saviour of Mankind, but also of those who had never heard His name, but who, hardly knowing whence it came, had gained from that eternal light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, a brighter irradiation than fell upon the hearts of common men—even before His manifestation upon earth. If we look back into ancient history, is not the name of Marcus Curtius greater than the name of Horatius, and that of Codrus greater than Themistocles? The history of King David, pouring out the water of the Well of Bethlehem,

touches us more deeply than his victory over Goliath; and, if we come to our own country, and think of the name of Sir Philip Sydney, we do not dwell upon his genius, his culture, his far-travelled experience; we delight to think of him putting away the cup of water from his own dying lips, and ordering it to be given to the soldier whose necessity was greater than his own. What shall we say of this universal recognition of the spirit of such heroism? Must we not assert that it is an unconscious testimony to that principle of the Gospel which was first plainly taught by the Son of God, and first completely and consistently manifested in His life and His death of sacrifice and devotion? 4. Or, again, if science condemns the principle of mediation and reconciliation, it can only be by denying the fact of human guilt, or dismissing it as incapable of remedy. II. But I must turn for a moment to another aspect of what is supposed to be a collision between physical science and revealed religion or Vital Christianity. Vital Christianity, as we have learnt it, presupposes and springs from a living Head. And certain unwise professors of scientific knowledge have not only said (as they had a right to say), "We know nothing of any supernatural causes which operate outside the natural world with which we are concerned;" but they have gone further, and said, "There is no room for any such causes. Science not only ignores them, it excludes them. Law is so uniform and so certain, that there is no room for God." If there is no room for God in the natural world then we assert, without hesitation, that there is no room for man. If the Divine will has no place in the actual order of things, then no more has the human will. It is impossible to work out a thought like this at present, even if it were necessary, which I hope it is not, to do so. I will only say that it seems to me self-evident that the denial of a will in God must lead to the denial of a will in man—that the notion of a voluntary creature, who had not for his parent a voluntary creator, is a contradiction. This, then, is the *reductio ad absurdum* of Positivism; and I think we may fairly refuse to give attention to a theory which involves a contradiction of all the ordinary laws of human life, of human action, and even of all human legislation, ancient and modern. There is, however, one point in this argument which deserves a moment's consideration—it is the question not of theory, but of fact. Has the progress of science, as a fact, made religion or a belief in Divine mysteries incredible? I know that this has been argued in the affirmative by a writer of great acquirements and considerable power. The history of civilisation, he tells us, is the history of advancing knowledge of science and of retiring belief in the mysteries of religion and the supernatural. But these statements are certainly not borne out by facts. It is quite true, we must admit, that the eighteenth century was a scientific century, and that religiously it was an age of unparalleled coldness and deadness. But I will ask you to observe two things. First, that the deadness of the eighteenth century certainly was not caused by scientific discoveries, but came from a cause of which we have great need to take heed in our own days—the embittered controversies of professing Christians who seemed better pleased that faith in Christ should perish out of the earth than that it should flourish in any other form than their own. And then let it be further remarked, that when this deadness had come to its appropriate end, corruption—that when infidelity and encyclopedism, and I know not what beside, had well-nigh extinguished the higher life of man—the human race was not contented, as some scientific men would tell us it ought to have been, to break in pieces all its ancient religious beliefs, like so many idols—fit for nothing but the dunghill—was not contented henceforth to take Science for its God and Civilisation for its highest teacher; but returned with a bound (I do not think the word too strong) to the faith which was thought to have been discarded—and a revival of religion took place throughout North-western Europe, at least such as has not been witnessed for centuries.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. W. C. Worsley.

Since the moment when I had the temerity to send up my card to speak on this occasion, I am sure you will forgive me for saying I have been to some extent in a state of trepidation. We have heard a great deal of lay co-operation, but I am afraid it must be admitted that our right reverend and excellent chairman has had occasion generally to introduce a clergyman to this meeting. Therefore, though I feel very unequal to the task I have imposed upon myself, I will venture to throw aside my natural bashfulness, and ask your attention. Now, the matter which we have to consider is the bearing of civilisation at this time upon Vital Christianity. I will not, in discussing this question, go into theological matters, but rather into something which seeks to touch the practical part of the subject. No doubt it is a fact that the education, and the science, and the practical knowledge of this age about material things has led to a very great degree of individual self-assertion, so that every body is supposed in this enlightened age to be able to say, "I have a right to my own opinion; I do not wish to be bound by authority, to the teaching of the Bible or of the Church. All these things are very well in their way to those that like them, but I will stand alone." There is no doubt this tendency, and it is a dangerous tendency, and an evil one, because it tends to split up what should be a National Church, and will, unless checked, leave nothing behind but a vast mass of heterogeneous, seething confusion. But, the point on which I wish more particularly to speak, is this. If there is one thing which is more distinctly significant of this age than another—in England at any rate—it is the greed of wealth. Now, I contend that the tendency to grow rich, the haste to get money, is the great impulse which drives this big people of England forward. I believe most firmly that the greed for wealth, and the acquisition of wealth have a very great tendency to selfishness, and selfishness is the very opposite of Christianity. If Christianity teaches anything, it teaches love to God and love to man, and that love is entirely opposed to selfishness. Christianity teaches men to deny themselves, to give up what they themselves might like, and to do what they can for God and man; and that is the great battle that has to be fought between Vital Christianity and Civilisation at this time. What is the tendency of England now? Commerce, trade, to be the workshop of the world. The people of England accumulate in large towns, and the whole prosperity of the country is supposed to lie in these things. But, what is to stand in the gap and do battle with this—I will not call it evil—but this great and difficult tendency? There is no principle that I know of except the principle of Vital Christianity. The difference between wealth and poverty is awful; and what, I ask, is to bring those two great opposite sides of society into harmony? Nothing but Christianity. But, if I ask my reverend friends, who are the persons that help them in their work—and it is absolutely impossible they can do it alone—I shall be told it is not the men but the women. I do not at all accuse the wealthy men of England of declining to put their hands into their pockets, and so far as it goes, it is well. But money is not heart, and if the Christianity of England cannot lead the men of England to giving their hearts and their personal work to God, and the good of those around them, it is worth nothing at all. This is just the point I wish to speak of. I have done it very feebly, and shortly I shall make my bow. But, ladies and gentlemen, before I hear the melodious tinkle of the silver bell, allow me to hope sincerely that the blessing of God may rest upon this great effort at Leeds, because, whatever else we do or learn here, we ought to learn charity. Different people with different views, and different aspirations as to details, come here and address you, but we must learn to put aside bitterness. I do not like to hear "Oh, oh," and "No, no." Let every man say his say.

Christianity is quite strong enough to stand against the little trivialities of one person and another. Avoiding bitterness then, ladies and gentlemen, let us work together for the common cause, giving all latitude for the weakness of our neighbours, and remembering that we have many weaknesses of our own.

The Right Rev. Bishop Ryan.

I have sent in my name to the right reverend chairman because I wish to make a few remarks on a certain objection which is often drawn from the subject which we are now considering—objections which I have often heard myself, and which, I have no doubt, have been often heard by my clerical brethren around me. The objection is this: men argue from the acknowledged progress of science to the equally acknowledged non-progress of revelation; and they say as there is so much progress in science they want something which will run in a parallel line with that progress. They say they are not satisfied with the truths which satisfied former generations. This is the objection which I have very often heard urged. What then is the answer? The answer we make is this. That while there has been much change and progress in the discoveries of science, and the advance of civilisation, there has been no change, no progress in those wants of the human soul which revelation was intended to supply. There are other things, too, in which there has been no change. Look at poetry, for example. There has been a very stupendous change in the manner of communicating to others the ideas of intellectual men since the days of Homer, to the days when a late eminent statesman published one of the last translations of one of the greatest of the Homeric poems. By the improvements of scientific appliances the result of that intellectual labour was made to spread over a wide surface in a very short space of time. But while there has been a stupendous progress in the appliances with which the fruit of intellectual labour is made known to others, there has been no progress at all in the poetic powers of man. I believe there was just as much poetic power in men, and power to appreciate it, in the cities of Greece and Ionia, and in the languages of Greece and Rome, as there is now anywhere in our towns, now that those languages have become dead and others have taken their place. One might bring other illustrations also, but I bring this particular one forward to illustrate my assertion that the wants of the human soul, which the Gospel of Jesus Christ is intended to supply, are the same now as they always were. For instance, take one of the great wants of the human soul, which meets it in the hour of bereavement. Are not the words as necessary now, as consoling as they were in the days of our Lord upon earth, in that village of Bethany; are they not as consoling now when they are heard by the grave-yard gate of some little village in England—"I am the resurrection and the life: whosoever believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live?" And when the soul is harassed with the sense of sin, there is just as much power as ever there was in the declaration that "The Blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin." Therefore, I maintain that the revelation which was delivered from God, perfect and complete, 1800 years ago, equal to satisfy the spiritual wants of men then, is just as suitable for that high purpose now. I shall give you an extract and translation from a statement of one of the greatest of modern philosophers on these subjects—the French philosopher and naturalist, Cuvier; and you will see what he says as to the line of progress and science, and the line of what may be called a stationary condition, with reference to the wants of the human soul. After showing that science, and the uses to which it is applied, lead to new discoveries, and new applications of those discoveries—suggesting a thought of a progress to which we can see no limit, he adds that science day by day obtains a more distant and a more commanding view; but *in opposition to this* he states "the real intimate nature of the heart of man perpetually brings

him within the narrow circle of the same feelings and the same passions, and therefore imposes on the art of ruling and pleasing men bounds which they cannot pass." Then he adds, "Unfortunately science cannot procure for man the tranquillity of his soul. Science can fathom the course of the comets across the boundless fields of space, but the heart of man escapes it, and while it triumphs over the waves of the sea, it has no secret for calming the restlessness of ambition." This is the testimony of one of the foremost in the ranks of scientific men in our day, and, therefore, we say that while we rejoice in every real accession which is made to the facts of science, we are well assured that the work of God's fingers can never be opposed to the utterance of His voice. And while we appreciate and admire the patient skill which discovers the facts of science on the one hand, and the high range of thought which proves and illustrates the working of cultivated and restrained imagination on the other, we yet cling closely, gratefully, lovingly, to the sentiments of our Christian poet:—

"When thou hast told those Isles of light,
And fancied all beyond,
Whatever owns in depth or height,
Creation's wondrous bond;

"Then in their solemn pageant learn
Sweet mercy's praise to see,
Their Lord forsook them all to earn
The bliss of pardoning thee."

The Rev. Canon Walsham How.

Believing, as I do, that the relations between religion and science are in a far more healthy state than they were some years ago, and that earnest believers in the truth of Christianity are for the most part welcoming heartily scientific research as a true and faithful method of reading God's handwriting in His works, I shall not employ my few minutes in general observations, but shall use them in the endeavour to draw out, in one special instance, the latent harmony which may underlie the seeming divergence of Scripture and science. It would be generally conceded that the tendency of scientific research is to increase the field of the material, while the teaching of the Bible is rather in favour of the spiritual. Let us consider how certain words of our Lord bear upon this apparent divergence. Our Lord adduces as a proof of the Resurrection of the dead, the title by which God announced Himself to Moses at the bush:—"I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," adding, "God is not the God of the dead but of the living." Now to a superficial reader this is no proof at all of the Resurrection. It *is* a proof of the immortality of the soul. It *is* an argument that the patriarchs, of whom God spake, had not ceased to exist. God would not call Himself the God of beings who had long passed away into nothingness. So far is clear. But our Lord brings the passage forward as a proof, not of the immortality of the soul, but of the Resurrection. He entirely ignores the popular distinction between soul and body. He does not say the *bodies* of the patriarchs shall be raised. It is *they*—the patriarchs themselves: "the dead are raised." If it were not for our Lord's use of the words, we should not have known that when God speaks of Abraham, He regards him in his twofold nature as soul *and body*. God is not the God of Abraham's soul only, but of Abraham, and Abraham (like all other children of men) consists of *body and soul*. In God's eye the two are so one that death cannot destroy the union. Well, and can *we* really discriminate so readily between soul and body? Do we really know what the soul is? or the body? It is certain the body need not mean this material frame, as we know it. St. Paul says, "Flesh and blood cannot

inherit the kingdom of God;" and yet a *body* certainly can, as the whole argument of the same passage goes to prove. Moses and Elias, at the Transfiguration, had some bodily form. And now we reach a point where we cannot pierce the mystery. But as we stand before the veil, we think of the dicta of modern science, how we have been told that all things tend to materialism, that thought, memory, feelings, and other acts which we generally refer to the spiritual side of our nature, are really traceable to the brain, and to the nerve currents, and are inconceivable apart from material conditions. Well, this is not quite proved yet. But supposing research and discovery to succeed in establishing this intimate connection between the material and the spiritual, what then? Are we to stand aghast, as though Faith had received its death-blow? Or may we not say something of this sort:—We are very ignorant; we know not how a disembodied spirit can act or feel or live. Those who know Dr. Newman's poem, "The Dream of Gerontius," know how marvellously he feels after the conception of a disembodied existence. But, if modern science tell us that a bodily state is necessary for at least some of the more frequent phenomena of existence, may not our Bible say the same? So, at least, our Lord Himself seems to speak. We are not taught a Manichæan contempt of the outward frame, as though it were all evil, and the highest state of perfection were to get rid of the body altogether. No; Christianity ennobles and exalts the body. Christianity endows it with immortality. Christianity tells us that we have "a city which hath foundations"—no place of temporary sojourn—no pilgrim's tent—no dim, shadowy abode—but "a city which hath foundations"—plainly the home, not of disembodied spirits, but of the glorified bodies of the saints. It was for this the patriarchs looked; it was this which God had prepared for them: "wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God." Thus does the Epistle to the Hebrews confirm and illustrate our Lord's application of the title by which God called Himself in ancient times. And thus we see that the Bible itself has its materialistic teaching, and that it may be science is only feeling out the very truth which Revelation has long ago shadowed forth in its deeper mysteries of Divine teaching.

The Rev. Edward Garbett.

There are two practical directions in which the effect of modern science and civilisation upon Christianity may be traced. It may be traced in the effect of Vital Christianity upon the individual soul, and in the effect upon the souls of those who are yet strangers to its influence. The state of science is eminently a state of transition. It deals very largely with theories, unproved and often in their very nature unprovable. An illustration of this is to be found in Mr. Darwin's work on the "Origin of Species," which has become almost an acknowledged authority in modern science. But Mr. Darwin has clearly stated that the whole of his theory requires the existence of an indefinite series of geological epochs, of which there is no trace in the whole framework of the world. Hence a man of science is compelled to hold his mind in a state of suspense, waiting for the fuller knowledge which may either confirm or overthrow his existing hypothesis. There can be no quiet repose for fixed and ascertained knowledge in such a mental condition. It is perfectly natural that the habits of mind thus produced should stretch from science into other domains of thought, even a domain so practical as the relation of the human soul towards a God and a future world. The result has been to make men of science impatient of fixed dogmatic statements. The present state of civilisation contributes to the same result, because it is a materialising civilisation which tends to throw the unseen and spiritual out of view behind the sensible and material. The result finds expression in one

common mode of speech, which is seen frequently in newspapers and other publications, but against which every Christian apologist, and indeed every Christian man, should most earnestly protest. I refer to the outcry for a religion without a theology. If what is meant by theology is a theoretical study of divine truth in a scientific form, all must admit that the holiest saint may be devoid of such a scientific theology; but if theology means the acceptance of certain fixed and definite truths, then there can be no religion without theology. If I read my Bible right, we are taught that the Holy Ghost does not act blindly upon the human mind, that He is not a kind of mystical influence that comes and goes no one knows how or whence, but as Christ himself shows that He is a Divine intelligent Spirit, acting upon the human intelligent spirit through motives which appeal to the intelligence. Take away all theology and you take away the very instrument of the Spirit's work. You destroy all definite belief in the nature of God and in the persons of the Trinity, and in the method of the sinner's acceptance before God; you reduce religion into a mere sentiment, without foundation on which to rest, without authority, and without power. There is likewise the effect which science and civilisation have upon the growth of Vital Christianity in the individual soul, and here it acts in a different way—namely, by reaction. Men, finding no satisfaction to their intellects in science or in civilisation, fall back more and more upon simple faith and that personal experience of the Spirit of God which they have in their own soul. The believer has the inward witness in himself. It has often been said that the moral evidence so afforded to the divine character of the faith applies to the individual man alone, and cannot be pleaded in argument with other men. But one element in the case has been overlooked. It has been forgotten that there is an objective standard by which these subjective effects may be measured. It is found in God's Holy Word. Faith in the Lord Jesus received into the heart will, by the Spirit of God, produce a certain effect upon the principles, character, affections, temper, and upon the whole life of man. This effect is not indefinite, not capricious, not irregular, not uncertain, but definite and distinct. Who doubts that there is a general family likeness among all the people of God? Who would call in question that brotherhood of heart which, under all possible diversities of circumstance and place, unites together in one community of faith all who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity. We have a right to argue from this fact. The divine promise may be regarded as a test by which Christianity may be tried, a challenge that rests the reality of Christianity upon the effect that is or is not produced upon the character of the Christian man. The witness of infidelity is evidence that Christianity does produce a moral effect upon the character, for why else does it set up a higher standard in judging of a Christian than in judging of other men. The result which Christianity pledges itself to produce is produced, and if this be so, Christianity must be of God, and God must be true.

The Bishop of Carlisle.

I rise with considerable reluctance to add a few words to the present discussion; but I obey the call of the chair. I should have preferred saying nothing this morning, for two reasons. In the first place, I have to preach in the evening at the Parish Church, and it is just within the limits of possibility that I might feel myself called upon to treat of something like the subject with which we have been dealing this morning; and, in the second place, the manner in which the subject has been treated in the papers and the speeches which introduced it to us appears to me to have been most exhaustive, and a perfect model of what such discussions ought to be. A rather cruel question has been quoted, and given to Canning, about senior wranglers. I will refer to

the paper read by the right reverend gentleman who first addressed the meet- as a sufficient answer to the question. For myself, I feel no anxiety about it, having unhappily just missed the fortunate condition. So much has been said upon the subject that it seems almost hard to call upon anybody to speak upon the spur of the moment; but there is one side of the subject which, I think, might be worth a few moments' attention. A good deal has been said, and rightly said, in accordance with our thesis, of the effect which must be produced by the present state of science and civilisation upon Christianity. Now, I am sure we all believe and feel in our hearts that Christianity can have nothing whatever to fear from her enemies, either in this age or any future period; but we also believe and feel that although there may be, and is, no danger to the Church or Christianity there may be danger to individual Christians. That which is feared and dreaded is that persons, and especially young persons, who simply see the results, or supposed results, as they are presented in our popular literature, will go away with some sort of confused notion that Christianity is not so sure as it was supposed to be, and that there are difficulties in it which clever men have discovered, and which have proved incapable of solution. That appears to me the great danger we have to contend with. I suppose there are very few who, looking around upon those whom they have known and loved, are not able to say of some who appeared at one time to promise well, and to some of whom the assertion having "Vital Christianity" might have most properly applied, that nevertheless they have somehow or other, in the difficulties of the age, made shipwreck of their faith. It is impossible for us to go into the whole question, but I wish to lay before you that our true attitude is not to fear how much we might be injured by the progress of science and civilisation, but rather to consider how Vital Christianity, standing upon the high pedestal which has been assigned to it by Him who was the Author of it, is to deal with that tone which comes out in what we call the Science and Civilisation of the Age. The attitude of Christianity ought to be active and not passive with regard to the feelings and thoughts of the times. We should consider not whether there is any danger that we can put aside as quite out of the question, but we must try how we can govern and modify and steer the current which will undoubtedly proceed, and the direction of which depends very much upon those who really give themselves to considerations of subjects of this kind. I will say that there are two or three attitudes which we ought to assume with regard to this question of science and civilisation. In the first place, I would say, have patience. If those theories of which we have heard so much are as empty as they are said to be, then, depend upon it, they will soon pass away. Don't let us hurry in order to get to a result. Let us have confidence in the truth of God, and be assured that that faith, which has now lasted for nineteen centuries, will last long after the time when these false hypotheses and conclusions have been forgotten. Then, let us be thankful for the age in which God has been pleased to cast our lot. Don't let us think that this nineteenth century, because like other centuries it has evils of its own, is worse than other centuries. Depend upon it there was no past century which had more in it to tend to the glory God, none in which it has been more possible for a Christian man to do his duty, none in which a man might be more thankful and proud, if I may use the word, than this century in which God has cast our lot. And then, once more, let us have faith with regard to the characteristics of the century in which we live. If it be true that science has acquired great power; that civilisation has made such progress as it has never made before; that man has a power over nature to which all that has gone before could not be for a moment compared, then let us consider how it might be all turned to the honour and praise of Almighty God. And if the appliances of human science have grown, and if we have at our disposal those wonderful modern inventions with which we are familiar, then don't let us doubt the mercy of God in giving us all those things; but let us consider how all the

inventions and discoveries, and knowledge, and science, and civilisation of modern times can be applied for the one great purpose of subduing mankind by them in our own country, and throughout the world, to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Rev. Canon Trevor.

I can assure the Congress that it is with the most unfeigned reluctance that I present myself to their notice, after the speakers we have heard, and on a question on which I feel myself to be absolutely without any title to be heard. Nothing should have induced me to such an act of presumption, but the urgent importunity of some about me, to whose wishes I am bound to defer. They thought it right for me to call attention to the impotence of civilisation apart from true religion, as it has been exemplified in countries whose civilisation is altogether unaffected by Christianity. In this country it is not unlikely that much which is attributed to civilisation is really due to the Gospel, which has created and shaped the civilisation of Europe. But in the oriental world there still exists a civilisation of great antiquity, which has flourished and run its career entirely apart from Christian influences. It was my lot in the early part of my ministry to be brought into contact with the practical and social results of such a purely intellectual civilisation in India. It would surprise many to know how much of our modern philosophy has been anticipated in the speculations of the Brahmans, two or three thousand years ago. Even in its present degraded condition the Brahman civilisation was, in many respects, strikingly similar to what is called civilisation in England. Their philosophy of the Absolute and the Finite, and the impossibility (as they hold it) of any actual relations between the Supreme Being and the creatures of this lower world, struck me as being much the same, that I have since heard in the University of Oxford and from other learned circles in England. Now the effect of such learning on the practical life of man is to be seen in the present moral and social condition of the millions of India. I hope my right reverend friend who has just spoken will not be offended if I say that I was sorry indeed to hear a word of apology offered for the Archbishop of Canterbury's most righteous, most true, and most exact definition of the duty of Christian men in presence of such a civilisation as that. We are not to be deterred by any false notions of liberality or the fear of giving offence, from assailing it with all the power and purity of Gospel missions. I have endeavoured lately to expose the futility of such pretences in some letters to the *Times* and other papers, which I suppose is the reason for my being called upon on the present occasion. I have nothing to retract of what I then urged. The present state of native society in India is only another example of what universal experience teaches us, that science and civilisation separated from a clear, definite, dogmatic view of the reconciliation of the human soul to its Maker and Judge, must decay into idolatry and spread moral devastation among the nations who may be subject to such perverted influences.

The Rev. George Nash.

I remember being much struck by a remark, which was made by Dr. Kaye, at the Norwich Congress, on nearly the same subject as that we are now discussing. It was this—that though we are (to a great extent at least) bound to accept the *facts* which are presented to us by men of science in their several departments, yet their deductions from those facts have not an equal claim to our unhesitating assent. Any man, of sound mind and good logical training, may form his own opinion as to whether their *conclusions*

do really follow from their premises or not. Mr. Darwin's book struck me as a remarkable illustration of the truth of this observation. The facts, scattered up and down through the book, we must all, no doubt, accept as true; but on these facts he has built up a monstrous fabric of theory, not based on any sound logical induction, but on a congeries of assumptions. This estimate, as *my* opinion is, of course, of no value, but it becomes of very great importance when it is the deliberate judgment of such a body as the French Academy. My reason for speaking on this occasion is that it is a fact not generally known, but which I think ought to be known as widely as possible, that Mr. Darwin has been refused admission to the French Academy as a foreign correspondent, not on any religious grounds, but, as stated in *Les Mondes*, because "the science of those of his books which have made his chief title to fame—the 'Origin of Species,' and still more the 'Descent of Man'—is not science, but a mass of assertions and absolutely gratuitous hypotheses, often evidently fallacious. This kind of publication and these theories are a bad example, which a body which respects itself cannot encourage." This judgment of such a body as the French Academy is one which cannot be lightly set aside, and ought to be generally known.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, 9th OCTOBER.

The Right Reverend the President took the Chair at Two o'clock.

THE CHURCH, IN ITS RELATIONS TO THE STATE, AND TO NONCONFORMISTS.

Colonel Akroyd, M.P. read the following paper:—

The subject which has been entrusted to me by the Committee of the Church Congress, is one of peculiar delicacy and difficulty. I am fully sensible of the magnitude of the task which I have undertaken, and with natural self-diffidence might have hesitated; but that, under the present crisis, it is the duty of every true Churchman to occupy any post assigned to him by those who may be better able than himself to measure his influence and his power to serve the Church.

There are special advantages to be derived from the advocacy of Laymen. They are not pecuniarily and directly affected by Church Disestablishment and Disendowment. Upon them must fall the brunt of the battle for Church defence; and yet to be successful, both clergy and laity must close their ranks, forget individual and party differences, and unite as one body in a just and righteous cause.

The first branch of my subject I have studied from sources of information open to all Englishmen, which will be carefully explored by those who zealously uphold the Monarchy and the Church. With regard to the latter branch, the circumstances of my early life afforded

me a personal knowledge of the feeling which then prevailed among moderate Dissenters towards the Church of England. My father's family were members of the Methodist New Connexion from its secession, under the leadership of Alexander Kilham, in 1797; whilst my maternal grandfather was an Independent or Congregationalist. I was, therefore, brought up and educated as a Dissenter, although baptised at the district Church by the Incumbent; and, until I arrived at man's estate, attended the chapel of the New Connexion in Halifax, with the rest of the family.

My early intercourse with Dissenters has taught me none other than a kindly feeling towards them; whilst the opportunities which I have had of comparing the aspect of the Church, both from the standpoint of the Dissenters and that of Churchmen, have enabled me to form a more Catholic and unprejudiced judgment upon the whole subject, than I could otherwise have hoped to attain.

It was not until I had read the first volume of the "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," by Dr. Hook, Dean of Chichester, that I became fully aware how closely the History of England is involved in that of the National Church. There is something peculiarly touching to those who have the honour of his acquaintance or friendship, in the remark of the author in the introductory chapter. He says:—"A vocation to pastoral duty in the manufacturing districts demanded and exhausted his energies for five and thirty years, but he sought his recreation in the study of Ecclesiastical History, and he resumes, in his old age, a task which he unwillingly relinquished." In framing his biographies, he has placed the successive Primates in the centre of each era, and has grouped around each Archbishop the ecclesiastical events of his age. "The Church of England is here regarded as a national institution, which, under its various phases, has existed from the time of Augustine to the present hour." In like manner, the Monarchy of England dates its origin from the remote past, and preserves its unity through the succession of its sovereigns.

During the short interval at my disposal, I propose, in giving a rapid sketch of the History of the Church of England, in its relations to the State, to regard the Church in the same light as does Dr. Hook, namely, as a national institution. It shall be my endeavour to show that this connection has been mutually beneficial; that it has tended to Christianise the people; to raise and improve the condition of the labourer; to soften the asperities of war; and to strengthen the spirit and independence of the nation.

At a period when public attention is called in this country to the slave trade on the east coast of Africa, national sympathy might appropriately be evoked by the fact that England was first indebted for the reception of Christianity, in the sixth century, to the sympathy of Pope Gregory for three Yorkshire youths exposed for sale in the slave market of Rome. He was struck with the open countenance and noble bearing of the lads; and when informed of their country, declared, punster as he was, that the Angles should become angels. This scene occurred before he was elevated to the See of Rome, but when, as Pope, he attained power, he did not forget his vow. He sent out Augustine, as an Italian missionary to England, for the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons.

The See of Canterbury was founded in 597 A.D. by Ethelbert; and Augustine was the first Archbishop. Within a year after the arrival of Augustine, the kingdom of Kent, amounting to more than ten thousand souls, was converted to Christianity. About the same time, the laws known as the Dooms of Ethelbert were enacted; and the Church was established in the kingdom of Kent.

The whole of Great Britain was not Pagan, prior to the arrival of Augustine; since, in the year 565 A.D., Columba crossed as a missionary from Ireland to the island of Columba, or Icolmkill. It is curious to note the differences between the Celtic and the Roman Church of that age; differences which we may consider trivial, because they chiefly related to the tonsure of the clergy, and subsequently, to the time of celebrating Easter. But like some questions, on which modern Ritualists lay great stress, they were considered all important at the time. Augustine himself, being somewhat narrow-minded and sectarian, was not the proper person to conciliate these differences. Two conferences were held for the purpose of deciding whether the two branches of the Catholic Church in Britain should unite under the Archbishop of Canterbury; but they were productive of no result. On a question respecting the liturgy, whether the Gallican or the Italian should be used, Augustine consulted Gregory. The latter advised the new Archbishop, in arranging the services of the English Church, not to tie himself down to the Roman ritual, or to the Gallican, but to select a new liturgy for the Church of England.

Monasteries were used by Gregory as missionary colleges in towns, and as missionary stations in the country. It is a singular coincidence that the first monastery erected by Augustine for this purpose at Canterbury, has been restored in late years as a missionary college.

The work which had been so ably commenced in England by Ethelbert, King of Kent, and Augustine the Archbishop, was completed by Egbert, the first king of united England, in the year 838 A.D., under the Archbishopric of Ceolnoth. Alfred the Great, in the year 890, nominated Plegmund as the Archbishop. Plegmund seconded the King in his endeavour to form a learned priesthood, well versed in their pastoral duty. The crown of Alfred was reverently preserved among the Regalia until the time of the Commonwealth, when it was totally broken and defaced.

Edward the Confessor founded Westminster Abbey, the shrine of the English monarchy; and the first king there crowned was William the Conqueror. In the reign of Edward, the Anglo-Saxon laws were revised; and to observe the laws of Good King Edward was one of the clauses of the Coronation Oath, taken by every sovereign of England until the Revolution of 1688. The ceremony of the Coronation has been inalienably attached to the Abbey since William I. was crowned there; and, in consequence, the Church of Westminster was called the head, crown, and diadem, of the kingdom. Church and State are equally represented at this solemn service, when the crown is put on the head of the Sovereign by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his capacity as Primate of the Church of England.

With the Norman King came the Feudal System in all its rigour. Anglo-Saxon estates were parcelled out to the chieftains who had

accompanied the Conqueror, and assisted him to win the Battle of Hastings. Baronial castles sprang up in strong positions, to overawe and keep in subjection the sturdy Saxons; but near the castles were usually erected churches, which were recognised as sanctuaries, or places of refuge, from the oppression of the rapacious barons, and from cruelties usually practised upon prisoners of war.

During the reign of King John, the Church of England, under its able Archbishop, Stephen Langton, sided with the barons and the national party, supported by the citizens of London, against the Pope and the King. Langton himself might be considered the author of the Magna Charta, which was little more than a transcript of the old Saxon laws of Edward the Confessor. King John, after unavailing opposition, found himself obliged to sign the Magna Charta, at the celebrated conference held at Runnymead, in 1215, and to affix the royal seal. Nevertheless, he succeeded in winning over the Pope to his side, and in obtaining the suspension of the Archbishop from his duties; whereupon Langton went himself to Rome to protest against the suspension, but in vain. He was detained a State prisoner in Rome until after the death of John. Soon after his return to England, in 1218, the Magna Charta was solemnly confirmed, in the name of the young king, Henry III., and the Archbishop affixed his official seal. In 1220 the State ceremony of coronation was conducted by the Archbishop, and Henry was crowned and anointed King of England.

Soon afterwards was commenced the great work of his reign, the restoration of Westminster Abbey. The Chapter House, of superlative beauty, originally the council chamber of the Abbey, became, in the words of the present Dean, by natural sequence, the Parliament House of the English nation. Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, originated this great representative assembly of Great Britain; and the first Commons was summoned to meet the King in Parliament, 42 and 43, Henry III., 1258.

Time fails me to comment upon the reigns previous to that of Henry VIII., when the Reformed Church of England separated from the Church of Rome. The Reformation was a constitutional act of the Church and State, and was ably conducted by Archbishop Cranmer. Public opinion, from the time of Wyckliffe and the Lollards, had been gradually tending towards a thorough Reformation of the Church; and the corrupt lives of the monks paved the way for the suppression of the monasteries. The national party in the Church was represented by the parochial clergy, under their duly ordained Bishops; the Ultramontane, or Romish party, by the abbots and monks.

In one point of view, there is some analogy between the various orders of monks before the Reformation, and the numerous denominations which have sprung into existence since the time of Elizabeth. Both systems have given free scope for individual varieties of religious thought, doctrine, and discipline. But here the analogy rests! All orders of monks, whatever differences there might be in their dress and discipline, were equally the devoted adherents of Rome.

The Reformation, vigorously commenced by Henry VIII., was not completely established until Elizabeth. "Amid all the ecclesiastical changes of Henry the VIII's reign, and during the minority of

Edward the VI., no schism had taken place. Out of 9,400 priests in England, at the death of Queen Mary, and on the acccession of Elizabeth, less than 200 protested against all change, so far as to abandon their posts."

The great struggle between the National Church of England and the Ultramontane, or Romish party, culminated in the formidable attack upon England by the Spanish Armada in 1588. Apparently, the great Catholic power in Europe was determined to stamp out the Protestant religion in Britain. Happily this desperate attack was defeated; and thus ended the last attempt to make England Roman Catholic by force of arms.

It is a strange coincidence that the period of the cessation of the long continued struggle against the Church of Rome should be the commencement of a fresh contest of the Church of England against Puritanism, as the first shape which Sectarianism assumed. As in most such cases, the fault lay originally with the dominant party. Neal, in his "History of the Puritans," states that there was no difference in points of doctrine, between the Puritans and the Conformists. It was in consequence of the resolute attempt of the Queen and her council to "shut the Puritans out of the church by sequestrations, imprisonments; by the taking away of their licenses to preach; and, by the restraint of the press, that the Puritans first seceded in the year 1567." It was part of her mistaken policy to insist upon a rigid conformity of habits and discipline by the clergy. Hence Archbishop Grindal was suspended from his functions for six months, because he refused to carry out suppressive measures directed against the Puritans.

The arbitrary and unconstitutional policy of Charles I. gave fresh strength to Nonconformity, and hastened the great rebellion under the Long Parliament in 1640. In 1642, the bishops were deprived of their votes in the House of Lords; and in 1646 Episcopacy was abolished. Charles I. was beheaded in January 1649, and at the same time monarchy was abrogated. The House of Lords shortly afterwards was voted to be useless and dangerous; and was deprived of legislative functions. In 1653 Cromwell roughly dissolved the Long Parliament; virtually set aside the Commons House; and replaced the last trace of Constitutional Government by a military dictatorship.

No more able ruler ever swayed the power of England than Cromwell, but he found it much easier to subvert the existing form of Government than to replace affairs on a safe and permanent foundation. Sectarianism became rampant; and from the period of his installation as Protector, some of the fanatics conspired against his person. In 1657 he himself was desirous of governing with the title of king, and of entailing the crown upon his posterity; but the staunch Republicans and the officers of the army resolutely opposed the scheme. Soon after his death the Republic collapsed; and by a Convention Parliament Charles II. was restored in 1660, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people.

James II. made a fatal mistake in supposing that a Protestant nation would extend to the sovereign the liberty of conscience granted to the subject, so as to allow him to be a Roman Catholic. In 1688 he was dethroned, and early in 1689 the second Convention Parliament

declared by a small majority for William III. and Mary. At the same time the Act of Settlement was passed to the exclusion of Roman Catholics from the throne of the realm. Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and several bishops, as also many of the clergy, refused from conscientious scruples to swear allegiance to William III., and became seceders from the National Church, under the denomination of Non-Jurors. Modern Ritualists have revived many of the obsolete notions of Non-Jurors; especially as regards the "*usages*" of the Church, and the restoration of the rubric of Edward VI.

From the accession of William III., until the religious revival introduced by John Wesley, in the 18th century, an Erastian tendency benumbed the activity of the Church of England, and a corresponding torpor, although from a different cause, affected the Nonconformists. There is this characteristic distinction between the founder of Wesleyan Methodism and other sects, that he himself never separated from the Church of England. On the contrary, only a few months before his death, he declared:—"I live and die a member of the Church of England: and none who regard my opinion or advice will ever separate from it."

Hitherto I have chosen to dwell at length upon the growth of our National Church, incorporated with the history of England, rather than to dilate with microscopic eye upon the opposition which unhappily prevails at the present day between the Church and the various bodies of Nonconformists and Dissenters, who wish to degrade the Church of England into an Episcopalian sect. But I should ill discharge my task if I failed to touch upon the present relations of the Church towards the State and Nonconformists.

I have read carefully the very able and logical work, "The State in its Relations with the Church," by the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. It was published in 1838; and yet, the first lines of the introductory chapter are even more applicable to the present time than to the year of publication. They run as follows:—"Probably there never was a time in the history of this country when the connection between Church and State was threatened from quarters so manifold and various as at present." The author dwells at some length upon the doctrine and practice of private judgment, and upon the history of toleration, which, in his own words, "links the principle of private judgment with the question of union between Church and State." He also touches upon the details of the present administrative practice of the State towards the Church; as, for instance, in providing for religious service or attendance in the Army and Navy; also for chaplains in workhouses and gaols.

Amongst the most interesting links which remain of the connection between Church and State is the chaplaincy of the House of Commons, under the appointment of the Speaker, and the standing order of daily prayers before the opening of the House for legislative business. The collects used offer so appropriate a prelude to party warfare, as to commend themselves to the religious feeling of every member, whatever may be his creed.

A signal instance of the necessity for, and the advantages of, a National Church, was furnished during the present year by the National

Thanksgiving Service, on the occasion of the marvellous recovery of the Prince of Wales from severe illness. People may be individually religious, or join in family and congregational prayer and worship, but occasions do arise when for *national* mercies a *national* thanksgiving is requisite. Such an occasion was the recent thanksgiving service at St. Paul's, at which were present the Royal Family, the chief officers in Church and State, and both Houses of Parliament. Members of all religious denominations attended, seemingly inspired by an instinctive sense of duty to unite in a common act of worship. It was my good fortune to be present on the occasion, and the scene will remain indelibly impressed upon my memory.

Besides these national services at long intervals, when a whole people unites in a national act of prayer and praise, frequent instances arise in every locality, when members of different congregations desire to suspend for a while their petty sectarian and denominational differences, and to forget their antagonism, in the consciousness that they are brother Christians and brother Englishmen. In many corporate boroughs, the mayor, aldermen, and councillors, are accustomed to inaugurate their year of office by frequenting their parish church, where usually there are stalls or pews specially appropriated for the corporation. Members of friendly societies, and other organised bodies, who do not usually attend the same place of worship, like to have one annual service at the Established Church, which they can attend *collectively* without detriment to their denominationalism. Rifle volunteers also follow the same good example.

At the present day there is among all sections of Christians a yearning for Christian union. Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., one of the most moderate and enlightened of the Independents, not long ago remarked in public, that "he thought the time had fully come when they should cease to talk about our *denomination*." Mr. Binney stated some years since :—"I am as tired as any man of mere sect life; of this and the other portion of the body becoming a separate limb."

What other basis is there for the formation of this much-desired Christian union save that of our National Church of England? The attempt to form an Evangelical Alliance has proved a failure; whereas, the utmost freedom of sectarian or congregational opinion may be granted in perfect harmony with a National Church. If it be permitted to compare things sacred with things secular, the relative position of the two is similar to that of volunteers in reference to the standing army. Between these kindred forces there is no jealousy or antagonism. Both are enlisted under the national flag; and so ought it to be with those enlisted under the banner of Christ.

It has been urged that the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland affords an irresistible argument for the application of the same process to the Church of England. I voted for the change in Ireland for the very reason which induces me to oppose it in England, viz., that the Reformed Anglican Church was opposed in doctrine and ritual to the religious faith of the great bulk of the people of Ireland, whilst in England the contrary is the case. In proof of this latter position, let me quote the remark of the aged and honourable Nonconformist member for Sheffield. In 1865, during the debate on the

Clerical Subscription Bill, he said :—"It was undoubtedly true that the doctrinal articles of the Church of England were more consistently held by the great majority of the Nonconformists than by the members of the Church of England itself. The members of the Church differed more from each other than the bulk of the Nonconformists did from them."

On the part, then, of Nonconformists, and of those Methodists who accept the teachings of John Wesley in their entirety, there cannot, I presume, be any conscientious objection to attendance at the National Church on the ground of doctrinal difference. So little did my father, the late Jonathan Akroyd, entertain any such scruple, that he willingly accepted the office of churchwarden at the old Parish Church of Halifax, and faithfully attended the services during his term of office. Other moderate Dissenters were at that time, some thirty or forty years ago, inspired with the same friendly feelings towards the Church ; and it was no uncommon spectacle to see at the evening service many leading Dissenters who had attended their own place of worship in the morning.

Of late years a great change has unfortunately taken place in the tone and temper of the Nonconformists ; and I attribute this change in a great degree, to the action of the Liberation Society. Nevertheless, gratifying instances yet occur of Dissenters who work zealously with Churchmen for the restoration of some of the grand old churches which are scattered over the land. A case of this kind recently happened within my own experience, when joining others in the initiatory steps for the restoration of the old Norman Church at Selby, built originally by William I., as a thank-offering for the birth of his son, afterwards Henry I. The very sight of our stately Cathedrals and ancient historical churches overpowers our miserable sectarian squabbles. In their contemplation we forget every cause of dissension, and recollect only that we are Englishmen, and that upon our generation rests the responsibility of the continuance of our glorious history of Church and State. Especially does this thought overpower me in visiting the restored Chapter House of Westminster, where now are exhibited the great Charter of Edward the Confessor to Westminster Abbey, dated the day of the Holy Innocents, 1065 ; the Charters of William I., and other historical relics.

It is true that, during the Commonwealth, there was a short interregnum of less than twenty years, during which Church and State in their old forms were swept away. This eventful period of our history is fraught with valuable lessons not to be despised when we have Republican associations in every large town ; and when the Liberation Society is again determined, during the next session, to move for the disestablishment of the Church.

But although the restoration of Charles II. closed the breach, and replaced things on their old foundation, it must be borne in mind that England cannot now repeat the experiment with the same impunity. With the vast empire on which the sun never sets, over which the hereditary sovereign of Britain rules, no great change or revolution could take place at home without extending a shock to India, and our most remote colony ; a shock which might sever them from the mother country, and degrade England to a second or third-rate power in Europe.

That a good Providence may avert this threatened danger is my fervent prayer! Conformists or Nonconformists, Churchmen or Dissenters, may, I think, unitedly join in the "Collect for all conditions of "men," and offer up to the Throne of Divine Grace the prayer "for the "good estate of the Catholic Church; that it may be so guided and "governed by His good Spirit, that all who profess and call themselves "Christians may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in "unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life."

THE CHURCH IN ITS RELATION TO THE STATE AND TO NONCONFORMITY.

The Rev. Prebendary Sadler read the following paper:

The relations of the Church to the State arise out of the fact that God has given to men national life on the one side, and religion on the other.

Men may live simultaneously in four forms of life—individual life, family life, church life, and national life.

When religion influences these various aspects of human life, it produces in each one of them a distinct and separate acknowledgment of God, and a line of conduct answering thereto.

Religion, when it influences the individual, necessarily produces individual intercourse with God in private prayer.

Religion, when it influences family life, manifests itself in family devotion.

Religious life in the Church manifests itself in church, *i.e.*, in united worship, in the frequent gathering together of Christ's mystical body for Eucharist and prayer.

And so it is with national life. Men have, from the dawn of history, by natural instinct, or by Divine guidance, incorporated their religion into their national being, so to speak. By natural instinct—for the nation of antiquity cannot be named which has not, as a nation, honoured and maintained its religion. And by Divine guidance, for when God separated the Jews to be His own people He welded together their national and their religious life. He made the profession of the one article of their creed—His own Unity—the condition of their national existence, and He Himself ordained their worship, a worship which set forth the coming of His Son as their one national and religious hope; He Himself ordained their ministry, and made provision for its maintenance. In due time He sent among them His Son. Have we, in the life or the words of that eternal Word and Wisdom, any intimation that the national profession of religion was an unhallowed thing. So far from this, He honoured it in its every particular. The priesthood were miserably degraded, and yet when He cleansed lepers His Word was, "Go show yourselves to the priests."

The Scribes and Pharisees had made void the law by tradition, and His Word was, "The Scribes and lawyers sit in Moses' seat, all things whatsoever they bid you observe that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say and do not." (Matt. xxiii. 1–3.)

The question of the public maintenance of the temple arose. He proved His own personal right of exemption as the Son of Him whose house the temple was, and He wrought a miracle to supply the money.

He conformed, at times, apparently for conformity's sake, *i.e.*, on occasions in which the rite or ordinance to which He conformed had no meaning in His own particular case; as for instance, when He, who had no sinful lusts to cut off, conformed to such an ordinance as circumcision; when He who had no sin received the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins; He who required no atonement frequented a temple, all whose authorised worship set forth the need of atonement. Be it remembered that He who thus conformed, being God, knew the whole future of the world and of the Church, and so knew how His least word would be a precedent for all ages. Is it conceivable, then, that by His whole bearing towards the only form of national religion with which He came in contact, He should lead His Church to form an alliance which, under all circumstances, is unlawful. But certain words of His are assumed to set aside all the rest of His teaching and example. He said, "My Kingdom is not of this world;" but what inference does He draw from this? Is it "My Kingdom is not of this world, therefore, no nation, which is converted to My faith, must profess it, and act nationally according to such a profession?" No, His inference simply is, "If My Kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews."

And as it was with Him, so with His Church in Pentecostal times. They continued daily with one accord in the temple. Peter and John went into the temple to pray. Above all, the Apostle, whose whole life was a struggle for the liberty of the Gentiles, strictly conforms to the national rites to the last. And when came this conformity to an end? Only with the destruction of the temple, the dispersion of the nation, and consequent physical inability of the Jewish Christians to observe the requirements of the national religion.

And now a new order of God's dealings prevails. For three hundred years the Church and Roman Empire were in conflict, for it was the mission of the Church to destroy the worship of the Gods of heathendom, and to set up in its place the worship of the Trinity.

This conflict came to an end. The Church subdued the Empire, and the civil ruler at once did what every precedent of history, sacred and profane, would lead him to do. He established the Church.

I have thus far dwelt upon what must be familiar to all, *i.e.*, the Scripture aspect of this great question; because, after all, however men may conceal it from themselves, this is the *raison d'être* of our relations between Church and State. There was no compact even imagined. The nation and its ruler became Christian. At once, what they had every reason to believe to be the will of God, as contained in His Word, was carried into effect. The Christian religion was confessed, and the adjustments between the spirituality and the temporality were left to be provided for as occasion arose.

But again, in the breaking up of the Roman Empire Europe was divided into nationalities; but these, being all professedly Christian, professed and maintained the professions of the only Christianity they knew, *i.e.*, the form of the Catholic Church.

And now arose that which is at the root of all our present complications. The nations were many, but a foreign local power was seeking to make the Church one in a sense antagonistic to all national expression of religion. A strictly local church sought unceasingly to impose its decrees, its local liturgy, its very name on the church in Europe. I am well aware how liberal historians have vindicated this assumption of the Papacy as a bulwark of religious liberty suited to the times, but I assert that the struggles of the civil power from the Conquest to the Reformation may be taken as the assertion of national independence in church matters. Is, that is, each national Church to be the means of expressing and maintaining its own religious life, or is its profession to be overridden by a local patriarchate?

During this struggle there commenced the first semblance of a formal antagonism between Church and State in a Christian nation. But for what ends was this struggle begun? Not for the separation of Church and State, but for its closer union, the assumptions of the Papacy being judged to be detrimental to the national profession, by introducing into it a foreign disturbing element.

The Reformation introduced no new element (appreciable, that is) into the relations between Church and State as such.

The great Rebellion intensified rather than otherwise these relations. The Parliamentary proscription of the Liturgy, and the Parliamentary substitution of the Directory, the system of Triers; above all, Cromwell's famous Parliament, in which he delegated by his own will the godly men of his own way of thinking, to exercise all political rights, to the exclusion, as it turned out, of four-fifths of the nation: these are the exaggerations of the Church and State principle.

The seceding ministers, the centenary of whose expulsion was kept a few years ago as the fathers of Nonconformity, so far from protesting against the relation of the Church to the State, continued in the State Church till they were driven out, and one of the chief reasons for their expulsion was that they would not repudiate the Solemn League and Covenant, the most ultra Church and State document ever imposed upon men.

The pilgrim fathers, in colonising North America, established Church and State relations more stringently than they were established in the mother country.

And now we come to the first instance in the history of the world of a formal divorce between Church and State in the establishment of the American Republic. But on what grounds did the fathers of that Republic repudiate a national profession of some form of Christianity? On the ground that, owing to religious differences among themselves, there was no form of Christianity which had a sufficient hold on the national mind to warrant its adoption as the form of the national profession. So that those divisions amongst His people, against which our Lord prayed so earnestly, were the immediate and direct cause why a Christian nation, for the first time in the world's history, repudiated a national profession.

In the face, then, of the whole history of the world and of the Church, we are asked to stamp a principle as unhallowed and, therefore, sinful, which God Himself acted upon when He legislated for His own

people; which His own Son, when in the flesh, upheld by precepts and example; which the Pentecostal Church adhered to under persecution at the hands of the then National Church, and which every sect of Christians, except the Society of Friends, has acted upon. So that, that which has been hitherto a godly and righteous principle, has been just now discovered to be a sinful one—discovered to be sinful only at the moment when it was politically expedient to do so.

So far for the general principle of the relations between Church and State. The particular adjustment of all this, in the present state of things, must be different in each case; because, in almost every country of Christendom, the forms in which the Church and the State present themselves are different. It is idle to speculate upon what they ought to be—to imagine a perfect Church and a perfect State, and to adjust, *a priori*, the relations between them.

Look at Christendom. In the west, Ultramontane pretensions, complicating the problem of the Church working in a State with more or less perfect representative institutions in Spain, Italy, France, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and Ireland. In Russia, a branch of the Catholic Church, in theory, under the control of a despot, and yet, in practice, apparently perfectly free to execute its mission.

Surely in each case the relations must be modified by the organism of the State on the one hand, and that of the Church on the other.

On the side of the State, Despotism, or Constitutional Government; and on the side of the Church, Papal Supremacy, or a National Independent Episcopate, or a Presbyterian system, must surely require different adjustments.

And now let us glance at the complications in our own case. First of all our divisions, religious and political.

The nation divided between the Church and a number of denominations having, owing to the circumstances that we are, and apparently must be, governed by parties—having, I say, owing to this, far more power than their numbers or education warrant.

The Church, divided into two religious schools or parties, the existence of each of which, though of course, in no sense formally recognised, is actually assumed and acted upon in every motion, affecting the Church, brought before Parliament; and though I do not for a moment say unduly influencing him, yet still in the mind of every judge when he has to give a decision in any case bearing on the Church. Then, remember the absolutely untheological character of the teaching of nine-tenths of the English clergy within the memory of most of us, and even when that teaching was addressed to the heart and conscience, its utter ignoring of almost all that the compilers of our articles would have designated as theology. Remember, too, the appointment of the bishops by the crown. Of course, our branch of the Church is not alone in this. The same holds good of almost every Romish country of Europe, of Russia, and even of Turkey. Nor do the examples of bishops, elected by the clergy, give us reason to believe that if it were otherwise we should, at present at least, be better off. But still, in estimating our present complications, and the way out of them, all these things must be taken into account. They are the things which aggravate to the utmost our difficulties respecting the present Court of Appeal.

In the face of such difficulties some are proposing to cut the knot of our complications by agitating for disestablishment, *i.e.*, because there are difficulties in this matter of a national profession of religion—difficulties, be it remembered, almost entirely owing to our own neglect and our own dissensions—we are in miserable godless impatience to urge our nation to take up, as a nation, a position of infidelity.

Now surely, in respect of difficulties and complications, the nation in maintaining its profession of religion is only in the same position as the individual, the family, the Church. Each one of us, who habitually examines into the state of his heart, must be conscious of complications there which at times make his outward profession to seem to him for the time unreal. Every head of a family amongst us knows the difficulty of maintaining a sincere and uniform profession in his household. How often do the words of any family prayer belie family religious life.

We need only mention the complications of the Church—the difficulties in the congregation—in the diocese—in the National Church—in the Church Catholic.

But on account of these difficulties are we to cast aside private, or family, or church profession? and so I do not think that as long as it is possible to do so, we must cast aside our national profession.

I have thus dwelt, at some length, on the general principle of the relation of Church and State, as set forth in Scripture and history, to impress upon you that the holding of a great principle, so stamped with God's approval, must be of far greater moment than the adjustments required in its application in particular cases.

And now let us take a hurried view of some of its applications. Taking the principle to be a national profession of religion, then it is clear that this national profession requires the State to take means for maintaining that profession. A Christian nation must not offer to the King of nations a profession which costs it nothing. There must be the maintenance of ministers and churches, and yet here there will necessarily be difficulties, and indeed dangers; for if you exonerate men from the duty of giving freewill offerings for the support of religion you take from them a very great privilege, and you injure their souls. Again, if there is a national profession there must be means of bringing it to bear upon all, and this necessitates something of a territorial system for the division of work, *i.e.*, a parochial system. And here, too, there are difficulties requiring adjustments. It seems a reasonable system to make one man responsible for carrying on the work of the Church in a defined district, and yet it is unreasonable that the souls of that district should be so handed over to a man that he should be in a position to do no work himself, and to prevent others working.

His absolute autocracy is unreasonable, and yet the more you limit this so called autocracy the more more you relieve him of his responsibility.

Patronage is another matter which is usually associated with the connection of Church and State, but I think wrongly. Certainly no system of patronage is essentially connected with it. I believe that most of the evils of our present system (and monstrous some of them are) might be cured if all religious persons in the Church would unite in

demanding a cure. It is very probable that we shall soon see all private patronage abolished in the Scotch establishment.

And lastly, one word upon the Court of Final Appeal. I have before adverted to the difficulties in this matter; difficulties, be it remembered, mainly of the Church's own making, by her supineness in educating her children in distinct dogmatic truth, and by her present divisions. Let us look at the original state of matters.

The State, as such, holds no faith, and the Church, as such, holds no property. The State has received all its faith from the Church, and the Church, just as every other person, corporation, or religious organisation, holds all its property at the will, and by the law, and under the protection of the State.

The Church at the first possessed all the faith, *i.e.*, the whole deposit of truth. "Whatever things I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you;" but she possessed no property. "I sent you without purse and scrip." Now a Christian State is bound to remember that the faith came not from her but to her, was not hers, but was the property of the Church. She received it from the Church.

The State then either gives to the Church, or guarantees to the Church, or protects the Church in the possession of, certain property, but for certain purposes, *i.e.*, for the maintenance of Christian truth and Christian worship. Now the State has a perfect right to see that these purposes are fulfilled. Certainly such Catholic rulers as Justinian and Charlemagne considered that the greatest part of their duty to God as kings was to see that the officers of the Church taught the truth.

Who, then, is to decide, not what is the truth absolutely, but what is the truth which certain persons, in carrying out a certain contract, are bound to teach? The State must settle the question as to Who is to decide? Only, let the State remember that her judges have to decide upon a matter which is not hers, and came from a sphere far above her.

But the State, in all this, will remember (and she has a right to do so) that the Church has a very chequered history, and that now the Church is divided.

These are not reasons for acquiescing in the present state of things, but they are reasons for patience, till God, by His providence, brings about a better.

There is time for but one word on the relations of the Church to Nonconformists.

We must distinguish between Nonconformists and Nonconforming bodies.

I take it to be our duty to acknowledge, to the fullest extent, the Christian zeal and hearty religion of Nonconformists. They have, in a vast number of instances, exceeded us in faith and good works. They have, in numberless cases, done our work, not perhaps as we should have done it, but if we have not done it ourselves I cannot see that we can blame them for not having done it in our way.

But when we speak of relations to nonconformity, I suppose we do not mean mere complimentary acts ending in nothing, but permanent relationships. Now, I will here take the lowest ground, and for the moment ignore all questions of doctrine or commission.

I do not think we can have any permanent relations with these bodies, for as far as I can ascertain they have none such among themselves.

Two large bodies of Dissenters, the Independents and the Baptists, both congregational in government, both evangelical in profession, and united in political action, held a meeting a few months ago, to see whether they could not act as bodies in concert in their home missions, an they found they could not. If there could be no permanent relationship between two such bodies, how can the Church have any such relations?

Take the Wesleyans. They are, or are supposed to be, the nearest to us in doctrine. They are undoubtedly the nearest in ritual, for their authorised communion office is almost word for word the same as ours. But I do not see that we can have any lasting permanent recognised relations to them for this reason; the governing organ of the Wesleyans is a conference of one hundred persons, having the whole property of the Connection vested in them, so that they are absolutely omnipotent to repress discussion and insure united action. The organ of the Church of England would be, of course, the bench of bishops, having no corporate authority, having each one individually a very limited authority indeed, and that hedged round by precedents and limited in a hundred ways.

It is only sufficient to state this to show that, in this, the most promising case, permanent relationships are impossible.

ADDRESSES.

Mr. R. A. Cross, M.P., made the following address:—

My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I shall not in the short time allotted to me, that is in the space of fifteen minutes, attempt to go into the abstract question of "Church and State." I should look upon such an attempt as futile. Neither shall I go into any discussion of the history of the Episcopal Church in its relations to the State, so well laid before you already; nor shall I touch upon points which show visibly its connection with the State at the present moment. I propose rather to confine my observations to four particular points recently brought under discussion, in which the connection of Church and State has been much cavilled at; and on which there exists in the minds of Churchmen as well as Nonconformists gross misinformation as as to the real state of the facts. When I speak of the Church I do not speak of a corporation holding property, power, wealth, and position, or an aggregate of corporations holding power, place, and wealth; or of anything new, but of something as old as the foundations of the world itself, made perfect by the Saviour, preached by the Apostles, handed down to us in its integrity, purified and reformed at the time of the Reformation. Thus, if I speak of the Church generally, I speak of the whole body of faithful people in the world; and if I speak of the National Church I mean the whole body of faithful people in the nation, not omitting any, except those who have severed themselves from connection with the Church, which very few have actually done. When I speak of the nation I speak of it in its corporate capacity, not as a ruling power, but as formed of the same persons who form the Church, identically and actually the same, and much more so than people will now believe. 1. The first point to which I wish to draw attention is "national endowment." The State, as a State, does not support the Church. What is called the property of the Church is property

composed of the gifts of religious and pious men in ancient days. It is property preserved by the State for the uses for which the money was given; not given by the State at the time of the Reformation, but, in great part, handed down to us from that time, and preserved to us just in the same way that modern endowments are preserved, and just as all property belonging to Nonconformist bodies is preserved to them. It is, therefore, a great mistake to say that the Church is in possession of property given by the nation, because that is not true. 2. But very closely connected with the question of church property comes the question of "*doctrine*," and it is cast in our teeth by our enemies, and sometimes by our friends, that we hold doctrines made by the State and by Parliament, and not by the Church. That is as untrue as the other proposition. Some may not agree with me, but I will put before you what I believe to be the actual position of that Court of Appeal, to which so many churchmen object. It is not a fact that the Court of Appeal can lay down what is the doctrine of the Church. The Church herself has already laid down her doctrines in her Creeds, her Prayer Book, her Book of Homilies, and in her Articles of Faith; and all the State does is this: the State provides men of the highest learning and ability, men with trained minds for weighing evidence, facts, and opinions, capable of deciding whether any particular practice, sermon, or book, or, perhaps, a statement of doctrine, lies within the four corners of those documents which the Church herself has settled, and which the State has accepted from the Church as the basis of the national faith. 3. Again, it is often cavilled at that the discipline of the Church is absolutely under the control of the State. I am not going to say whether it was a wise policy to pass the Act of Uniformity, but it would be a very different thing to repeal it. You could not put the nation into the same condition as if that Act of Uniformity had not been passed. It follows, therefore, that one of the great duties of the State is to see that the doctrines as laid down by the Church are preached; that the practices of the Church are permanent and not continually changing; and that any person going anywhere into a church shall find that the practices and doctrines followed and preached in that church are those set forth in the ordinances of the Church. We have lately modified that Act of Uniformity, and I hope the clergy and laity will take advantage of what has been done; but whether it would be wise to relax that Act further remains to be seen. I will, however, here throw out a practical suggestion on this point; and that is, whether there is not some tribunal wanted to which we might go, instead of going to the courts of law, on point of discipline, whether the Bishop might not gather around him half-a-dozen of the wisest and most sober-minded of his clergy; selecting also some of the laymen, in whom every one had trust and confidence, as a diocesan council when any dispute as to discipline or ritual arises. Such disputes could, however, only be referred to such a council or committee, if both sides promised to abide by its decision; but I am quite sure that such a court of arbitration would be of immense advantage in many a distracted parish. Such an arrangement to help the bishop would soon practically become law, and if such a body were once established—a body in which the people could place their trust and confidence—the wants of the Church would be met by money flowing into their hands, to be administered by such diocesan councils for the use and benefit of the Church. 4. The fourth point to which I wish to allude is the alleged gross abuse of patronage. I am one of those who think that a large lay patronage is an excellent institution; but I think the laity have not acted up to the trust conferred on them by that institution. I can conceive no higher trust than the right of presentation to the care of souls. I can conceive no greater breach of trust than that of selling the next presentation to a living, and putting the money into your pocket. What I want to suggest in relation to this matter, with all humility, is—that all patrons who have the interest of the Church at heart should say, We have the power, without going to the House of Commons, to do this; we will for the future appoint only the best men

to our livings; and if we cannot find good men ourselves, we will ask our Bishop, and if he will not or cannot do so, we will place our presentations in the hands of such a diocesan council as I have suggested. We should then probably have the best men in the diocese. So far, I have been considering the relations of the Church to the State; let us now look a little at the other side. The Church has accepted the position of a national Church, and that means that it should teach not a part, but the whole—not only the old, but the young. See the mess we have got into with respect to education. We have gone to the State for help, and now the State is taking education from the Church into its own hands—at least to a great extent. If we had only done our duty with our own money, and not gone to the State for money, the State could not have taken the work of education out of our hands, or passed such an Act as that now in operation. I have always openly held that it is the bounden duty of the Church of England, as claiming to be the National Church, to see that there is room in church and school (*without State aid*) for every one in this realm, rich or poor, high or low, young or old. In conclusion, with regard to the relation of the Church to Nonconformists and of Nonconformists to the Church, I would have us ask ourselves the question—Have we done nothing to drive them from us? Has there been no bigotry, no intolerance, no persecutions in other days? Has there been no lack of zeal in the performance of the Church's duty? Has the Church taught the nation as she ought to have done? Have we not shut the poor out of our parish churches? In the great battle against ignorance and unbelief, are we ready, able, and willing, to fill up the gap if all the agencies of the Nonconformists were to be withdrawn. When we have considered the answers to all these questions, I should like to know whether Churchmen have ever tried to set down in writing all the points on which they agree with Nonconformists, rather than speaking harshly and hastily as to those points on which they differed. To Churchmen I will say, "Go on with the work entrusted to you, without interfering with the Nonconformist — you have work enough to do without minding them. Hold fast your own faith without leaving one jot or tittle of your work undone."

The bell here rang, but there were general calls for Mr. Cross to proceed.

Mr. Cross.—The first principle of all church work is order, and as I have reached the end of my allotted time I had better stop. [I was going to have added—And, lastly, with regard to the relation of Nonconformists to the Church:—Do they owe nothing to the learning, the piety, the devotion of Churchmen? Do they owe nothing to the sufferings of the Martyrs of the Church? or to come to later times, can they find no trace of the marks of a true Church in the Church of England—in her works? Let them not look in palaces and high places, but in the places where there is most poverty, most misery, most sickness, most vice, and degradation. They will find Martyrs still. They will find the Church silently, but surely, doing her work. Have they tried to write down in what *essential* point of faith (if any) they differ from the Church; and how largely they agree? In the great battle against ignorance and unbelief can they afford to do without the Church, can they afford even to see her in the smallest degree crippled or hindered in her good work? Are they prepared to take her place? Is there no evil in division? The wealth, the commerce, the prestige of England has brought us face to face with those who have hardly heard the name of Christ. Not with mere ignorant heathens, such as our missionaries met with in old times, but with men of the highest education, and of the greatest intelligence and right-mindedness. When they come to our shores honestly seeking as to the truth of Christianity, as they often do, will our divisions tend to convince them as to the truths of our religion? Will they not rather say we were told that Christianity was love, we find it hatred: we were told it preached unity, we find but discord? We will have none of that religion which brings forth but discord and hatred among its followers.]

Mr. John Walter, M.P., made the following address:—

Having been summoned to undergo the ordeal of what I may call, to borrow an expression from the French, a *mauvais quart d'heure* for the good of the Church, I will entreat your patient indulgence while I endeavour, for the few minutes assigned to me, to call your attention to one or two points which appear to me to lie at the very root of this question, and without a satisfactory solution of which I think all our future efforts will be useless. I feel that I stand the more in need of that indulgence, because I was informed a few minutes ago by my honourable friend who preceded me that what I am attempting to do is a physical impossibility, namely, endeavouring to set before you the true theory, as I take it, on which the relations of Church and State are founded. Now, there is nothing more important in discussions of this nature than arriving, if we can, at a clear understanding of the meaning of the terms we employ. We are invited to discuss the relations between Church and State, and not only so, but also the relation which the Church bears to Dissenters. Now, of these three terms, I will venture to say that the last is the only one about which most of us have a very clear and definite conception. We most of us understand what we mean when we speak about Dissenters; although I am not sure that, even as regards that term, it would be found, on going deeper into the question, we were all united; because I observe in the *Bampton Lectures* of last year—a very remarkable work, which I have read with great attention, and which I would recommend to the earnest perusal of you all—that amongst six denominations of Dissenters the Roman Catholics are counted; and I should venture myself to doubt—although it would be too long to go into an argument on the subject—whether it is quite correct to enumerate them in the list of the bodies which we generally mean when we use the term Dissenters. I think they are Dissenters, and something a great deal more. But, with regard to the meaning of the words Church and State, I would call your attention to this, which I think you will admit to be true, that nothing is more remarkable than the different meanings which are assigned to those terms, both by clergymen and others who have written on the subject. Sometimes we hear the word Church used to denote the clergy alone, sometimes to denote the Establishment, and sometimes to denote religion in general. In the same way we hear the word State applied sometimes to the laity, sometimes to the Legislature, and sometimes, and most unjustly and incorrectly, as I think, it is used as synonymous with the world. I may, perhaps, be allowed to confirm what I have said on this point by one or two short illustrations. I read the other day in the report of a speech made by Canon Ware at the Carlisle Diocesan Conference, this passage:—

"If the State began to dictate to the Church, without her consent, changes in her faith and worship, it would be the duty of the Church to bring the union to an end."

I should like to have a word with Canon Ware as to what he means by the term Church and State as employed by him in that connection. I will give you another illustration from another elaborate and learned work written a few years ago by Canon Birks upon the Irish Church question then pending. Speaking of the dangers which beset the Church, he says:—

"Others, in the name of freedom, will labour hard to break every link which binds Church and State together; blind to the fact that when politics are wholly divorced from religion, the nation has plainly sold itself to the powers of darkness, and has cast off all allegiance to the Son of God."

I do not know how our friends across the Atlantic would recognise that as a true description of the position of their country. There is no alliance, commonly so called, between the Church and the State in the United States; but I do not conceive that in the absence of a Church Establishment in the United States that nation can be said to have necessarily "sold itself to the powers of

darkness." But the mistake is that Canon Birks uses the words Church and State as synonymous with the Church and the world—a term which has nothing to do with the relations of Church and State at all. And in the Bampton Lectures, to which I have already referred, Mr. Curteis, speaking of a certain theory about Church and State, to which I shall presently allude, contrasts the Church, not with the State, but with the world, and he says:—

"The theory which demands that the Church shall consent to take its tone and its doctrine from the world, to whom it is sent, instead of from Jesus Christ, by whom it is sent, is self-condemned."

Now, I think these inaccuracies, as I take them to be, of thought and expression with regard to the words "Church and State" proceed out of the theory which, I believe, was invented by Bishop Warburton in the middle of the last century, which theory is wholly adopted by Mr. Curteis in his Bampton Lectures. That theory, which involves very dangerous and mischievous consequences, is that there exists an independent alliance between the Church and the State, derived from the idea that they are two separate and independent bodies capable of contracting with each other, and of putting an end to any such contract whenever they pleased. That theory I entirely repudiate. Many of those now present, if they hear it stated, as I should like to state it, in Warburton's own language, would, I imagine, be rather dismayed at the consequences it involves. I would not have referred to it so fully, if it had not been made the foundation of a great part of Mr. Curteis's Bampton Lectures, which we have a right to take as one of the latest authoritative expositions on this subject. Bishop Warburton, finding, I suppose, that the position which the Dissenters obtained after the revolution was somewhat perplexing to him, and not knowing how to deal with them, invented this theory to account for the existing state of things. He distinctly lays it down that the State, for certain convenient purposes of its own, offered the Church certain terms. Those terms were that it would keep it from harm. He goes so far as to say that that was the only reason which could have induced the Church to accept an alliance with the State. He says that the State was induced to seek and the Church to accept an alliance for three reasons:—First, as the necessary means of preserving the very being as well as the purity of religion, and he argues that religion, if left to take care of itself, would either disappear altogether or be corrupted by fanaticism. Secondly, he says, the State was induced to seek the alliance with the Church for the reformation of manners and the punishment of vices of a nature which the State itself could not touch; and, thirdly, as the only means of preventing the mischiefs that the Church, in its independent condition, might occasion to civil society. He entreats his hearers always to bear in mind that the true end for which religion is established is not to provide for the true faith but for civil utility. It would seem to follow from this doctrine that it almost treats Dissenters as persons with whom we have nothing to do. In fact, Bishop Warburton disposes of Dissenters in a very summary way, holding that they are to be fully tolerated, indeed, but on no account to be admitted to any share in the civil administration of the country. Therefore he looks upon the Church as a body paid by the State for purposes of its own, and on the Dissenters as a body wholly external to the State, and with which it has nothing to do but to tolerate it and leave it alone. That is the doctrine of Canon Curteis in his *Bampton Lectures*, and which I take to be pregnant with the evil consequences that I have mentioned. I will now state in a few words what in our present position I conceive to be the true doctrine. I believe the true doctrine to be that which was laid down by the greatest and wisest of all English divines—Richard Hooker. He maintains that the Church and the State are merely two aspects of one and the same society; that in a Christian community it is impossible to separate the two except in idea; and he distinctly argues that those who contend that, after the conversion of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity, the Church and State remained as separate and distinct bodies, can only uphold that position by excluding all but the clergy from their definition of

the Church. That is not my doctrine, but Richard Hooker's, with regard to Dissenters; and as only a minute more of the time allotted to me remains, I would say this—Do not encourage the missionaries whom you send out to foreign countries to reprobate Dissenters in their reports, as if they were the very people whom they went out to convert, and not the heathen and unbelievers.

Rev. Joseph Bardsley, St. Saviour's, Liverpool, made the following address:—

We have, my Lord, heard enough this afternoon of the advantages of the union of Church and State to enable us, with Matthew Henry, the Nonconformist commentator, to "give God praise for the national establishment of religion, that the Reformation was, in our land, a national act, and that Christianity, thus purified, is supported by good and wholesome laws, and is twisted in with the very constitution of our Government." Up to the time of the Reformation, there was but one church in our country that could seek any connection with the State; but circumstances have much altered. Hooker's definition of Church and State is no longer applicable in its fullest and highest sense, where he affirms that the Church and the State are one and the same thing, but described by two different words; that is, that the whole community is the Church, and the Church but another name for the whole community. Supposing this theory no longer applicable, is the change which has taken place of such a character as to render the separation of Church and State an absolute necessity?*

An able writer affirms this is the case; for he asks, "What is it for the State to make a profession of religion? It is that a particular worship and faith shall be part of the law of the land, and shall be binding on all its constituents." The first part of this statement we accept as correct, but we deny that the concluding part correctly follows from the former. We hold that it is the duty of the State to provide the means of religious instruction and religious worship, and recommend the people to accept these privileges; but having done this, it is to be left to every man to accept or reject them, according to his own conscience. One of the most eminent of the fathers and founders of Nonconformity was Dr. John Owen. He states the views held by most churchmen with marvellous clearness. Addressing the civil governors of the nation, he said, "If it once come to that, that you shall say you have nothing to do with religion, as rulers of the nation, God will quickly manifest that He hath nothing to do with you, as rulers of the nation. The great promise of Christ is that, in these latter days of the world, He will lay the nations in subserviency to Him, that the kingdoms of the world shall become His; that is, kingdoms and governments no longer against but for Him. Surely this promise will scarcely be accomplished in bringing commonwealths of men professing His name to be of Gallio's frame—to care for none of these things; or as the Turk—in an absolute indifferency what any profess. Not that I would ye should go and set up forms of government to compel men to come under the line of them, or to thrust in your sword to cut the lesser differences of brethren. But being fully persuaded in your own mind, certainly it is incumbent on you to take care that the faith which you have received, which was once delivered to the saints, in all the necessary concernments of it may be protected, preserved, and propagated to and among the people which God hath set you over." It will be perceived that he distinguishes between the duty of the rulers to provide the means of

* If Horace Mann's calculations, founded upon the Religious Census, which was taken under his superintendence, in 1851, be correct, the Dissenters were 29½ per cent., the Roman Catholic 3½, making in all 33 per cent.

grace for the people, and the right to compel them to accept the provision so made.

Believing the connection between Church and State to have been an unspeakable blessing to our land, we cannot view, without alarm, the powerful agitation which is being carried on to sever that connection. There is one thing I firmly believe may be taken for granted, viz., that Disestablishment with our opponents implies Disendowment. To what an extent this will be carried if our opponents prove successful, may be gathered from the avowed declaration of their well-known leader, Mr. Edward Miall. In a pamphlet published in 1848, entitled, "What is the separation of Church and State?" he declares, "We intend the resumption by the legislature, for strictly secular purposes, of all national property now devoted to the maintenance of religion;" and as regards the edifices of the Church, he tells us that "with the exception of the cathedrals, which perhaps might be kept up for other public purposes than ecclesiastical, we think they might be fairly made over in perpetuity to the inhabitants of the parish in which each may be situate—to be sold, rented, or given, as the ratepayers may determine." It is only, however, fair to add, using his own words, that they "are prompted, not merely to do justice, but to practice generosity;" and therefore he assures us, "that under any feasible arrangement, they will generally remain in the hands of episcopalians, is contemplated by us with no regret." This promised generosity is absolutely overwhelming—Mr. Miall will feel no regret at churchmen retaining their sacred edifices, provided, when put up to auction, they should be found to offer higher terms for them than anybody else. I feel confident that there are many Dissenters who have no sympathy with Mr. Miall's views of simple spoliation and robbery. I cannot but think that there are many who would agree with the statement of the late Dr. Pye-Smith, Principal of the Nonconformist Training College. In his controversy with the late Professor Lee, of Cambridge, he declares—"I know, however, there are some, and those persons of unquestionable moral excellence, and who would abhor any violation of what is strictly just, who recommend the resumption (or rather would it be the assumption, for the State could never resume what it never gave) of the Church property by the Government, as a part of the desired reform. This, to my apprehension, would be downright robbery. May our country never be dishonoured by it."

Equally strong was the language of the *Eclectic Review*, at a time when it was one of the chief organs of the Congregational body. That the proposal to abolish tithes by an Act of Parliament should approve itself "to British Christians, and still more to ministers of the Gospel enjoying the benefit of endowments," they declare "has filled us with amazement and shame." When Mr. Cross told us that the property of the Church had been given by her own children, and not by the State, I thought he was going to give us the words of Mr. Toulmin Smith, a distinguished lawyer, and a well-known Nonconformist. He thus writes—"So far is the State from at present supporting the Church, that every parish Church in England was founded, not by the State, but by individual donations in ages. . . All that the State does is impartially to ensure the protection of the law alike to the ancient property of the Church, and to the more recent property, acquired by donations and endowments, of every Dissenting chapel in the land. The latter are just as much State protected as the former." Notwithstanding these and similar declarations by eminent Nonconformists, I consider that the Churchman, who is looking forward to Disestablishment, without Disendowment, is unwarrantably sanguine, and has failed to discern the signs of the times.

I will, my Lord, add a few words on the second branch of our subject, viz.:—The Church in relation to Nonconformists.

It is generally assumed that the causes which *drove out* of our Church the two thousand ministers in 1662, are the same which, in our day, *keep out* Dissenters—that what *then created* Dissent, *still perpetuates* Dissent. When the

ejectment of those ministers was commemorated in 1862, it was almost universally assumed that these men relinquished their preferments because they could not give their unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer. This is a great mistake, for though with some it was an insurmountable difficulty to their retaining their position in the establishment, it certainly was not the turning point with the great majority of them. William Hook, a Puritan, who lived at the time, is quoted by Dr. Stoughton in his book entitled "Church and State two hundred years ago," as saying, "Had not the Covenant pinched them, very many of them would not have stuck at submitting to the Common Prayer, as is generally believed." The Dissenting historian, Orme, speaking of the requirements of the Act of Uniformity, says:—"The conditions were so framed, that independently of religious considerations, it was impossible that men of principle, who had taken an active part in the former changes, or who had approved of those changes, could submit to them." These men, who had pledged themselves to uphold the Solemn League and Covenant, were required to stultify themselves by formally renouncing it. All this has long since passed away, therefore it is not true to say that the causes of dissent in 1662, are still operative in continuing it at the present time. It is almost unnecessary to add that the form of subscription to the Articles and Liturgy is not now so exacting as was required in 1662. I have ventured to call attention to his point because I believe it to be of immense importance to remove every stumbling-block in the way of needless misunderstanding between Churchmen and Dissenters. Whether any well devised measures of Church reform would bring at once any large accessions to our Church from Nonconforming bodies, may be doubted; but were they to fail of accomplishing this, they would have a manifest influence in weakening the acerbities of religious controversy and of bringing us more closely together. There is, in concluding, one other point to which I will, with your Lordship's permission, allude, on the subject of our relation to Nonconformists. Most of them labour under the impression that many of ourselves are more ready to hold out the right hand of fellowship to Roman Catholics than to orthodox Dissenters. I do most firmly believe that it would do much to promote peace and good-will among us, as well as to a great extent take the sting out of Mr Miall's organised attack against the establishment, if the whole Church of England could but now cordially adopt the advice of Archbishop Sancroft. His Grace would have the Bishops in their addresses to the clergy and people of their respective dioceses, to "exhort them to have a very tender regard to our brethren, the Protestant Dissenters, discoursing calmly with them; persuading them (if it may be) to a full compliance with our Church, or at least that 'whereto we have already attained, we may all walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing.' And in order hereunto, that they take all opportunities of assuring and convincing them, that the bishops of this Church are really and sincerely irreconcilable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the Church of Rome; and that the very unkind jealousies which some have had of us to the contrary, were altogether groundless. And, in the last place, that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fervent prayer to the God of Peace, for the universal blessed union of all Reformed Churches, both at home and abroad, against our common enemies; that all they, who do confess the Holy name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of His Holy Word, may also meet in one Holy Communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love."

The Church, by her vastly increased activity of late years, has greatly strengthened her hold on the affections of the people; but there are still many weak and assailable points in her armour. There is danger from the waste of strength in her cathedral establishments—there is danger from the overgrown size of some of her dioceses making efficient Episcopal oversight next to impossible—there is danger from the evils of Church patronage, by which

incompetent ministers can be placed for a lifetime, over an unwilling people—there is danger from the conviction, which is rapidly gaining ground, that our Church is ceasing to show herself "the irreconcilable enemy to the errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the Church of Rome." I am fully convinced, my Lord, that if our Church is to continue her connection with the State, her members must convince Dissenters that she is faithful to the great Scriptural and Protestant principles of the English Reformation.

DISCUSSION.

Lord Teignmouth.

I FEEL the great difficulty of dealing with the vast subject proposed for our discussion within the time prescribed; as also of avoiding the appearance of dogmatism when one cannot stop to explain or qualify one's statements. Our way has been partly made smooth by the arguments of two eminent representatives of Church and State, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Sir Roundell Palmer, proving, were it necessary, the recognition of the supremacy of the State by all denominations. The relation of the State to the Church seems clear. The State may confer or withhold the privileges of an Establishment on any religion, and as conscientiously, and woe to the State which has not a conscience, on a Mahomedan or Hindoo as on a Christian system, should circumstances require it. I must differ in opinion from a previous speaker, as to the State's right of meddling with Church property, which he denies, and had it been acted upon on the eve of the Reformation, when half the property of England, and yet more of Scotland, belonged to the Church, an imperium in imperio, there would have arisen a worse tyranny than that of the State, viz., that of the Church, as possibly engrafting the torture of the Inquisition on that of the Star Chamber. An important practical question relates to the effects of the abolition of religious tests restricting the admission of members of Parliament. It may be met by the reply that since the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, the Convocations have been revived, commissions of enquiry into Church affairs appointed, and very many more beneficial measures adopted, tending to the security, distribution, and application of Church property than before. And no wonder, as so long as the State wielded the sword of persecution, it would not trouble itself with reform. If Acts of a different character may have been passed, they must be regarded as a small equivalent for the hostile aggression which continued injustice would have brought against the Church. In the discharge of its judicial functions the State has acted with great forbearance, offering a striking contrast to the course once anticipated by many. A sceptical clergyman has been ejected from the Church, and some ritualistic excesses have been checked; but in reference to the Sacraments, the Court has shrunk from the entanglement of metaphysical subtleties, and whilst theologically orthodox as to its judgments, has withheld the penal consequences. Its members remind us of the seconds in duels, who, when chosen from the higher ranks of the army or navy, being men of approved judgment and courage, and above the miserable fear of being thought afraid, contrived such infinite opportunities of apology and reconciliation, as to render it morally impossible for the principals to blow each other's brains out. But what of the Church? Can anything be worse, it may be asked, than the enforced inaction of its Convocations? Yes, I would answer, worse still would be our condition should they be set free without previous reformation. The defect in their construction to which I would refer are the duality of the Houses, the inadequate representation of the parochial clergy and the exclusion of the laity. In reference to the first, every member of Parliament is aware that incompatibility of two co-exist-

ing Parliaments rendered necessary our unions with Scotland and Ireland, the antagonistic votes of the English and Irish striking at the very root of the federal principle on which the union had been founded. So warned, and having regard to the consequences of collision between the Convocations, Parliament would probably consent to their fusion, should the question be placed *bonâ fide* before it. Passing over the more effectual representation of the clergy, I venture, in reference to the admission of the laity, to maintain my belief in their right, though disputed, to share equally with the clergy the authority of both Houses of Convocation. My views are confirmed by the proceedings of our Convocation during the last two years. Two reports of the Committees of the Lower House (Canterbury), viz., on Convocational Reform, and on Lay Co-operation, have been published, reflecting much credit on these bodies, copies of which may be had by sending a dozen penny stamps to Messrs. Rivington. The former refers to the election of clergy; the latter contains the reports of the eleven resolutions adopted at a Conference of the Committees of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, in favour of the admission of laymen. These measures, though rudimentary, may be regarded as foreshadowing the fusion of the two Houses, as well as the important changes indicated. And to the honour of our Church, and to the lasting satisfaction of both clergy and laity, it will be remembered that the proposal for such reform emanated from the bosom of the Church itself, the effect of the spontaneous action of its two Convocations, instead of being wrested from reluctant hands, like the great Charter of our civil privileges. The tendency of the suggested amendments would be materially to strengthen the Church, to increase its parliamentary influence, and by the correction of abuses which would follow, to reconcile the Dissenters. Had time permitted, I would have added further remarks to the same purport. I will conclude with observing that the tone of Mr. Miall's late address indicated misgivings as to the support which his scheme of disestablishment and disendowment would receive from a large body of Dissenters.

The President.—I must remind the Congress that the immediate subject under discussion is the Church in its relation to the State and to Nonconformists. I shrunk from interrupting the last speaker, although his remarks were not strictly in order, the subject of "Reform of Convocation" coming more properly in the discussion for this evening.

The Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham.

The President having ruled that the remarks of the noble lord were not applicable to this debate, I will not allude to them further than to say that I believe his Lordship has not been strictly informed as to the facts of the case, and that therefore his deductions were not those adopted by the most earnest advocates for the Reform of Convocation. With regard to the subject before us, I wish to show what is the historical position of the Church in this country. Colonel Akroyd has reminded us that the Church is a national institution, but I claim for her the dignity of being the founder of this nation of England. Any student of history who looks back to the time of the Heptarchy will find that when the Saxons came and drove out the ancient British Church into Wales and Cornwall, and overran the country, the people became heathen. The introduction of Christianity softened the manners, elevated the taste, refined the intelligence, and dignified the nature of the people of one of the seven kingdoms, and made it Christian; and when the Christianity of that kingdom permeated the others, the standard of Christ gradually superseded the standards of conflicting peoples. As Christianity advanced, the Christian kingdoms of the Heptarchy united; they drove out heathenism, and at length cemented the nation into

one. The Christian Church then is older in England than the Monarchy of England—the Church of Christ in England was one, while the kingdoms were still divided, and became practically the founder of the nation. There has existed since then a perpetual union—may that union last to the end of time; may the nation never forget what it learnt from Christianity and the Church, and may the Church never forget to preach Christ faithfully to the people. One of the previous speakers has alluded to the friendly feeling that used to exist between a bygone generation of Dissenters and Churchmen; and I am glad to be able to say that the Church of the present day loves her Dissenting brethren, although she may not approve of Dissent. Her feeling is love for those who have fallen into a certain amount of error, and her earnest desire is to show them "a more excellent way" than that they learned from the more recent traditions of Nonconformity. The Union of Church and State then is of such a nature, so intimate and so ancient, that it would be little less than an act of matricide if the nation turned out the mother who gave it birth. Let the Church show that she loves Dissenters, although she does not approve of Dissent. Let the Church show that love in her prayers, in her good works, in her kindliness and willingness to co-operate with them in all things not touching the foundations of that faith upon which she is built, and from which she cannot depart. Let us, who are ministers of the Church, show that we can respect even their prejudices; that, though we cannot agree with them, we admire their piety, and desire their union. There is nothing more distressing to my mind than to hear clergymen say they will have nothing to do with so and so in their parishes because they are Dissenters. No greater mistake can be made. It is not only an offence against them; it is an offence against the Cross of Christ. If our Lord acted towards us in the same way, where would be our hopes of eternal life? Let the Church of Christ exhibit the love and forbearance of her Lord by throwing open her doors wide and admitting to her heart all those who will come and share her heavenly inheritance. The union of Church and State is an Historical union; but, more than that, it is a union of faith and love derived from Him, from whom both have received the faith; and I trust that the recognition of this principle will so far prevail that, although separated outwardly by individual prejudices, nothing will ever interfere with that godly union and concord which would make "the one faith, one Lord, and one baptism" characteristic alike of the Church and of those who are at present separated from her by unhappy differences.

Lord Houghton.

Many subjects have come before this Congress for discussion, on which I should not attempt to say a word, and in respect to which I should think it would become most laymen to be silent; but, on this subject especially, touching the relations of the State to the Church, a layman may very properly have a word or two to say. In the few observations I may make, I wish it to be clearly understood that I speak here simply as a lay member of the Church without the slightest wish to dictate to the clergy on this great question. In the different definitions we have had to-day of Church and State, I think I may say that those of the clergy have been comprehensive, and those of the laity sagacious. It is very important that this question should be clearly understood to be a practical one, and, in a certain degree, political. The question of the State in its relations to the Church is a question which brings in the Church as a part of the national polity. The State, at least in this country, does not interfere with the conscientious opinions of any individual whatever; and, if that has been done elsewhere by State authority, it has been by a tyrannous authority, which it would be right, in the interests of religious conviction, to rebel against, and if possible to put down. That, however, is not the nature of

the connection between Church and State in this country. Without going quite so far as the last speaker, and founding the State upon the Church, I quite recognise the continuity of that relationship, and the enormous value of the influence they have had one upon the other. Let us ever remember that it was not the Church of England which broke with the Court of Rome, but that it was the State of England—that it was the Crown of England. But, for the blessing of Providence which placed at the head of the State a man who, otherwise has not left a very good reputation, Henry VIII., and who was, nevertheless, an Englishman of immense vigour and originality of mind, I do not see by what human agency we could have broken from that great slavery. Englishmen are all naturally conservative, and not likely very willingly to try anything entirely new, and the difficulties of breaking with the Roman Church appear to me to have been almost insuperably great. Let us remember, then, that the Church owes that great independence to the State. Let us remember, too, that in the conflicts which followed, when the Crown came back to its power after the great Revolution, although, unfortunately, a large number of persons left the Church quite as much, by the way, on political as religious grounds; yet, by the action of the State upon the Church in those troublous times, there was preserved the continuity of religious traditions which kept England one, and prevented her from being separated into two parties—fanatical on the one side, and infidel on the other That influence has continued ever since, and, as a layman, I ask you never to forget it. If the Church of England were split up into separate and independent sections, such as may be represented by the different schools amongst us of High Church, and Low Church, and Broad Church, we might have, and probably should have, as much earnestness and as much true feeling amongst persons of deep religious convictions as now; but, there would not be the quiet leaven of religious influence spread over the whole of England, of which the Dissenters themselves are the greatest proof and illustration. But, if that is true, on the one side, it also proves that the clergy have their duties to the State, and are bound by that fact to recognise the power and influence of lay thought and lay intelligence. That priestly power, which has done so much harm, and wrought so much mischief in the world, has been long kept down in England by the State, and priestly power is based upon a feeling so deep in the human heart that it still requires to be restrained. It is a great credit to the clergy that the majority of them recognise and submit to this necessity—but those of the laity who, in the exercise of their own free thought, have left the Church, and have formed their own separate and corporate bodies, in which they have their full individual action, have no right to raise a cry against the Church, or to interfere with church questions. We leave them entire liberty; but outside their free Churches it is a great advantage even to them that the national Church exists. If, by any agitation or any violence they were to change the existing order of things, they would inflict a serious, though indirect, injury on the soul and mind of England, without benefiting themselves in the slightest degree.

Rev. Henry T. Edwards, Vicar of Carnarvon.

My Lord,—The subject which is before the Congress at this session is, in my judgment, one of the most important in its bearing upon the practical labours of the working clergy that can possibly be conceived. We have been told by some of the previous speakers, that the clergy ought not to recognise the existence of Nonconformity, but simply to do the work of the Church as if it had no being. There is no doubt a certain amount of truth in the views that suggest the advisability of such a course. But, practically, as all working clergymen well know, such a course is absolutely impossible in districts where Nonconformity is prevalent. The fact is, that in our days, as in the day

when the woman of Samaria put her question to our Lord, the minds of earnest people among the masses are greatly occupied by the rival claims of conflicting religious opinions, and the pretensions of separated religious communities. It frequently happens that, in visiting the homes of some of our humblest parishioners, questions are put to us with a view to elicit from us an answer that shall enable the questioners to decide between those claims and pretensions. Therefore, I venture to say that the influence of a clergyman's ministrations will, to a great extent, be paralysed in his parish, unless he is prepared to give the reason for the faith that is in him, and to explain definitely and clearly the grounds of authority upon which the Church claims to have a divine mission to the souls of our countrymen. It is necessary that we, the clergy, should know how to assume toward Nonconformity the true and righteous attitude. I will endeavour to give my views as to the form that attitude should assume.

All must acknowledge that there are Nonconformists and Nonconformists. There are Nonconformists who hate the Church, because they reject the eternal verities to which the Church witnesses, and have no faith in that supernatural life which is communicated in the channels of grace. This class are, I venture to believe, few in numbers, and of no great influence. But there are Nonconformists who have been driven into Nonconformity by the evils and grievous shortcomings in the practical administration of the Church. Although outwardly not conforming to her worship, not adhering to her communion, they are inwardly united in mind and feeling to the Church's life. The man who cast out devils in the name of Christ was not forbidden; because He did His work in the power of the Divine Name, and did not lightly speak evil of the Lord. So there are Nonconformists, earnest and religious, who do not conform, because they earnestly believe that, in consequence of the faults in the practical organisation of the Church, they cannot find within her fold the means of grace necessary for their souls, and the opportunities of doing good which they can find outside her pale. They go forth, however, to preach many of the same eternal truths that the Church preaches, and to use many of the same means of grace that belong to her system. They cast out the evil spirits of vice and sin, in the name of the Church—that is, by the power of the divine principles to which she bears witness; and, moreover, they abstain from lightly speaking evil of her. In my own country there is much Nonconformity of this kind—earnest, religious, and intelligent—called into existence by the shameful abuses in the Church's practical government and administration. Now, I maintain, that it is our duty to treat such Nonconformists with the utmost respect and consideration. Nonconformity of this spirit should never be rebuked but with the utmost gentleness and leniency, and, in my opinion, it should not be rebuked at all until the Church is able to do all the spiritual work committed to her, and to remove those practical evils out of which Nonconformity arose, to a far greater extent than they ever have been as yet removed.

At the same time, a clergyman ought to understand distinctly that religious divisions are an evil, and that the reconstruction of religious unity is an end to be devoutly sought. Why are divisions evil? Because unity is an attribute of the Divine Life existing in the eternal mind, and, like all the other attributes of God, must be reflected in the redeemed humanity of the Church on earth, before man can find true blessedness and peace. But where is the centre of religious unity to be found? On what principle are we standing when we assert that the clergy have an especial and supremely authoritative mission to teach and to minister to the souls of their countrymen?

There are two different attitudes which we can adopt. One is the attitude of false compromise, the other the attitude of firm and truthful principle.

Those who act in the spirit of compromise approach the Nonconforming ministers on terms of ministerial equality, and regard them as their official

"brethren." In one sense we are all brothers, as participating of one common humanity. That brotherhood I wish to realise as fully as any of my fellow clergy. But it is impossible for the clergy honestly to acknowledge that the Dissenting ministers are their brethren in the sense of having official equality and identical ministerial authority. To adopt such a course is untruthful and unwise, and leads to painful consequences in the end without fail. If you lead the Nonconforming minister to suppose that you regard him as having exactly the same authoritative mission that you have, he will inevitably expect you to make further concessions to his position, which in practice will be impossible, as being utterly inconsistent with the claims and position of the Church. And, again, if you acknowledge a brotherhood, in the sense of ministerial equality of mission and authority between yourselves and the Nonconforming ministers, I maintain that you must go much farther, and that you will have no right to complain when the Dissenting brother goes to the State, and says to her—"Speak to my brother that he divide the inheritance with me."

What then is the true attitude that we should assume? We must bear in mind the fundamental principles of religious unity. What is the centre point of those principles? I was glad yesterday to hear one of the speakers enunciating the truth that the Holy Eucharist is the centre of the divine worship, that prayer, praise, worship, all lead up to the participation of the divine life given in that central ordinance. Now I believe that when its position is rightly understood, the Holy Eucharist will also be found to be the centre of unity and of the Church's order. How is this? You cannot get unity in an earthly kingdom without a central throne of government. That government exercises its authority in directing the performance throughout the realm of all the ordinances of government. Not the humblest justice of the peace can validly administer law unless he has been authorised by the commission of the Throne. In a free and well-governed country, the greatest possible degree of liberty, compatible with stability and order, is permitted to the private citizens. But there are in every land certain august functions, the control of which it is absolutely necessary for the Government, for the preservation of national life and order to retain in its own power. So in the Church—the kingdom of God on earth, it is wise in administering to give to laymen the greatest liberty, and the widest opportunities of usefulness, compatible with unity, order, and stability. But there are some august functions which must be retained under the immediate control of those chief pastors who have inherited from Christ, through the apostolical ministry, authority to sit upon the spiritual thrones and to govern the operations of the spiritual kingdom. Now, which is the most august function in the life of the Church? It is the consecration of the Holy Eucharist, and on that account the right of consecrating with validity is extended to none but those who have been authorised by the chief rulers of the Church. It is our duty to state honestly, therefore, that Dissenting ministers (however pious and however learned, and I gladly acknowledge that many of them are very superior to some of us, the clergy, in both respects), when they claim power to celebrate the Eucharist are unconsciously violating the central law of divine unity, because they take upon themselves functions for the discharge of which they have not received the regular commission coming down from the one King of the Church.

We should, therefore, invite Dissenters to conform, not in deference to our personal gifts, but in obedience to the obligations of divine unity. We should say to them, "We ask you to become Churchmen, because we honestly believe that the divine system of the Church, when administered in all the fulness of its organism, affords riches of grace which cannot be found outside her sanctuaries." At all times we should, while standing firmly upon the ground of principle, be careful to maintain with our Nonconforming neighbours the most cordial and friendly relations in social life. It is intolerable

that the clergy should assume any airs of a personal superiority which very often does not exist. It is also my opinion that the clergy should be ready at all times to co-operate heartily with Nonconformists in all works in which they can co-operate without sacrifice of principle. We should work with them in promoting temperance, in organisations of practical charity, and in promoting social reforms of all kinds. In the end this course will lead to a much healthier state of feeling than the language and attitude of a false, hollow, and unprincipled compromise. There can be no peace without truth, no lasting charity unless it stands firmly on the ground of Church principles.

Sir John S. Pakington, Bart., M.P.

I fear that I am guilty of some degree of presumption in rising to offer expression of some of the thoughts which have been suggested by the proceedings of this morning, and I should not have ventured to have done so had not the Right Rev. Chairman expressed a desire that the laymen present, on this occasion, should contribute the opinions they entertain with regard to the all-important questions now submitted to our consideration. I came to attend this meeting rather as a listener than with the idea of taking part in the proceedings. I am deeply impressed with the opinion that, in the present divided state of the Church and distracted state of the various denominations, which I may class together as the Protestant Christians of the empire, such gatherings of Churchmen and Christians of various denominations must have a tendency to mollify existing differences, and to reunite those who feel divided from her, and thus confer an advantage upon each, and be a great gain to the Church of England at this particular moment. Coming here with those feelings, it has been with no ordinary pleasure that I have traced in the proceedings, which have been completed, a liberal, a large, a charitable, and devotional spirit, honourable to all here assembled, and likely, in no small degree, to contribute to the achievement of all those objects which we have at heart. I am now called upon to touch upon the great question of Church and State. To enter upon such a subject as that, within the limits of time given to each speaker, would be simply absurd; but I venture to think that there are a few principles not yet alluded to, which ought to be touched upon on such an occasion as this. We have lately had an Irish precedent of disestablishment. I should not be justified in dwelling upon that precedent, or expressing an opinion, at this moment, as to whether that precedent was a fortunate or an unfortunate one. But one consequence, which every thoughtful man had foreseen, has come to pass; and now in the Lower House of Parliament, year by year, we are called upon by the Liberation Society to raise our voices and declare that we are ready to consent to the Disestablishment of the Church of England, and the separation of the Church of England from the State. Here we have a question before us upon which every thinking man must have made up his mind; and I must express my earnest hope that it will go forth as the opinion of this great gathering of members of the Church of England, that so far as they can there express an opinion upon the subject, they adhere to the connection between Church and State. I trust that it will go forth as almost, if not quite, the unanimous voice of this great meeting, that we will consent to no such dangerous experiment. In regard to the relation of Nonconformists to the State, I believe I speak the opinion of Churchmen generally when I say that they all wish to see the Nonconformists in the enjoyment of the most unlimited freedom. Let Churchmen, as Christians, not be blind to the shortcomings of their Church, and let them regard their Nonconformist brethren with a spirit of Christian respect and gratitude, bearing in mind the fact, which no man can deny, that in what I might call the dead days of the

Church of England, before that revival which has lately distinguished her, we were indebted, in a large degree, to the Nonconformists for having maintained the spirit of religion in this country. I will only add that I concur, as cordially as any man can, in the feeling of the distinguished Nonconformist previously alluded to to-day—Mr. Samuel Morley—a feeling, or rather a yearning, for Christian union. It is in the hands of a higher power how far and how soon our existing differences can be healed and removed, but I long for the day when Christians shall act together without that bitterness which has too often prevailed among us, and I trust that, in coming together as we have done at this Congress, we may all, according to our respective capacities and opportunites, do something to promote that great end.

Canon Hoare.

I have heard with satisfaction the remark that it is impossible for the Church to maintain her position without affirming religious truth. With regard to the remarks of our friend from Carnarvon, I thank him for the recognition of Christian grace in those with whom he is associated; and I thoroughly agree with him that no friendship, no peace can ever be brought about by compromise. Let a man once compromise his principles, in order to have peace, and that peace will one day turn into bitterness of soul. A peace purchased by compromise is never worth having. But before we take our stand it is necessary that we consider carefully the foundation on which our stand-point rests. If it rests on human opinion only it must not be confounded with that which is enjoined by the command of God, for in many cases there may be a surrender of human opinion without any compromise of Christian principle. But if it rests on the Word of God, what is concession but the setting aside the will of our Blessed Lord as revealed in that Word? What can be more shocking than the idea that any peace can be purchased by a compromise of His Word and His authority as revealed in that Word? All our allegiance to the Lord Jesus demands fidelity to the principles of divine truth as revealed in Scripture. But we must have the principles submitted to us established according to the Word of God, or we cannot stand by them as matters of faith. I would, therefore, respectfully beg our friend to consider with respect to the sacred and holy feast of the Supper of the Lord—a feast in which we partake of the Body and Blood of our Lord by faith according to the words of our Communion Service—"feed on Him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving,"—whether what he has said will bear examination by the test of God's Word. It may be the result of my own ignorance, or my own blindness, but it is not the result of any want of prayerful painstaking; but I have never yet been able to discover any passage in the whole Word of God which gives any directions as to the persons who are to administer the Lord's Supper, or which binds the the validity of that sacrament to any administrative order of any description whatever. I have said what I rose to say. After a careful search through the Holy Scriptures, and a prayerful study of all the passages which record the appointment of that most holy feast, I have never been able to discover a syllable to authorise the idea of an administrative priesthood to whom the administration is exclusively entrusted. And, while I fully recognise the divine appointment of an ordained ministry, I am prepared to maintain that, as nothing is said in the Scriptures on the subject, we are not justified in asserting that, unless administered by a certain order of men, the sacraments ordained by Christ himself become invalid in the sight of God.

Mr. Headlam, M.P.

It has been my high privilege for several years past to be intimately connected with this diocese, and to hold among you the office of Chancellor, and I am desirous to say something on the subject under discussion. As to the abstract question of the relations between Church and State, the duty of the Government and the functions it has to perform, is not a subject for consideration in a meeting like the present, as its difficulties are insuperable. If, instead of a few members of Parliament, you had in this assembly all the heterogeneous body of which the House of Commons is composed, the discussion of a subject of this kind could have no effect but to elicit unbounded differences of sentiment. The question, however, of the duties of the Church to the State is not a difficult one at all, and may be summed up in one sentence from the highest authority of all—"Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Men may differ as to what are the things which are Cæsar's and the things which are God's, and each man might make up a law for his own conscience, and set up his own opinions as to the things that are God's; but any individual takes upon himself a great responsibility if he gives too much effect to lightly-formed opinions of his own, and puts himself into antagonistic relations with the law, whether that law emanates from ecclesiastical or temporal authority. I do not think there is any reason to complain of the part which the State has taken in reference to the Church. Nothing can be more clear than that the State does not come forward to lay down doctrines for the guidance of the Church. It provides a tribunal for the trial of questions of doctrine according to the established formularies of the Church, but that is for the settlement only of such questions as are forced upon the tribunal, and there is no other mode by which such settlement could possibly take place. Nor do I think there is any ground for complaining of the general tendency of the decisions of that tribunal.

Amongst the many things which have given me much pleasure and satisfaction at this Congress, none gave me greater delight than the cheers which arose yesterday when the Bishop, in his admirable address, stated that it was desirable that there should be freedom of opinion and latitude of thought within the Church. The general tendency of the decisions of that tribunal have been, as far as possible, to expand that freedom of opinion and latitude of thought within the Church of England.

Again, neither does the question of the duties of the Church towards the Nonconformists seem to me to present any great difficulty. The duties of the Church to the Nonconformists are precisely the same as those of Nonconformists towards the Church: "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you." We have a very good example of this in Leeds, many Nonconformists and men high in position having come forward to assist in works of the Church of England. Let Churchmen act in the same manner, and sink as far as possible points of difference existing between the two bodies. We may depend upon it that those differences are not so great as many imagine. Many of them are differences of habit, or have arisen from differences of connection and association; but amongst the leading Nonconformists and Churchmen the same desires everywhere exist; to promote the good of the community and the cause of religion. It will, therefore, not be difficult for the Church so to conduct herself in her relations with the Nonconformists as that no scandal shall arise from those differences of opinion, the existence of which are so much to be regretted. One word upon the practical question. I have said I happen to have filled the office of Chancellor amongst you for many years, and I wish I could have made that office more valuable to the good of the community than I found myself able to do, but the truth is, that the jurisdiction of that office is not faultless. But it is connected with the ecclesiastical power, being a sort

of link between that and the civil power; and it might be of use in assisting to realise the very excellent suggestion of Mr. Cross, that some tribunal of arbitration, consisting of clergy and laity, should be called into existence. If my office of Chancellor could be made available to the creation of such a body, I shall be willing to contribute in any way in my power to place such an establishment upon a firm and good basis.

In conclusion, I beg to express the pleasure I feel at the kind and cordial reception given by both the clergy and laity of the West Riding to the Church Congress, which has now become so generally acceptable and so popular.

The PRESIDENT,—I wish, before we conclude, to express my regret to the many individuals who have offered to address the meeting. I have fifteen cards now before me, and I should have been glad to have called upon all. I hope, however, those gentlemen will attribute their disappointment to the sole and only cause—my total inability to manufacture six hours out of three.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, 9th OCTOBER.

SECTIONAL MEETING.

The Chair was taken by the Venerable ARCHDEACON BICKERSTETH (Prolocutor of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury), at Two o'clock.

PREACHING.

Mr. E. B. WHEATLEY BALME read the following paper:—

I TRUST it may be deemed pardonable that one who has grown grey as a patient under a century of sermons, for every year since his godfathers first "called upon him" in that behalf,—finding, for once, the situation inverted, and himself in a position to say, with the

"Blessed Glendower,"
"'Tis mine to speak and your's to hear,"

to a congregation consisting largely of clergy—should be tempted to "improve the occasion," and deliver himself, for twenty minutes in a lifetime, of a little *concio ad clerum* about preaching.

That freedom of speech, and right of reply, which the Saturnalia allowed to the Roman slave, a Church Congress concedes to the English layman. If a Davus, like the present speaker, ventures a few words to his "spiritual pastors and masters," let them be attributed to the exceptional privilege of the occasion, by no means regarded as a symptom of general insubordination, or of a dangerous tendency to chronic lay preaching. As the physician enquires into, and notes, the sensations of his patients under the administration of his medicines, so might they who "minister to souls diseased" do, perhaps, with advantage, more than

is their wont. *Valeat quantum*, here is a patient's note of sensations under sermons.

Probably the worst symptom of our case is, that so many sermons seem to produce just no effect at all. And here we must confess, with sorrow and shame, that the fundamental fault is our own. It is our own surface-hardened wayside ground, impervious to any good impression; it is our own superficial soil of emotions, lively but transient, barely coating the sterile rock; it is our own pre-occupations and distractions, our schemes of gain or gratification, which choke the more promising growths; these chiefly hinder the good seed from germinating, from taking root, or from bringing fruit to perfection. This we confess. On the other side, I believe that they to whom is now committed the sowing of the good seed, will be first to confess,—as from their greatest exemplar, save The One, downwards, they have ever confessed—that they "have this treasure in earthen vessels;" that, though the message be Divine, the messengers are human, men speaking to men; and to admit that they are, therefore, bound to regulate their mode of address in accordance with the constitution stamped upon man's nature by its Creator, and with those principles and laws, by which it has pleased Him to ordain that the action of mind within itself, and of one mind upon another, should be guided.

There is, however, one of these principles which seems to be very often overlooked in relation to our present subject—viz., that to which Bishop Butler drew special attention in what may, perhaps, be termed his law of *passive impressions*—the principle of human nature by which whereas "*practical habits* are formed and strengthened by repeated acts, . . . *passive impressions* grow weaker by being repeated upon us." Now, the impressions produced by sermons are primarily passive impressions. The hearer is placed in an attitude essentially passive. The circumstances of time and place properly preclude all overt acts, all expression of thought or feeling. No doubt, his mind may be, and ought to be, actively exercised in "thought and intention, *i.e.*, inward act," for, as Butler points out, "such intention is an act." Humanly considered—and it is from this point of view only that I presume to approach the subject at all—it is to the extent to which sermons tend to draw forth the hearer's mind to such inward acts as shall result in the formation of corresponding practical habits inward and outward, and no further, that they tend to edify—to build up the character of the man, which is but a bundle of such habits. If this law of our nature were kept in mind, it could hardly be the case that—while we have to acknowledge with thankfulness so many sermons admirably calculated to move, to instruct, to edify—there should be, still, such a considerable number that seem to be framed and uttered on the supposition that the passive condition is the normal condition of the hearer, and that impressions are to be made and deepened by continual reiteration of the same thing, again and again, in the same form, as

Gutta cavat lapidem non vi sed sæpe cadendo.

If, indeed, the preacher's object were to mould an inert mass to some desired shape, this kind of sculpture by reiteration, might be applicable. But he who essays thus to act upon the living mind of man, will be likely

to find that, however, possibly, the external form may have been moulded to please his eye, within is but the stone still.

In the days of torture, one of the most exquisite is said to have been, to subject a living sufferer's head to dropping water till madness resulted. The "continual dropping" of sermons of this kind might have a like effect now, were it not that, in accordance with Butler's law, anæsthetic numbness supervenes. Nay, it may even chance that they, like

> "Waters murmuring
> With such music as they keep,
> Invite the dewy-fingered—sleep."

Of the two handles, so to speak, by which one mind may be grasped and drawn out by the action of another, viz., the understanding and the affections, this kind of preaching is little calculated to lay any real hold on either.

The affections may be moved and drawn forth by the voice of a "man speaking to his friend," words which, coming directly from lively pulsations of his own heart, are winged to penetrate another's. But it is hard to be much moved by hearing a written document read in tones from which too much emotion is carefully excluded, as savouring rather of the conventicle. The rounded periods, common in such documents, often tend to modulate the voice habituated to their rythm, to a kind of cadence rather sedative than stimulating. The length of the sentences and their grammatical structure, built up of subordinate clauses qualifying principal propositions, are suited rather to the eye of a reader who can look back if, when he gets to the end of a sentence he finds himself misty about the beginning, than to ears dull of hearing.

This is not the way in which a man speaks to his friend about things in which he takes a lively interest, and means his friend to do the same. Such a speaker

> "*Projicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba.*"

He says what he has to say in short simple sentences. He does not trouble himself about balance of periods, nor go in fear that his utterances should seem abrupt. If he thinks any proposition needs qualification, he does this in separate simple sentences. He seldom combines proposition and qualification into the complex sentence so common in written composition. No doubt, this kind of combination has the advantage—by no means to be despised in relation to our subject—that by it, the meaning may be expressed in fewer words and repetitions avoided. But, for sermons, the gain is heavily compensated by the apparently artificial character of the composition, and consequent loss of liveliness and force to penetrate and stir the affections. If a man comes asking our sympathy for a tale of woe, and talks like a book, we are apt to suspect him an impostor; because we know that real sorrow and suffering reck little of periods and syntax, but are abrupt and interjectional in expression. A like inference, often illogical, but very natural in uneducated or partially educated minds, leads them to doubt the reality of earnestness expressed in rounded periods read from a written paper, or at least make it fail to win their sympathies. Hence it is, I believe, that many sermons issuing from the profoundest convictions and strongest feelings of the writers, fail to carry conviction home to the hearers. The writers,

familiar themselves with the language of books as enshrining thoughts dearer to them than life, are apt to forget how far different is the case of many hearers. In most congregations the great majority are kept constantly chained to the hard concrete realism of "this working-day world." To most of these, the language of books seems abstract and impersonal, if not, as often, above them, yet outside of them, not belonging to the sphere of action or thought in which they live and move; and so sermons written in that language, find no entrance to their sympathies.

For this class of hearers, the unwritten sermon has great advantages. It brings, at least it may and ought to bring, the preacher into more direct relation with his hearers. The barrier interposed by the apparent artifice of studied composition, writing, and reading, is removed, and the direct influence of mind upon mind, heart upon heart, has free scope to act. As a means of moving the affections, if thoroughly thought out beforehand, and earnestly uttered, it is incomparable.

That it has its own weak points must be confessed. One is indicated, perhaps aggravated, by that unlucky appellative *ex tempore*, recalling, as it does, so cruelly, the *time* often occupied in delivery, which seems to vary inversely as the time occupied in preparation. Such, at least, is the suspicion which lurks in the lay mind, exercised in searching for the "grains of wheat in the bushels of"—words. Montaigne observed, in his day, that, "as thin persons enlarge their bulk by padded clothes, so they whose matter is meagre, swell it out with words." Trunk hose have gone out, but wordy *padding* still survives. The term is said to have become a recognised term of art among gentlemen of the press. The thing is, sometimes, perceptible even in written sermons; in the unwritten, it often assumes prodigious proportions. Hence, what this kind of sermon gains in power over the affections, it often loses as an appeal to the understanding.

If the supposition be permissible that, we who "occupy the room of the ἰδιῶται" (1 Cor. xiv. 16), are not wholly what our English derivative implies, but are endowed with some particle of the distinctively human faculties; if, further, these faculties are to be not merely passive, but active under sermons, it would seem that there must be some matter for them to act upon;—something to inform the memory, to exercise the reasoning powers, to quicken the apprehension. But what this matter is, in a good many *ex tempore*, nay even in some written sermons, the apprehension with which several of us are endowed, is not acute enough to discern. As, however, slow apprehension is occasionally associated with a somewhat tenacious verbal memory, it frequently happens that, though the matter of former discourses either was never caught, or has escaped our feeble grasp, yet the words, the well-worn common-places, the favourite phrases of the favourite school,—be that what it may,—do come again to us with a familiarity which breeds—not contempt—I trust the occasion and subject preclude that,—but the kind of resignation which comes over us when we hear a venerable friend recommence, for the $(n+1)^{th}$ time, the oft-told tale of youthful reminiscences. The impressions are essentially of Butler's passive kind, and his law strictly holds.

It has been sometimes said, much oftener assumed, that this kind of thing is inevitable; because that, first, the truths being old, and even

essentially the same, new matter cannot be imported, but the same forms and expressions must be constantly reiterated; and secondly, that it is only by such constant reiteration that ignorance and indifference can be impressed by the truths. Both sets of premises, surely, need qualification. In the last there must lurk some fallacy if Butler's law be true.

A full discusion of the other set of premises would trench on ground whereon I presume not to tread, further than to suggest some grounds for one prayer of a humble petition which we, the undersigned, long-tried listeners to sermons, desire, most respectfully, to present to our spiritual pastors. More than the merest suggestion, is precluded by that admirable rule of time which prevails here, (why not everywhere? written discourses twenty minutes, unwritten fifteen or ten? People's churchwarden to watch the clock, and sexton to toll the knell of time expired?) as well as by other considerations. The one prayer I venture to urge (others will be far better dealt with by other speakers), is for less of sermons *from* texts, more of direct exposition of Holy Scripture. The exposition desiderated is not something differing from sermons only in the texts being taken in the order of a book instead of arbitrarily,—though even that would be some gain; not strings of solemnly propounded common-places which may be hung upon one text nearly as well as upon another, by a thread of the expositor's favourite fabric; not an agile bounding over the rugged and hard places, and a dwelling with lingering footsteps on the plain and easy ground; but a real effort to face and grapple with difficulties, to unfold hidden meaning, to draw out the lessons to the understanding, the appeals to the heart. Are there not "things new" as well as "old" to be brought out of this treasure? Is there here to be found no fresh impulse to stir affections chilled by the continual dropping of the self-same words and phrases, till well nigh all sense of the life-giving truths they tell of, is dead? Does not the infinite variety which Holy Scripture presents, show, even to one who merely turns over the pages, that reiteration of the same thing in the same form is not the means by which it has pleased The Eternal,—though in His Triune essence there be "no variableness,"—to make His ways known to man, His creature, so prone to "faint and be weary?" Is there nothing to be drawn hence with which to inform the memory, to exercise the reasoning powers, and by the interest which the sense of faculties exercised, and knowledge gained, creates, to quicken the apprehension and desire for more, and thus laying hold on the whole inner man, understanding, affections, conscience, to draw it from the attitude of a dull, passive, and therefore "forgetful hearer," to that of an active doer of the work? Who has wrought out this "place for gold?" Who has even traced the "veins of silver?"

The Rev. Daniel Moore read the following paper:—

Some things appear to be assumed in placing a subject like this on the paper of a Church Congress; as, for instance, that preaching is an ordinance of Divine appointment; that it is a recognised and important function of the Christian ministry; that it is an agency capable of

influencing for good the moral and religious life of our land. This much assumed, the points for our consideration are, how we, as ministers, may best use this weapon, and what must be the characteristics of our preaching in order to make it effectual for its end. In specifying some of these characteristics, I observe, first—

1. *It must be intelligent and instructive preaching.*

We are teachers, and must have something to say; interpreters, and must have something to explain; guides of moral conduct and opinion, and must prove ourselves competent to lead the way. It will not do to be always "letting down buckets into empty wells and bringing nothing up." "The priests' lips are *to keep* knowledge," but then he must take pains to *get* it first. It may be by patient study, wide reading, large observation of men and things; but, in one way or other, the knowledge must be obtained. The people come to be taught, and we must give them what they come for. The flock are looking up to be fed, and must not be sent empty away. The lecturer on secular topics, on science, on art, on antiquities, on travel, is always careful to prepare a real substratum of matter for his hearers. The majority of them, he hopes, at all events, will carry away something which they did not know before. What is to exempt a preacher from this rule? Why is he to be ringing the same monotonous changes, all the year round, on a few select phases of Christian theology, careful only to get what he considers the *marrow* of the Gospel into his sermons; but not seeing that this same marrow, by being served up continually, will soon become as insipid and tasteless as the bone?

I lay stress, therefore, on the fact, that every sermon we preach should contain a certain amount of *positive teaching* — direct instruction — the preacher not depending entirely upon the wisdom "evolved from the depths of his own consciousness," but securing to his hearers, from one source or another, a reasonable allowance of solid mental food. We live in an age of large reading and widely diffused popular intelligence, and, in measure, we must cater for this craving appetite. At all events if we do not, other teachers will. The "Halls of Science" are in our midst; and the pulpit will not be able to hold its own if, in point of intelligence, it is content to lag behind the age.

2. It must be *large*, and *liberal*, and *comprehensive* preaching.

The gospel was made for man, not man for the gospel. We must not make a sectional thing of Christ's religion, as if it were something reserved for a select few; a chartered guild or brotherhood whose very language is understood by none but themselves. Most of us have read Foster's essay on "The Aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion." It is a grand protest against catch words and shibboleths, and the whole vocabulary of narrowness and sectarianism. His cautions are wise. Intelligent people have a great horror of clique-terminology. The times require a wide gospel,—a far-extending cast of the net that shall gather in of every kind. It is not enough that we speak comfortably to penitents, and devoutly to believers, and experimentally to the advanced and ripened saint. We must strike further out. We must aim to reach the hearts, and intellects, and consciences of those who live outside this eclectic circle. Our mission field is the world, and the soil into which our seed is to be cast is the great heart of humanity, under all its shifting

phases and experiences. We must provide for the soul, struggling with its honest doubts; the mind harassed and perplexed with a host of scripture difficulties; the troubled spirit, groping and feeling after God, if haply it may find Him; but, as yet, getting no further in its searchings after the objects of a spiritual world than just to "see men as trees walking."

Especially are we to be on our guard against an undue partiality for particular departments of Christian theology. "We hold some texts so near our eyes," says Archer Butler, "that they hide the rest of the Bible." Many preachers are given to this practice in reference to certain favourite aspects of revealed truth, which they who are prone to such things make to stand for the whole of Christianity. Perhaps it is the doctrine of the Divine predestinations the man has a special liking for, or speculations upon unfulfilled prophecy, or the mysterious and effcacious grace of sacraments; but whatever be the preferred subject, he draws all his studies that way, makes every sermon to have some bearing upon it;—distorting and wrenching texts out of their most obvious connection to make them say something in support of his favourite theme. Such partial and mutilated presentments of the gospel we hold to be very injurious, and withal very dishonouring to the truth of God. For they destroy its perfectness. They cause it to be shorn of its finely-balanced symmetry and proportions. They rob it of its beautiful adaptation to all the varieties of human thought, and all the exigencies of the human condition. They turn the preacher of truth into the advocate of a dogma, and employ in the service of speculations, and fancies, and party narrownesses, the agency ordained of God as a means to enlighten and bless mankind.

3. Again, I think we should try to make our preaching *interesting, diversified,* apt and meet for the special *circumstances* of the times.

It is a commendation of the men of Issachar that they were men which "had understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do;" and it is added, as an effect of such practical wisdom, that "all their brethren were at their commandment." The lesson is for us also. Preaching is no stereotyped agency. In its mould and form, at all events, it must change as the times change, allowing itself to be drifted along with the ever-shifting currents of popular opinion, and even of popular prejudice and mistake. I do not think we can afford to construct our sermons upon the accepted type,—going back to the time of my own ordination,—of thirty years ago. To begin with, I suppose within that period most of us have a good deal curtailed the length of our sermons. I have no faith in the virtues of the perfunctory and accurately-timed sermonette, and I am sure that we have no security against dullness, in the fact that a man engages to measure his discourse by fifteen revolutions of the seconds' hand of his watch; for to many such preachers I believe we might apply George Canning's remark to one, who gave as a reason for his brevity, that he was afraid of being tedious, "But you were tedious for all that." Still the consensus of the times is against long sermons, and surely we ought to be at no loss to find a judicious mean between fifteen minutes and forty-five.

Again, I think the sense of the times is against that stiffness, and straitness, and formality in our homiletics, which found favour with

our congregations thirty years ago. No bishop, however fervent his admiration for the late Mr. Simeon (and admired that good man ever deserves to be), would think of recommending a candidate for ordination to construct his sermons upon the model of the "Horæ Homileticæ." The constant recurrence of the same triplicate mode of division, like the three hypothetical courses of a celebrated statesman, with its duly marshalled order of statement, and doctrine, and inference; of instruction, and warning, and encouragement; its word to the believer, and its counsel to the ungodly—cannot fail, after a time, to become very wearisome. We seek for escape from these narrow tram-lines; for a treatment of the subject more flexible, and elastic, and free; something that shall leave room for lively and interesting illustration; corroborations from the varied teachings of nature, providence, observation, history; whatever may help to put "a new nap on the commonwealth," and invest with an air of freshness, even the well-worn and familiar theme. Especially in this connection, would I hazard a suggestion whether we might not make more use in our preaching than we do, of the current topics or stirring incidents of the day,—bringing into our Sunday sermon the uppermost and freshest topics of public thought, and striking in with trains of feeling and speculation on which we know men's minds have been exercised all the week. Materials for such references are being brought before our eyes constantly; in the monetary panic, the workman's strike, the dark war-clouds gathering on the political horizon, and the fluctuations of hope or fear with regard to the appointed weeks of harvest. And we may learn something from all these things. God teaches by events. The scenes which are going on around us are the great lesson books of a superintending providence, and it should be ours to point the stupendous moral of the tale.

4. It must be *earnest* and *persuasive* preaching.

I have insisted much upon our bearing in mind that we are *teachers.* But we are not teachers only. Our chief object is to *persuade* men; to win them over to the side of God and His truth; to employ all the resources of an earnest and loving oratory that we may bring men to Christ. "Now then, we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us; we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." This is the spirit in which we must enter upon our work. The age we live in is a vigorous age, earnest, concentrative, on whatsoever it takes in hand laying out strength. In the exchange, in the senate, on the hustings, men speak as if they had an object, and would task all their powers of body and mind in order to success. And we ought to do the same in our preaching,—especially in the delivery of our sermons,—using all the resources we can command of look, voice, emotion, gesture, in order to shew that we are in earnest, and feel as those who are pleading for God with the souls of men. But instead of this, with too many of us, it seems enough to be coldly correct, professionally sedate, as if we would fall asleep of our dignity, and would communicate the contagion of our pious drowsiness to our hearers too. Now, why are we thus stolidly dull and apathetic? With such a noble and lofty theme, why are we so morbidly afraid of anything like fervour or emotion in our preaching? Afraid, even for a sentence, of raising our voice to a tone of earnest and impassioned utterance? It was not so with the ancient

preachers; nor with those whose preaching has been honoured with the most success in modern times. "Oh!" said a simple Scotch-woman, speaking of Robert McCheyne's preaching, "he preached as if he were dyin' a'most to have ye converted." But this is not our *usus.* As Sydney Smith says, we can be "natural everywhere but in the pulpit." There we bring "paralysis to the aid of piety," and so it comes to pass, he adds, that "any semi-delirious sectary who pours forth his animated nonsense with the genuine look and voice of passion" will "gesticulate away the congregation" of the neighbouring clergyman, "and preach him bare to the very sexton." To all this plea for animated delivery, I know some will reply such vehemence and passionateness of utterance, as you recommend, is not compatible with our conventional use of the written sermon. I do not believe in this excuse. But if it were true, in any given case, then my rejoinder to the man who urges the plea would be "do away with your written sermon,"—at all events, once in the day. But "*non cuivis homini*" will be the next plea of our objector. To a very great extent, I disbelieve in this excuse also. Of course, if by doing away with the written sermon were meant doing away with preparation, doing away with much previous thought and prayer; nay, even doing away with almost as much writing as would be necessary for a sermon which is to be read, then I should say the task is impossible; and impossible it deserves to be, for this, if for no other reason, because it is a giving to God of that which costs us nothing. But let there be reading, let there be diligent forethought, let there be a frequent going over in the study of the ground we intend to traverse, and eventually, I believe, success in the oral delivery is certain. A man may fail a first time, a second, and a third. So have many of the most accomplished orators and preachers done before him. But he must persevere. He must say as Sheridan said, after an early parliamentary failure, "It is *in* me, and shall come *out* of me." At all events let him read, let him prepare, let him write, let him pray; and for anything else it is neither superstition nor presumption to hope that he may have a part in that promise to the disciples,—"It shall be given you in that hour what ye ought to speak."

5. One more characteristic only can I make room for in this hasty summary of what is required in our preaching, but I am anxious to notice that it should be *devout* and *spiritual* preaching.

A steward of the mysteries of faith must provide for the whole household of faith. If he dispenses milk for the babes, he must provide meat for those who are of full age; to those who are on the way to the condition of the perfect man, the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. My remarks here point to the necessity of what is called experimental preaching; or the Gospel of Christ laid open in its more spiritual and subjective aspects, showing the relation of dogma to piety, and the direct action of a doctrinal system upon the sympathies and experiences of the heart. With regard to the sources from which we are to obtain a knowledge of these emotions and processes of the inner man, it is to be observed that, while much may be obtained from Holy Scripture, in the recorded experience of holy and inspired men; and, while much may be learned from pastoral experience, when we are brought face to face with cases of despondency and conflict and mental gloom, there is one source of knowledge as to the inner workings of the

human spirit for the loss of which nothing can compensate. I mean that which is self-supplied; that which wells up from the deep springs of the teacher's own inner life, and which, therefore, is but an echo of the feelings and aspirations of his own heart. Experimental preaching is the preaching of soul to soul; and one might almost as soon expect an electric spark to be elicited from an uncharged battery, as for the preaching of experimental truth to profit where the experience is all on one side. Such preaching is not for the unconverted man. Simulate it he may, and, to a certain extent, successfully. Because, happily it is not in ministerial deficiencies to take away the effect of Christ's ordinance. Still only to a personal participation of these aspirations and feelings of the spiritual life is the blessing promised—"I will satiate the soul of the priests with fatness, and My people shall be satisfied with My goodness, saith the Lord." At all events the spiritual or subjective element of our religion is a real element; and, in its place and degree, must enter into every faithful ministry. No doubt great care must be used that, in our statements about it, there be no exaggeration, and no contradiction. It must be kept in subordination to all the practical aspects of the Christian life; and must be exhibited in such entire concurrence with the rest of our teaching as not to favour the delusions of the mystic and the recluse. But these conditions observed, it seems hardly possible to err in excess in exhorting to the culture of heart religion; for, "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness"; "Out of the heart proceed the issues of life." And if without presumption we may accommodate inspired words, we would say, "For he is not a Christian which is one outwardly, neither is that religion which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Christian which is one inwardly, and whose religion is that of the heart, in the spirit and not in the letter, whose praise is not of men but of God."

ADDRESSES.

Mr. James Cropper made the following address:—

I approach the subject of preaching with a very real impression of its importance and solemnity. I cannot but remember that the same voice which told the apostles to baptise all nations, and which pronounced those solemn words, "Do this in remembrance of Me," also ordered them to preach His Gospel; and on another occasion said to a disciple, "Go thou and preach the Kingdom of God." The imperfections of human nature have given a disproportionate importance to those injunctions compared relatively, I believe; but history has always shown that in every age where preaching was disregarded the rites were either disregarded also, or blurred by superstitious ceremony. At the present day it seems there is but little danger of sermon preaching being treated with contempt or neglect. One of the most solemn results of our Christian organisation seems to be that there are about 20,000 sermons preached throughout our land every week; and when we think what those sermons must be to the congregation, that in many cases they, along with the newspaper, form perhaps the only means of giving any abstract ideas, we cannot exaggerate their importance. I propose to make some remarks upon what appears to me to be the possible subject matter of sermons. I remember that our Lord, in ordering His servant to preach, bade him preach "the Kingdom

of God;" and I presume that, in doing so, He meant that he should preach everything that could elevate human nature, and do away with the dominion of Satan in the hearts of men. The apostles, in their sermons, always took the manifestation of Jesus Christ in the flesh as their main subject, feeling that by taking that as their central topic they might class around it all the influences that soften and humanise mankind; and to that the preacher may, as they did, attach a variety of other interests, and a great variety of fresh instruction. He may, I think (and I speak especially to those who are engaged with the common village or humble congregations of this great country, the nineteen out of twenty of the ministers throughout the land), take a lesson from the teacher in his school, and put before them in a more free, fresh, and perhaps vigorous way, the class of topics which he may wish to group around the central subject. I have often thought that pure biography should more often form part of the staple of sermons than it usually does. Of course, I know that the narratives of Scripture have about them a sacredness that no merely human history can have, but there are many scenes and incidents in other biography that are helpful to all of us. Sunday sermons should connect the saints in heaven with the saints on earth; and if we praise God for all those who have departed this life in His faith and fear, we might mention them sometimes in our pulpits. Then, I think for another topic, the contrast between Christianity and heathenism might be made more of than it is. I think that sometimes the interesting part of a missionary meeting might be adopted in a sermon without its prolixity. I think the misery, the shiftlessness, and recklessness of savage life might be exposed not simply as a fact, but as proved by many facts. Many of us have seen what real heathenism is; what savage life can do, and the contrast between that state and the blessed condition of things in this favoured land might be made more obvious to those who only know the heathen by the mere name. Once more, may I take a lesson from the schoolmaster? I think it might be possible that a pictorial representation—not, perhaps, by actual painting, but by such a description as amounted almost to a picture, might be made use of? I remember well a sermon from the text, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock," in which the preacher brought before his congregation most strongly Holman Hunt's picture, "The Light of the World." He described the lantern, the closed door, the creeping plants, which showed how long it had been closed; and he explained the subject so well that every one went away with a deeper impression of the meaning of the text, what it was that closed the door, and how it was to be opened. There are many such pictures, and if it is impossible for mechanical reasons that we should speak from a picture itself, we might bring a picture before the minds of those who cannot see it except by the force of words. Once more, I cannot see why the history of our martyrs is not made more of in our sermons. Every week we say in our service, "The noble army of martyrs praise thee;" yet, many of our illiterate people do not know what a martyr means, except in a very obscure way. I know that much of martyrology is fabulous, but much of it is perfectly true. St. Paul would have gone on telling us of those who were tempted and sawn asunder, but time failed him. I do not know why we should not imitate his example, and talk of the martyrs more than we do. There have been martyrs in our time in the east, as real as those who fell in a Roman Amphitheatre; and, if they were witnesses to the faith, they ought to have some one to bear witness sometimes to them. I am not going to find fault with the sermons I have heard. I should like often to hear some of them over again, and I often regret as I go out of church that it is probably the last time the sermon will come to my ears, and anything I have failed to reach through my own ignorance and inattention, I have no chance of getting hold of again. A clergyman cannot now look for the same Divine inspiration that was given to the first disciples; he cannot expect that, taking no thought beforehand, he shall still be taught at the needing moment what he ought to say. Still, he must rely on the promised help of the Holy Spirit to make his words of any

value to the souls around him; and, I believe, that every one, who has faithfully continued to preach the gospel in God's name, has marvelled at times to find an influence given him beyond his own—to be conscious that his powers, weak as he deemed them, had been used by the Holy Spirit, and that his imperfect and unworthy utterances were thus honoured and accepted as service to his God.

The Dean of Ripon made the following address:—

Since the commencement of this session I confess I have been feeling a good deal for my reverend brethren, especially my young friends in the ministry, who are commencing their work, and who have received not a very gentle rebuke from both laymen and clergymen. Allow me to say to you, my young friends, if you will allow me to call you such, that the first, the highest, the most indispensable qualification for a Christian preacher is his own habitual communion with God. In order to be real it must be entire, without reservation. There can be no concealment from Him, and we know it. If there be any attempt at reservation, any fostered evil practice which we intend to retain, it is in vain to attempt communion with Him about other things—entirely vain you will always find it to ask His help for obedience in some things if you are intending to disobey Him in anything. The subject matter of Christian preaching has been referred to. It is, I venture to say, the revealed truth of God—not the truth of His natural perfections as His designing wisdom and His infinite power. These may be reasoned from Creation and Providence; but without conveying any moral influence to the mind of the reasoner. Our subject is the truth of the moral perfections of God—love, mercy, justice, truth—concerning these we can have no certain information except by a communication from Himself. I am well aware that the advocates of a foregone conclusion borrowed, whether consciously or unconsciously, from Revelation, may select from nature premises which seem to justify that conclusion: but an adequate, fair, impartial induction of premises from the same source, will at the least embarrass the argument, and in many instances lead to an entirely different conclusion. In one of the celebrated Bridgwater Treatises, there is an attempt to argue the benevolence of God from the construction and enjoyment of a fly, and the argument seems to be complete; but not a word is said by the writer about what was equally before him in nature, the spider, catching and killing the fly. Now, if the life and enjoyment of creatures supply an argument for Divine benevolence, for what do the sufferings and death of creatures supply an argument? Deprive us of Divine revelation, and in the present disjointed, perplexed and unfinished state of things in which we live, I believe we have no real refutation of Manicheeism. But we have a Revelation. Christianity is not a science of man's discovery to be pursued, developed, and improved by man's research. It is a message direct from God, perfect in itself, repudiating addition or alteration. Christian preachers are not inventors. They are expositors. They are ambassadors, ambassadors who ought not, and while true allegiance is in their hearts will not, deviate from the instructions of their Sovereign. His commission to them is to preach His Word, and truly the best and most instructive preaching is, as you have heard already, the exposition of the Word. The details of church order, of church ceremony, form no part of the Divine message. They have varied, and they may vary according to men's manners, provided nothing is ordained which is opposed to God's Word. We may say of all these what the Archbishop of Canterbury said the day before yesterday on the subject of the Athanasian Creed. He said no one claims for it apostolic authority, or that it came from any other infallible source; therefore, he added, it stands to us in a relation altogether different from God's Holy Word. The reason why the Word is the

great subject of Christian preaching, is because the object of it is the salvation of fallen man. It is not his intellectual enlightenment; it is not his social, or economical, or political progress, although these things will all be indirectly promoted by it; its object is the salvation of the man's immortal soul, *i.e.*, his reconciliation to God, his deliverance from a state of guilty rebellion, his introduction into a state of holy friendship and moral harmony with his Maker. Now, for the attainment of this object, in the face of all that you have heard about guarding against reiteration and against saying the same things over again, although I am quite agreeing in the mind and temper of what I am sure was the intention of the writer of that paper. I must say this, there is no name given under heaven, among men, whereby a sinner may be saved; but the name that must be reiterated, the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. He is the Alpha and the Omega of Christian preaching. A sermon without Him, whatever else it may contain, is darkness and not light. However highly scientific it may be, whatever light it may throw upon science, mechanical, moral, or political, if Christ be not there it does not deserve the name of a sermon. Everything connected with Christianity has its place there, because of its connection with Christ. He is the centre of the system, the sun round which all revolves, let the subject be what it may. Is Almighty God Himself the subject? Christ is the brightness of the Father's glory, the express image of His Person. By Him, alone, is God manifested to man, or man accessible to God. Is Creation the subject? Christ made it. Without Him was not anything made that was made. In Him all things consist. Is the Church the subject? Christ is the Head of the Church, Head over things to the Church, which is His body; and He is the Saviour of the body; He is the bridegroom; He is the husband. Is righteousness the subject? Christ is the worker of it—the only worker in human flesh, the only worker of a real righteousness that can stand in the judgment of God. Is the forgiveness of sins the subject? Christ is the purchaser of it, not with corruptible things, such as silver and gold, but with His own precious blood, shed once, once for all, once for ever. Is faith the subject? Christ is the author and the object and finisher of all true saving faith. Is holiness the subject? Christ is the spring of it; through union with Him the unction of the Holy One comes to man, out of His fulness we receive grace for grace. Is hell the subject? Christ is the refuge, the only refuge from the wrath to to come. Is heaven the subject? Christ is the light and life and glory of it to all eternity. Keep me from reiterating Christ. Then I will sit down and never speak another word. He is the Sun, as I said, of the system. Sir John Herschel, in his Familiar Lectures on Scientific Subjects, says, that the first and most important office that the sun performs towards our system, is to keep it together, to prevent its members from parting company, from seceding. This is done by the attraction of gravitation. Now, I say, that the attraction of the love of Christ, when it is really wrought in a human soul by the indwelling power of God the Holy Ghost, is as true and as powerful in the spiritual world as the attraction of gravitation is in the natural world. This is the true centre of unity. Hear what the great Apostle said, after describing his own state of mind, counting all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and saying that his own mind was set upon forgetting the things behind and reaching forth to the things before; he then adds, "Let us, therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded; and if in anything ye be otherwise minded,"—not otherwise than thus as to the state he has just described, but in other things, if ye be otherwise or variously minded, εἴ τι ἑτέρως φρονεῖτε,—"God shall reveal even this unto you." Only let your mind be set really and truly upon attaining conformity to Christ, and, oh, how wonderfully you will agree with one another! Then the importance of Christian preaching lies in this, that, by the sovereign appointment of God, salvation is by faith, and faith is by hearing—hearing the word of God. Faith

is a gift from God, but there is no instrumentality revealed in Holy Scripture for the conveyance of faith to the human heart, except the Word, the sword of the Spirit. It is not conveyed by any outward and visible sign; *for faith is a pre-requisite for the right use of every such sign.* The comparative importance of Christian preaching demands attention, but there is not time for it. I say this, however, it is a truism to say that everything is comparative; but it is of the greatest importance to notice that what is glorious in itself has no glory in this respect, by reason of the glory that excelleth. There is a glory about everything connected with Christianity, and we do not disparage any other part of it when we give pre-eminence to Christ and the preaching of Christ. It is a question of proportion, and we appeal to Scripture as our standard; receiving it all, as inspired by God, we receive the proportions in which it deals with truth as inspired also. I have only time for one. I am sorry that it looks so much like selecting only one. Take the administration of the Lord's Supper.

DISCUSSION.

Rev. John Scott, Vicar of St. Mary's, Hull.

It is peculiarly unfortunate for me to be called upon to speak, when we all want to hear more from the venerable gentleman who has sat down, and perhaps the best thing I can do, under the circumstances, is, as one of those younger brethren whom he has addressed so kindly and solemnly, to tender the thanks of all those who are in the same position as myself for the words he has spoken. I wish to speak upon sermons and the reason why we do not preach better sermons. I speak now of my own generation, when I say I think that the tendency is to compose more upon ideas than upon facts; to take, perhaps, a clever idea, a learned idea, or, more commonly I am afraid, a pretty idea, and work that out, rather than take some strong practical lesson to bear home upon our subject. What I mean is sometimes done by the fashion of taking two verses, or little bits of verses, from two entirely different parts of Scripture, and tacking them together, make quite a different meaning out of the two than that which was intended by the context of either of them. This must not be pressed too strongly, because if there are times when we may dwell interestingly on an idea it is at the recurrence of the Christian seasons. No one, I think, would object to—"And a little child shall lead them," as a good text for a Christmas sermon; or to—"Who will roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre," as an appropriate text for an Easter sermon. Still our tendency is to dwell too much upon ideas. When I come to the details of the sermon, I say we cannot be too careful as to what we may say, for fear of hurting people's feelings when we do not intend it. I remember being exceedingly shocked, after preaching upon temper and the quarrels young people are apt to fall into, especially girls, to be told, with an almost solemn asperity, by one that I might just as well have set her up in the middle of the church with a card upon her back. Now, as to the reason why we do not preach better. We have not been taught. The practice of putting a deacon in a country living alone, as if he were a priest, is one of the most ridiculous and abominable things that can be conceived; and so also is the fact of an incumbent running away for his holiday as soon as he gets as his curate a deacon ordained on Trinity Sunday, which comes just in the holiday season. Then, I think it is wrong to require a deacon to begin preaching at once. He ought not to be forced to preach every Sunday, whether he is ready or not; but some time should be left him to choose a day when he feels as if he could preach. By that means he would have more interest in it, and not look upon it as a task. Then, a wise incumbent ought to help his curate more in the preparation of his sermons.

The style of a new preacher may be improved by the vicar reading over with him his sermon beforehand, checking him when the sentences are too long for him to get through without a serious gasp for breath, and also pointing out to him the repetition of words and phrases merely interstitial, and also pointing out the little words which would make this sentence hang to that sentence. If the curate's delivery is not so good as it might be, the incumbent should hear his curate read over his sermon in the empty church, and correct the faults of delivery; and to give the curate an idea how his sermon will sound, the vicar might occasionally preach it before him in church. Nothing, to my mind, could be better for us clergy than to have our own sermons preached to us by such laymen as Mr. Balme or Mr. Cropper,—the delivery to be not a whit better, or worse than our own. We should then understand what our people had to suffer. Again, I say, the curate should not be sent off always to preach in the afternoons to the nursemaids. The fact is, nursemaids are the last people in the world to whom curates should be sent to preach. What I mean is, they want catechising, they want instruction of the most careful kind, and not a long sermon, especially from a man who is just beginning to preach. I feel certain that if our afternoon services were all catechetical, having our choir boys put in front of us, and catechising them before those who come to the afternoon service, we should do more good than by a sermon. I endorse, with all my heart, what has been said on the question of exposition. Now that the bands of uniformity have been, to some extent, relaxed, I think an exposition after the second lesson at our daily evening prayer, especially during Lent and Advent, would be of great advantage to those who come. Then, I would ask, why should not a clergyman, when he is over-worked in his parish, and has to provide four or five sermons a week with only one curate, occasionally preach another man's sermon, and tell the people when he does so? I have no hesitation in taking up one of Ashton Oxenden's sermons, or Walsham How's, and I tell the people plainly that I do so. I am certain that a little honesty of that sort will do no harm. And remember this—no preaching is of the slightest value in the world unless you believe what you say; and that belief is of no use unless you show it by words, and also act it out in your life.

Mr. Thos. Falkner Allison, Town Clerk, Louth.

I desire to give my views of what I think preaching ought to be. In the first instance, I would say that it should be personal; by which I mean that everyone in the congregation should realise that there is a message for him. If any of the congregation cannot realise that, I venture to think that the preacher has failed in some degree in the delivery of his message. I have not yet forgotten the teaching of Montague Villiers, in St. George's, Bloomsbury. It was there, many, many years ago, that I first learnt the value of personal preaching; not that I had not sat as a younger man under faithful teaching, but I never felt it to be personal. Then I think that preaching should be fairly critical. Of course, I shall be met by the observation of many here, that their congregations, being in the country, cannot understand any critical remark, but at any rate, I do not think that a critical remark is thrown away even upon an agricultural congregation. I venture to make this remark also, that in a few years we shall have a revised translation of the Bible, and it seems important that our congregations should be prepared for the change by their clergymen. In preaching amongst the working classes and the young, I venture to think that a good deal more of anecdote would be extremely useful. For the last eight months it has been my privilege to work among a large body of navvies in my town, and I find that, in addressing them on a Sunday afternoon, anecdotes from my own

personal experience in life are invaluable to fix their attention and enlist their sympathy for the blessed truths of God. I must disagree with the observations as to the inconvenience of long sermons. If we love the truth we shall not be tired by a forty minutes' good sermon. My impression is, that the tendency of the age is to get rid of the sermon altogether; therefore, I would urge upon our clerical friends here not to listen to those who say that fifteen minutes is the right time; but to stick to the half-hour, and, if it is good, let it be forty minutes. I would speak to the value of expository sermons. Every week let there be an expository sermon, and, if possible, once on the Sunday. A great number of members of the Church of England are fearfully ignorant of the truths of God's blessed book, and an expository sermon every Sunday would be invaluable to all, especially to those who, like myself, are engaged in Sunday-schools and other work in the Master's vineyard.

Rev. J. W. Gedge, M.A., Diocesan Inspector of Schools in the Diocese of Winchester.

As a curate, who has a good deal of preaching to do, I desire to say a few words upon this subject. It seems to me that all curates might be divided into two classes; those who have too much preaching, and those who have too little. There are a great many curates, as my friend Mr. Scott has said, who, as soon as they reach their curacies, are expected to begin the first Sunday with two sermons; and I know some who, in the course of their diaconate only, have preached no fewer than 150 sermons. How they could prepare those sermons properly, and also prepare for the higher office of the priesthood, must remain a mystery to themselves. On the other hand, there are curates who have too few sermons to preach, and often have to preach them under the greatest difficulties. I was for five years curate to a vicar who never once, during those five years, heard me preach a sermon, because I was only allowed to preach on those rare occasions when he was absent from his pulpit, and then I was graciously allowed to occupy it. Preaching is a matter of education to a great extent. It is not given to every one of us to be a golden lecturer; but it is given to us, by prayer and pains, and study of God's Holy Word, of the best models of preaching, and of the best sermons, to qualify ourselves for standing up before our people and speaking the truth acceptably to them. We have had one or two lessons given us from the day schools. As an Inspector of Day-schools, you will allow me to give you one more. The clergy are of course aware that before a day-school teacher gives a single lecture on a subject, he or she has gone through a careful preparation at a training college. They are there required to give a lesson, under a great deal of criticism by their teachers; and if our vicars would only do for us what Mr. Scott pointed out, if they would only kindly take us in hand while we are deacons, and criticise our sermons in our presence, tell us their faults, and also show us their good points, curates would learn to preach much better than they do at present. Now about the matter of our sermons. I think the remark which fell from Mr. Maclagan's lips, at the opening meeting, obtained as much applause as anything that has been said at this Congress—that we want more teaching. Our people are marvellously ignorant, not only of the facts, but of the doctrines of Scripture. I remember, as a boy, being drilled in the cardinal doctrines of justification by faith, and personal holiness, and kindred subjects, both from the pulpit and in private; and I think more of that drilling is needed now. Especially I would say a word to those who are given in these days to multiply services. This reproach does, to a certain extent, rest upon those whose churches are most open for the means of grace, and especially for the ministration of the Sacraments. I must say honestly that my experience is, that amongst our young men of the day most frequent in

attending the means of grace, there will be found the greatest ignorance of those subjects; and many of those, most constant in their attendance at Holy Communion, are least able to give an answer to the question, "What mean ye by this service?" Whilst, therefore, we multiply sacraments and services, let us improve our teaching. The structure of a sermon is important. Sermons used to be compared to kissing—two heads and an application; but most of the sermons now have no heads and precious little application. I do not mean that we are to be confined to heads, as we used to be, by Claude's Skeletons, and Mr. Simeon's excellent works. Our congregation would very soon weary of that. But, remember, just as when we look at a tree we can see all the beauty of the leaves and foliage without seeing the structure of the branches, and the trunk that supports the beautiful whole, so it should be with our sermons. I think our sermons at the present day have too little structure in them, and too little definite thought. One word as to the manner of delivery. It should be natural; and if you want to know whether you are preaching in a natural way or not, if you cannot get your vicar to criticise you, ask your wife, and you will be pretty sure to hear the truth. There is an old story told of David Garrick, the actor, being asked by the Bishop of London, "How is it that everybody rushes to see you act, while they won't come to hear my sermons?" The reply was, "I utter fiction as if it were truth, and you, my Lord, too often utter truth as if it were fiction." Therefore, I say, if we would only be natural, and really feel what we say, and make our people feel that we never utter a word which we do not feel in our hearts and try to act in our lives, though they may not learn much from the preaching of our pulpits, they may learn much from the preaching of our example and practice.

Mr. John Rand, Bradford.

I sincerely thank Mr. Wheatley Balme for the practical good sense with which he opened this subject, having a distinct reference to the general style of composition and delivery of a sermon. These suggestions were admirably supplemented by the decided tone of religious thought, so eloquently expressed by the Dean of Ripon and the Rev. Prebendary Moore. It is cause for much thankfulness that the gospel is so faithfully preached in so many of our churches, and I trust it may become so universally. We cannot overrate the importance of preaching. To preach the gospel is the command of our blessed Lord, and, when accompanied with faith and prayer, it is sure to bring a blessing with it. It may be well, whilst on this subject, to bear in mind the present state of our population, which has undergone so marvellous a change during the last half century, not only in its increase of numbers, but in the higher intellectual character of our intelligent operatives and artisans. Unhappily, large numbers of this valuable class of the community are never found in the house of God. How are we to reach them? What mode of address can be adopted to convey to them the message of eternal life and win them back to Christ and his Church? It is the faithful preaching of the gospel. The subject deserves serious thought—how, and in what way, with great plainness of speech and simple statements of divine truth, the preacher may be made the honoured instrument of bringing back these wanderers to the fold of Christ. Living, as I do, in the heart of a manufacturing district, I feel very much the importance of this question, and I trust the consideration of it will be productive of much good. May the blessing of God rest on this important Congress, and in all its proceedings may it seek to promote the glory of his holy name, and the spread of true religion, both amongst clergy and laity.

Archdeacon Cust.

I have been very forcibly reminded to-day of what I heard at the Congress at York about six years ago. There was a lay gentleman who spoke in very severe terms of the ordinary preaching of the day, and particularly of the way in which young curates were required to preach. He spoke rather as if it was of their own option that they had to ascend the pulpit so often as they did, and he described it as a great hardship to their congregations that they should have to listen to so many sermons. The Bishop of Oxford very kindly rose up and commenced his address very much in the same way as my excellent friend the Dean of Ripon did to-day, and put in a word for those curates. Now, all those curates were obliged to preach that number of sermons. They were put into parishes where a large number of sermons were expected, and, while there are some persons who would gladly perhaps have services without sermons, there are a far larger number who would be extremely angry if the service concluded without a sermon. A good deal has been said about training those young curates to preach. That reminds me of a remark I once heard made by a little boy, at a school where the inspector was examining them, and hearing them read. In the course of their reading, they came to the word "university." Then he asked the boys, "Can you tell me what a university is?" One of them put on a rather more acute look than the others, and said, "It's a place where curates go to learn to preach." "I wish it was," said the inspector. Perhaps it would be a very good thing if preaching or elocution were among the things taught at our universities. It has also been suggested that the rector or vicar should take the curate into the church alone, and hear him read over his sermon from the pulpit. I should like to ask the gentleman who made that suggestion whether he ever tried to do such a thing himself. Did he ever go into a cold and empty church, get up into the pulpit and begin to declaim away with all the animation he would do in this room? I say the thing is impossible. It is utterly impossible for a young curate to deliver a sermon with any energy to a congregation consisting of his vicar. Then, as to the vicar taking his curate's sermon and reading it aloud to him, I dare say you may have attended meetings of this kind, when unfortunately, the writers of addresses were not able to come themselves, and their papers were read by others. The effect was found to be so miserably dull, so ruinous to the spirit of the address, that at last it was given up. I think it was an excellent rule that was laid down for this Congress, that every address must be delivered by the person who had written it. Now, in regard to preaching, we know all persons have not the same gifts. It is all very well for gentlemen to get up and talk about preaching unwritten sermons, what are commonly, though very improperly called, extempore sermons, as if they ought to be the rule, and to take the place of written ones; but it is not every one who can get up and preach a sermon without book—a sermon bringing forward and applying the great truths as they ought to be brought forward and applied. It is better for clergymen to consider what their gifts are, and, if they feel a difficulty about standing up in the pulpit without a written sermon before them, it is decidedly better that they should take their sermon with them into the pulpit. I would venture to say to young clergymen that, if they wish to become extempore preachers, by far the best practice for them, and in fact the only way in which they can expect to arrive at any excellence in preaching without book, is to go and try their hand in cottage lectures. I would say to them, go into your school-rooms or into cottages, and there begin to expound a few verses of Scripture in familiar language, and you will find the power of expressing yourselves before a large congregation will gradually come; only throw your heart into it, and you will be able to deliver the Word of God in an effectual way, whether by a written sermon, or by word of mouth. A great deal has been said about the length and shortness of sermons. At the present day there is a certain degree of impatience at long sermons; but,

I do not think it is possible to draw any hard and fast line. There are some subjects which necessarily call for greater length, there are others which may be summed up in a very short time; and, perhaps, the best rule would be for clergymen not to tie themselves down regularly to a certain number of sheets of paper, nor to a certain time; but, when they feel they have said all they can say to do good, to draw to a close. Perhaps I had better now do so myself. But let us remember in all times, my reverend brethren, to preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, remembering that all those whom we address, whether they are those poor nursemaids, who were spoken of as if they were women without souls, or whoever they may be, have souls to be saved, souls as precious in the sight of God as that of the cleverest man upon this platform.

Rev. Francis Pigou, Vicar of Doncaster.

I think you will agree with me that there is a certain element of sadness in a discussion of this nature. It is a very grave and serious fact to notice that men and women, with immortal souls to be saved, who come to God's house in a serious frame of mind, to all outward appearance, for the purpose of receiving a solemn message to their souls, come to a meeting of this kind prepared to smile and laugh at and ridicule the very sermons they have been hearing from Sunday to Sunday. It is very easy for us, preachers of the Word, to tell our tales that will raise the laugh in any given assembly of men and women, about our vicars, curates, and sermons. I am perfectly certain nothing has been told from this platform to-day that will at all compare with the things I could tell you from my own experience. I am not going to touch upon the question whether it is for us vicars to hear our curates read their sermons. The vicar is a fortunate man who will find a curate in this present day docile and willing enough to have his sermons criticised by his vicar; but I am inclined to believe it is not the vicar who is responsible for his curate's sermons. There is a higher authority under which he comes before he reaches the parish, *i.e.*, his diocesan; and a clergyman ought to come to a parish with some guarantee of his efficiency, and not expect his vicar to teach him everything. We who are over large parishes know very well how much we must look to the assistance of our curates; and I feel that it is only right to give a curate every possible opportunity of fulfilling one great end of his ministry, that is, preaching to immortal souls. Of this I am more and more persuaded, looking over some years of varied experience and varied congregations, that there is not that impatience of preaching, where it is earnest, which men would have us suppose. I believe that the Gospel of Christ, preached in its integrity and simplicity, is the one message for which souls are yearning: and if that is set forth, simply and faithfully, before souls, there is a response and echo in the human heart that will never make men tired of simple Gospel preaching. If by anything I can say I can help you to regard preaching with greater solemnity, I shall feel that I have not spoken in vain. My clerical brethren will pardon me for saying one thing—if I say it simply from a deep conviction of its truth—it is that I believe the old maxim, which was given to me when I first took orders, is profoundly true, viz., it is serious preaching that makes men serious. I have no doubt that preaching is the great ordinance and instrument still, as it has ever been, for the conversion of souls to Christ. It has lost none of its power, and I believe God makes the weakest instrument powerful when a man simply looks for the guidance of God's Spirit. There is a great difference, of course, between the "foolishness of preaching," and foolish preaching, but I believe that any man who is in earnest, seeking the teaching of the Spirit of God, honouring the Holy Ghost, and looking for His blessed guidance, will have his words clothed with a power in the pulpit that will tell for good, where

many a sermon over which great pains have been spent without prayer, and where men have been looking to the caste of their sermon, caring more for polished sentences than spiritual power, will utterly fail to reach the hearts of the people. Then as to the laity, I am strongly of opinion that one great reason why preaching is not more effective, that is to say, more enduring in its results, is that people are not solemn enough in hearing. In many parishes we have begun to supply a great desideratum, in order to make preaching more effective—I mean those meetings on the Saturday evenings, when some godly people in the parish come together, relying on the promise of Christ, simply to implore the Divine blessing upon the teaching from the pulpit next day. And, again, if you want impressions to last, we must do as the photographer does. The sun paints the picture. Then he takes the picture into darkness and silence, and fixes the impression that has been made. What we want is this, that immediately after impressions have been produced by a sermon—for, thank God, such impressions are produced—men should meet together after the service is over, and be glad and willing, for their souls' sake, to sacrifice their supper or their late dinner, and either in the stillness and solemnity of the House of God, where the impressions have been made, or in some convenient building near, ask God the Holy Ghost to fix the impressions made upon the people's minds. If that were done throughout our parishes, I think we should not hear at future Congresses many of the much to be regretted remarks that have been made about sermons.

Rev. Professor Plumptre.

We have all felt, as we have listened during the last ten minutes, that "that strain we heard was of a higher mood," and it would be worse than a mistake to fall back into a lower note. I shall content myself with saying that much of the poverty, dulness, and meagreness of sermons is due to the fact that we include under the one name of preaching two functions, which, in the Apostolic Church, had entirely distinct names, and called for different gifts. There was the work of the preacher, properly so called, the messenger of God, bearing the tidings of reconciliation to a guilty world, the herald of the Great King, calling the sons of men back to the Father's kingdom. But when souls were brought within the pale, there was the other work not less important—the very completion of that which had been begun by the grace of God—the work included, under the many different names of teaching, comfort, exhortation, admonition, all wrapped up in that one word παράκλησις, which reminds us that there can be no real παράκλησις, but by the light and gift of the Eternal Paraclete. Now, if we had an ideal church to work out for ourselves, if we could mark out the sphere of work according to each man's gift, it might be desirable to give to one man the work of the herald, and to another the work of counsel and direction; but we cannot do this. We cannot split up our congregations as we might the forms of a school, and send one man to teach this division and another man to teach that. We have in every congregation some who practically are outside the kingdom yet; some whose very position as outside that kingdom arises from the fact that they have heard the message so often, that it has fallen upon their ears so constantly, that their impressions have grown weaker each time; and we need to arouse the conscience and lay again the foundation of repentance from dead works. But we must not be always doing that. Therefore it seems to me that all preaching, in order to be effective or complete, must be of such a nature as to meet the requirements of congregations of people in different stages of development. We must come with the message to arouse the conscience that needs arousing; we must come also with the message to the conscience which has been aroused, but needs guidance, illumination, and comfort.

We want to raise the man above the hypocrisies of his daily life. We need to point out to him that it is one thing to have the assurance of peace within, and another thing to carry on that work to its perfection in the life of obedience and good works. Therefore, as we have to deal with different stages of spiritual growth in different men's lives, so we have to remember that the great end of preaching—I say it advisedly, though it may seem bold—is not merely to set forth the message of the Gospel, not merely to win souls to Christ in the sense of just drawing them within the sphere of the knowledge of Christ Jesus. It is something higher than that, something more difficult than that—it is to "present every man perfect in Jesus Christ." We have to deal with a nature that is not simple, but composite and very complex; and we have need of earnest prayer and earnest study in order that we may attain that object. Man has an intellect which, in its natural state, is incapable of receiving spiritual ideas and truths; which, even when it has received spiritual truths, needs to be led on and illumined until the "things, new and old," have been brought out of God's Treasure House. Man has also besides that intellect which needs to be informed, affections which must be stirred, emotions that are dead and cold, or turned in wrong directions and settled upon wrong objects. He has all that nature which we class under the one great word, the "affections" of the human heart which hitherto have been fixed on things of earth, and which we seek to direct to things of heaven. Then over and above the knowledge which we desire to impart to the intellect, the light we desire to give to the soul that is now in darkness; over and above the stirring of the emotions, there is that supreme element in our nature—the will which leads to action, and this must be rightly influenced. No preaching is effective which merely kindles the glow of the feelings. It is pleasant to the man for the time, but the sensation dies away soon, even as the crackling of the thorns which leaves only the dull, cold, grey ashes. No preaching is effective unless it produces a permanent impression on the man's will. We ought therefore to aim at a teaching, which from time to time shall meet every stage in the spiritual growth of man, and which shall address itself to every component part of man's nature. It is common for some men to seek to attain that completeness by trying to make every sermon address itself to every part of human nature. They seek to bring the whole Gospel scheme into a twenty minutes' discourse. The advice I would venture to give to my younger brethren, with the teaching of many of whom I have been connected, is, that they should aim rather in every sermon to give prominence to a single thought; that they should not be afraid of being thought exclusive or inconsistent. The teaching of Scripture is not carefully balanced. Compare the Epistle to the Galatians with that of St. James. Compare the teaching of the Book of Proverbs with the burning words of Isaiah, and you will see that in the "manifold wisdom of God" there is room for a great diversity of gifts, and the preacher is not using his powers rightly if his sermons are always preached in the same key and aiming at the same thing. Therefore, I say, we should not forget the complicated nature with which we have to deal; keeping in our mind the simplicity of the Gospel, we must remember that that simplicity is manifold even as the wisdom of God is manifold in its nature, and that through the variety we should seek to inform the intellect, to purify the affections, to direct the will, and through intellect, affections, and will, as the crown and the glory of all, to "present every man perfect in Christ Jesus."

The Very Rev. Daniel Bagot, D.D., Dean of Dromore.

Mr. Chairman,—Thirty-seven years ago I might have been better able to say something on the subject of Preaching, when it was my privilege to deliver swo courses of sermons on the Socinian Controversy in this town, in answer

to the late Dr. Hutton. However, I hope the meeting will allow me now to make one or two observations on the subject. I believe that preaching is the first and principal office of the minister of Christ, and I am sure St. Paul thought so when he said, in writing to the Church at Corinth, "Christ sent me not to baptise but to preach the gospel." I, of course, fully agree with preceding speakers in this, that sermons should be, not merely expositions of doctrines, or exclusively moral and practical discourses, but that they should be both, putting forward the doctrines of the gospel as suggesting the principles from which Christian practice springs; and as the venerable Dean of Ripon has said, sermons should contain as much exposition of Scripture as possible, and I would add that they should only be controversial when an absolute necessity for controversy occurs. What I desire, however, chiefly to insist upon is, that sermons should be discriminating;—that the preacher should be careful not to confound Regeneration with Conversion—Justification with Sanctification—Redemption with Salvation—the Church with the Kingdom—and that he should never allow ordinances or sacraments to occupy that place which Christ alone is entitled to, who should be the Alpha and the Omega, and the chief pervading theme of every discourse. He should also remember that the great object of preaching is not the conversion of the world, but to take out of the world a peculiar people for Christ. His commission, no doubt, is to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, but not that the world might be converted, but that whosoever believeth might be saved. Let, then, every minister of the gospel imitate the example of the Apostles, of whom it is said that, "daily in the temple, and in every house, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ," taking as his motto, the language of St. Paul—"I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, even him (as it should be rendered) who was crucified."

Rev. George Huntington, Vicar of Tenby.

Mr. Beresford Hope said that the clergy being the administrators of the Sacraments, and the people being the recipients, therefore the people were more interested practically than the clergy in the right and due ministration of the Sacraments. If those remarks are true in any way, in respect to the administration of the Holy Sacraments, they must be very much more true with respect to preaching, for in one sense the laity are the victims. I think the laity have shown no great amount of reticence in the remarks they have made; but I, as a clergyman, must express my deep thankfulness for the earnestness and common sense they have shown. Perhaps I have done as much as most men in endeavouring to draw out the sentiments of the lay people. A few years ago, in Manchester, we had a discussion on preaching from a layman's point of view. The meeting was held at my suggestion, and I was the reader of the paper. The Mayor was in the chair, and we considered the question of preaching as an art. We assumed all that has been said with respect to its being a divine institution. We assumed all that has been said with respect to the preaching of Christ. We took it for granted that no clergyman would dare to stand up before any congregation, if he did not fully believe that there was no other name given under heaven whereby we must be saved, but the name of Jesus. We took it for granted that the laity expected that from us. Therefore, having assumed all these principles, we merely considered the question of preaching as an art; and the suggestions had respect principally to three topics; first, with respect to length; secondly, with respect to Liturgical preaching; and thirdly, with respect to direct preaching. As to length, we took a vote. You do not take any vote here, but I venture to think if I took a vote from the laity present here they would rather vote for twenty-five than forty-five minutes. When I was first appointed as one of the clergy of Manchester Cathedral I happened

to have more than I expected of the preaching thrown upon me, through the absence of one of the Canons, and one Sunday morning I ventured to preach thirty-five minutes. My dear old friend Dean Bowers said to me, "Our people, after our long morning service, will listen to you with interest for fifteen minutes, with attention for twenty minutes, with an effort for twenty-five minutes, and if you get beyond twenty-five minutes, St. Paul himself would not compete with a burning pudding." I took the hint. I never transgressed over my twenty minutes in a morning again. Well, the opinion of the laity at the meeting, I have been telling you of, seemed to be that we ought not to be beyond twenty minutes in the morning. The next point was Liturgical preaching; and the laity, to a man, were for our selecting the subjects suggested by the service. They said, "We always look out for the Lessons, the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, as they recur, and we are prepared to receive instruction in conformity with the order and course of the ecclesiastical year." What a great truth that is which has been so well set forth by Prebendary Sadler, in his able and interesting work, "Church Doctrine Bible Truth;" a book which I have found most useful in preparing intelligent young men for Confirmation, and which I would recommend my brother clergy to place in the hands of enquiring Nonconformists—that we do most effectually preach Chris when we trace our blessed Lord's course from His Incarnation to His Ascension, from Bethlehem to Calvary, and from Calvary to His place at the right hand of power, because there is no part of His work—what He did for us on earth, and what He is doing for us in Heaven, and what He will do when He comes again—that does not come into view in the course of the services of the Church. The third point was directness. Every speaker deprecated vagueness, and urged the need of direct and pointed appeals to the hearts and consciences of the hearers, founded on the clergyman's own personal acquaintance with his people. I remember coming out of the Cathedral one morning, and a man of business accosted me, and said, "Why are you always talking about those old Jews? Why don't you tell us more about our Manchester trials and temptations? Why don't you try to get to know more of our habits?" One of the highest tributes that could be paid to a minister in this respect was paid to Dr. M'Neile by a Liverpool merchant, who said that he knew their mode of thought and their temptations so well that he could almost imagine that he had been apprenticed to their particular trades. With respect to this subject of directness, I am sure the people feel it keenly. They don't want to have mere commonplaces said to them, but they want us to enter into their habits of thought. One suggestion was made with respect to taking one point at a time, and driving home that one point. That was the rule of the late Henry Melville. I once told a cabman that I would take his cab if he would go and hear me preach. He did so, and I had hardly got through my first sentence or two in the sermon before the cabman was asleep, and he slept on through the hymn that followed the sermon, until he had to be roused. "What a capital sermon you preached," he said to me. "Why, you didn't hear much of it," I answered. "You told us that we should do more good to our children by example than by teaching, and I shall always think of that." That was just what I began with, and it was all that the cabman had heard. I afterwards made his acquaintance, and visited him. He had ten children, and I firmly believe that that one idea was, by the blessing of God, driven home to his heart.

Mr. C. H. Lovell.

I am sure there is no desire on the part of the laity to make any observations which can be regarded as personal or offensive to the clergy. I should have been glad to have devoted ten minutes to mentioning three or four points,

which, as a practical man of some experience of life, appear to me to bear upon this important question. I look back through now a somewhat extended life to the many sermons to which I have listened with the greatest attention and profit, and I have not come here to say one word against preaching, or, indeed, against the way in which ministers endeavour to discharge their duty; but there are some points that I think are overlooked. It has been mentioned that no young persons are permitted to stand up as teachers in our schools, and give a lesson, unless they have been previously trained by competent persons, and unless they have successfully practised the art of giving lessons in the presence of their instructors. I believe some of the remarks made to-day are perfectly Utopian. To get a curate to listen to the strictures of his vicar in the way suggested, or to get a vicar to put himself into the invidious position of criticising all his curate says, would be plainly impracticable. But, at the same time, I think that before gentlemen are ordained, before the solemn duty of the ministry is entrusted to them, they should submit to the instruction that is necessary. I strongly urge, therefore, that our ministers should be taught to read and preach before they are called upon to exercise their duties in public. With regard to the length of sermons, I do not agree with those who think they should be very short. On the contrary, I think it is hardly possible to illustrate and enforce the solemn subjects that arise in the course of a sermon in the very few minutes to which it is pretended that the laity wish to restrict the clergy. I believe that laymen may indeed be wearied by some of the sermons they hear; but, let clergymen be in earnest, let them be faithful and devoted, and you will rarely hear people complain. As the father of a large family, I certainly do wonder that ministers seldom seem to preach as if they knew that a very large proportion of their congregation, especially in the morning, consists of children. A few plain, practical observations addressed to the young would be of the greatest possible benefit. I remember when I was not more than ten or eleven years old, I used to sit in church Sunday after Sunday, and one of my greatest trials was that attempts were made to make me laugh when our clergyman began, perhaps for the fiftieth time, to say the same thing over again. This shows that children are capable of appreciating what they hear, and that it is well worth the time of the clergy to try to win them at that early age. Now, let me speak seriously to the clergy; will they forgive me for saying that I doubt whether they attach half the value to their sermons that we do. How can we estimate the value of a human soul? Surely no man should ever stand up to preach who does not deeply feel all the time he is preaching that the eternal welfare, it may be, of some of those before him depends on what he is saying. I cannot agree even with the Golden Lecturer in thinking that sermons ought to deal much with the topics of the day—hardly at all, I should say. I think they should set forth Christ and Him crucified. They should try to accomplish that which the Spirit of God told St. Paul was the object for which he was sent forth—to turn men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. Before I sit down, I wish to express my deep sense of the value of what we heard in Victoria Hall this morning. I thought that to hear one after another of our clergy grapple with so much ability, and so much eloquence, with some of the greatest questions of the day, and perfectly overthrow their adversaries, was a triumph on the part of the Church of England of which we cannot be too proud.

Rev. G. W. Brameld, Vicar of East Markham.

I think we are here not merely to encourage one another, but to correct abuses where we know them to exist, and I wish, in the minute or two that I have at my disposal, to direct the attention of this meeting to an abuse which prevails in connection with the subject of preaching. I do not wish to say

an unkind word, but I do think it is right that a protest should be made against this practice which is productive of very great mischief, both to religion and the Church. When we open the pages of *The Ecclesiastical Gazette*, we find advertisements of sermons lithographed, and sent about the country to the clergy. These are not merely sermons which men preach, as sermons not written by themselves, but they are lithographed in order that they may appear to be their own composition. I am sure that this creates a great prejudice against the preaching of the Church of England; and I have myself known severe remarks made upon it by Nonconformists. How is it possible for any man to preach earnestly and fervently the truth as it is in Jesus? how is it possible that he can speak from his heart those things which concern the everlasting peace of his hearers when he knows perfectly well that, at the time he is addressing them, he is deceiving them, not by merely preaching another man's sermon, but by having it so printed that, if overlooked, it may appear to be his own? I am quite sure that in no Nonconformist body would such a thing be possible, for, if it were known that such a thing were practised, the man would be looked upon as unworthy to hold a place in the Church of Christ. I only hope that, whether the practice is extensive or not, this meeting will say that they do not approve of such a system. And, as we have in the Church of England numbers of earnest, sincere, and profound preachers in all the different schools of the Church, I hope that the Nonconformists will not suppose that this practice is general amongst us, or that in any kind of way we approve of it. I have mentioned the subject to men of earnest minds belonging to various schools, and they thought it indispensable that some one should make an emphatic protest against a practice which is certainly injurious to the interests of religion, and the cause of the Church.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, 9th OCTOBER.

The Right Reverend the President took the Chair at Seven o'clock.

CHURCH REFORM:—THE DIACONATE—CONVOCATION—CATHEDRALS.

Rev. E. Jackson, St. James's, Leeds, read the following paper:

The supply of clergy for the ministry of the Church of England has become more and more of late years a subject for anxious consideration.

Important curacies are remaining vacant for months. Clergymen having heavy ministerial charges advertise in the leading Church newspapers week after week, and yet receive no suitable response; Colonial bishops write home almost despairingly of the sore need they experience for men to occupy both pastoral and missionary posts; while such is the dearth of candidates at home for the service of the foreign work of the Church, that the two great Church Missionary Societies have united in asking the archbishops to set apart a day for special prayer and united supplication with reference to the exigency.

Now this inadequate supply of clergy may be accounted for in various ways. First, the great prosperity of the country, with the prizes which on all sides are tempting young men to devote themselves to trade, manufactures, and commerce, doubtless has drawn many from thinking of the ministry as a profession. Secondly, there is the throwing open of the civil service, which would necessarily be an attraction to the very class of educated young men who might have been considered suitable for the clerical profession. Thirdly, the great disturbance of mind on all the great doctrines and facts of revelation, which has resulted from the utterances of scientific men, or the denials and speculations of avowed unbelievers, undoubtedly has had its influence on not a few of the young men in our universities, and kept them back from a profession, the fundamental principles of which they were not prepared to avow or support. Lastly, and what is a matter for most serious consideration, the utter inadequacy of pecuniary support, which the young clergyman must expect to be his portion for years, has become more and more an emphatic warning to prudent and thoughtful men not to enter into a life which may prove one either of forced celibacy, or of miserable difficulty and debt. And this view of the subject becomes more perplexing and disheartening the more it is considered. There can be no contradiction to the statement, that the increased cost of living, and the heavier demands continually made on the clergy, owing to their greater energy and laboriousness, calls for a very considerable increase to the stipend of all curates, so that a senior curate should not have less than two hundred pounds, nor a junior less than one hundred and fifty. On less than these respective sums the clergyman is placed in a worse position than the bricklayer or the mason, and much worse than the mechanic or the miner.

But to raise the salaries of the curates of England, leaving out any consideration of the unbeneficed clergy in the colonies, would require, taking the number to be approaching 6,000, an annual sum of three hundred thousand pounds! And yet it must be repeated, that this is only a fair and moderate view of the requirements of the case.

And yet there is another view of the question, which, however paradoxical it may sound, can be shown to be too true, viz., that while the call for curates is so great we have already greatly, very greatly too many.

Let me show how this is clearly made out; and I beg my hearers to ponder the following facts, connected with the locality in which the present Congress is held, but the application of which may be extended more or less to the country at large. Fifty years ago there were in the borough of Leeds thirteen benefices, and there was one stipendiary curate. Within the same area now there are forty-four benefices and about forty stipendiary curates. So that while the benefices or livings have increased somewhat more than three-fold, the curacies have increased forty-fold! Is it not a question to be asked in all thoughtful earnestness, What is to become of all these curates, now so miserably underpaid, and with such small prospects of anything better? Of course, this great disparity is not the case everywhere; but if the benefices of England and Wales are, in round numbers, 9,000, and the curates about 6,000 (in the Diocese of Ripon there are about 460 livings and 250 curacies), the prospect is but

a dreary one to the earnest and honest young clergyman, who wants after some years of ministry to have a home, and yet not to run into debt! Surely this view of the subject, which seemed so paradoxical, is proved to be correct; that while we so greatly need more curates, both to meet the rapidly increasing population of the country, and to satisfy the increasing life and earnestness of the Church, which will not allow these masses of men to live and die uncared for, we have already greatly too many curates on the present system.

And now we turn to a mode of meeting these pressing requirements of the Church, arising from the greatly awakened life and spiritual sympathy, and from the rapidly augmenting population, especially of our large towns, which has greatly occupied the minds of churchmen, and which has apparently commanded the very warm approval of the highest authority amongst us: I allude to lay co-operation, a subject of the greatest importance. Now, lay co-operation may mean one or both of two things, things very different, and which people often do not distinguish when thinking or speaking of lay co-operation. Lay co-operation may mean only assisting the clergy in meeting the temporal needs of the Church, providing funds for the maintenance of divine service, the relief of the sick and the poor, &c. It may go further than this, and include Sunday-school teaching, the advocacy of missions, and the visiting of day-schools. And Lay co-operation may also mean assisting in the real spiritual work of the Church, praying with the sick, preaching to the ignorant, and taking some part in the services in church.

And Lay co-operation has, as all know, been sought and used in some or more of these various modes of usefulness to a considerable extent. We have had our Sunday-school teachers, our visitors of the poor and sick, our scripture readers; and, latterly, a new class of lay-helpers, who have been styled lay-deacons, and who, by a special service in the congregation, and by a prescribed ordinal, have been set apart for the performance of certain religious duties in connection with the ministry of the Church. It is of these latter, as being the particular mode by which the pressing exigencies of the Church are sought to be met, and which, indeed, bears the nearest resemblance to what I believe to be the right mode of meeting our necessities, that I would especially speak,—and shew that it is as objectionable in principle as it is defective in its exercise and practice.

First, let me premise, that of the value, nay, of the necessity of lay co-operation or lay-help, not only to meet the needs of the present age and circumstances of the Church, but of all ages and all circumstances, no one can have a more decided conviction than myself, and perhaps few clergymen can speak of its use and inestimable good from a longer or larger experience.

But it is one thing to have the free forthcomings of Christian zeal and love on the part of earnest and godly men and women, and it is another to seek to assign and limit these workings of the spirit of God to certain persons, and by fixed rules and forms. The proceeding of setting apart so-called lay-deacons, if I may speak plainly, and with all respect, is an unreality and a wrong. It professes to give a place and authority to these lay-deacons, but it gives nothing, because it can give nothing but what they before possessed; while it says by the so deemed

appointment and solemn setting apart of these persons that they are to do what the rest of the laity are not to do.

And yet is it not the bounden duty and the high privilege of all Christian people to spread the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and promote His cause and kingdom to the utmost of their power, in all ways, and in the performance of all acts of religion, which are not by the constitution of the Church specially reserved for the appointed three orders of the ministry? Can there be a greater error taught the members of Christ's Church, or a greater wrong done to them, than by thus practically proclaiming that the service of Christ is not universal, and that, therefore, they are under no obligation to render it? Surely the appointment of these *Vicars of the Laity* is on every ground a great mistake.

And, now, as to what is the right mode of increasing the clerical strength of the Church, as well as to what is the right mode of calling out lay co-operation, I gladly turn to the words of a document, which carries with it a stronger recommendation than can be the case with any mere words of mine.

In the year 1851, the clergy of the rural deanery of Leeds appointed a committee to consider "What are the best means of reclaiming our lost population?" The committee consisted of the then Vicar of Leeds and Rural Dean, Dr. Hook, now Dean of Chichester; the Rev. Wm. Sinclair, then Incumbent of St. George's, Leeds, now Vicar of Pulborough; the present venerable Vicar of Knaresborough, and four others, including the writer of this paper. From the report, which they unanimously agreed to, and presented to the Chapter, and which was published, and passed through two editions, I select the following passage, which, after twenty-one years further experience of the practical working of the Church of England, I again heartily and emphatically make my own, and beg to commend to the thoughtful consideration of this Congress:—

"A conviction has long been impressed upon the minds of some of your committee, which has lately been brought forward by a venerable and experienced dignitary of the Church, the Archdeacon of London,* and to it your committee would call the most thoughtful and earnest attention of the Chapter, as the means in their judgment most likely, with the blessing of God, to meet the wants of the Church,—and that is a considerable increase in the diaconate. The distinction between the diaconate and the presbyterate of our Church, says that learned divine, appears to me to be very strongly marked; the deacon is permitted to perform the ordinary duties of life, but the presbyter bids adieu to worldly employments, and makes the duties of the ministry his all-absorbing care. The duties of deacons are evidently of two kinds, ecclesiastical and temporal. Their ecclesiastical ministrations are all public in their character; to assist the priest in the divine service, specially in the Holy Communion and in the distribution thereof; to read the Holy Scriptures and Homilies in the Church to the people then assembled; to instruct the youth in the catechism; to baptise infants in the absence of the priests; to preach, if admitted thereto by the Bishop himself. The temporal administrations of the deacons are to search for

* The late Archdeacon Hale.

the sick, poor, and impotent people of the parish, and to intimate their estates, names, and places where they dwell, to the curate, who has cure of souls, that by his exhortation they may be relieved, &c.

"The qualifications required for the deacons are, 1. Profession of purity of motive in undertaking the office. 2. Acknowledgment that his call to the ministry is consistent with the rule of Christ, and the due order of the realm. 3. Profession of belief in the Holy Scriptures.

"The promises made by the deacon are, official, that he will fulfil the ecclesiastical and temporal duties of the office; and personal, that he will frame his life, and that of his family, according to the doctrine of Christ, and make them exemplary to the flock of Christ. And lastly, that he will be obedient to the Ordinary, and other chief ministers of the Church.

"Such, and such only, are the duties and obligations of the deacon's office, entrusted to him by the Bishop alone, without the concurrence or sanction of any persons whatever. From the Bishop alone he derives his authority, and from him alone receives it by imposition of hands.

"And are not these ministrations, which are thus defined by the Church, as the peculiar sphere of the diaconate, the very ministrations which are suited to the wants and condition of our populous neighbourhoods? And if men can be found, as assuredly many would be found in our large towns, engaged in professions or offices, and even of independent fortune, willing to perform these duties, but who would decline that advancement to the priesthood, which would require them to give up all other care, and to make the cure of souls their one object of life, is it wise to forego the services of such persons, or to perpetuate the notion that no man is fit to be a deacon who is not desirous to be a priest; and when the Church requires various duties from men variously gifted, to limit the character and qualifications of those from whom she is willing to receive help, to those of one order of the ministry? Your committee cannot but most cordially agree with the respected divine, whose words they have quoted, that there is just reason to admire and adore the wonderful providence of God, in directing the minds of our reformers to impress upon the order of ministers in our Church, the nature of whose office had been lost sight of from the period of the corruption of religion by the Church of Rome, the simple character of the primitive and apostolic diaconate, and to prescribe such duties to be performed as are now proved to be the very office and duties requisite for the perfection of our Church, and for the supply of the spiritual necessities of the people.

"Were our Church now to renew in practice, as well as in theory, the perfection of the Apostolic age, by the development of the agency of the third order of the ministry upon an extended scale, such a change would not be an alteration in the fundamental principles of our ecclesiastical polity, nor any deviation from the laws of our Church.

"If great care were used to ascertain the qualifications of candidates, it would not only be practicable, but prove an incalculable blessing to the Church, to admit to deacon's orders men continuing in their callings, above thirty years of age, married, and able to show at the time of their ordination that they were in independent circumstances, or that for three years previously they had maintained themselves and their families

by their professional exertions. They ought to be chosen men; not novices in any sense, but men proved in the trial of life, and so brought to think soberly of themselves and to know their own mind. Such ministers in no case to receive stipends, and not to be ordained to the priesthood, unless they shall have remained deacons for perhaps three years, or a longer time, at the discretion of the bishop; and unless, further, they shall have attained the present standard of competency in learning, and attest the sincerity of their desire and motive by the sacrifice of their temporal vocations.

"Under restrictions of this kind, such as the practical wisdom of our spiritual rulers would not fail to suggest, your committee think that this plan might be safely introduced, and they dare scarcely express the degree in which they believe, that, under the blessing of the Holy Spirit, it would promote the interests of pure and undefiled religion throughout the land."

I would only add to the foregoing, that when we see noblemen, magistrates, eminent lawyers, members of the medical profession, and others, readily offering their services to read the appointed lessons in church, one cannot but ask the question, why should not such service be extended to the relief of the often over-worked pastor by the reading of the prayers also?

There can be no doubt that suitable persons for such extended diaconate would be found largely in the Church; in many parishes there would be several; but if there were but one such called out in every six parishes, it would give an addition to the active strength of the clerical body of upwards of two thousand ministers, and that without cost!

Without cost did I say? Surely not only so, but with the greatest possible gain both to the Church and to the deacons themselves. How great the reflex influence of the performance of sacred duties in the sanctuary and elsewhere would be on the lives and families of those engaged, who can estimate; or of the influence of such high personal service and homage to religion on the laity at large? God be thanked that we live at a time when the Church is alive and ready for all right extension of her work, and when her rulers are, of all others, most anxious for the enlargement of the kingdom of the Lord; and we may, therefore, hope that this Extension of the Diaconate, with all the good that may fairly be expected to flow from it, will speedily be realised.

Rev. Canon Ryle, Vicar of Stradbroke, read the following paper:—

CONVOCATION REFORM.

The English presbyter who undertakes to handle the subject of Convocation Reform at a Congress, is placed in a very awkward position. Unless he is prepared to defend things as they are, and to advocate Lord Melbourne's famous "let-alone policy," he finds himself in a field which bristles with opponents.

On one side he is under a sentence of excommunication. The 139th Canon declares roundly that "whosoever shall hereafter affirm that the

sacred synod of this nation is not the true Church of England by representation, let him be excommunicated, and not restored until he repent and publicly revoke his wicked error."

On all sides a large proportion of churchmen dislike the very idea of any ecclesiastical change or reform, and regard their advocate as a kind of Korah, Dathan, or Abiram, or an Uzzah, who is needlessly meddling with the ark.

In the face of these difficulties I must throw myself on the compassion of Congress, and ask you to give me a patient hearing. I ask the friends of the 134th Canon to remember that there are *some* canons which are just as obsolete as those ancient guns which repose silently in Woolwich arsenal. No one, for instance, would dream of enforcing the 74th Canon, which ordains that persons ecclesiastical are not to wear "any light-coloured stockings!" I ask the enemies of all change to believe that reforms are not necessarily revolutions, and that a church reformer may be second to none in loyal love to the Church of England. Not least, I commend to their attention the wise words of Lord Bacon on this very subject. "I would ask," says Lord Bacon, "why the civil State should be purged and restored by wholesome and good laws, made every third or fourth year in Parliament, devising remedies as fast as time breedeth evil; and contrariwise the Ecclesiastical State should still continue upon the dregs of time, and receive no alterations from these forty-five (now two hundred) years and more? If it be said to me that there is a difference between civil causes and ecclesiastical, they may as well tell me that churches and chapels need no reparations, though castles and houses do. Whereas, to speak truly, dilapidations of the inward and spiritual edifications of the Church of God are in all times as great as of the outward and material."

About the *abstract propriety* of the Anglican Church possessing a representative synod or assembly—a synod which, to use the words of the 139th Canon, shall be "the true Church of England by representation," I shall say little. I have no sympathy with those who would condemn our venerable Church to a perpetual silence, and refuse her any opportunity of meeting by representation, taking counsel, and speaking out collectively her mind. I, for one, see no beauty, wisdom, sweetness, or light in the Pythagorean principles of some of my brethren in this matter. I hold that silence is not always golden. Amidst the stir, and activity, and discussion, and intellectual strife of the 19th century, a slumbering, voiceless, tongue-tied church appears to me a fossil and an anomaly.

About *the defects of "Convocation as it is,"* I shall only make one broad general remark. Constituted as it is now, Convocation *is not a true representation of the Church of England.* It may have been so formerly in the times of the Tudors and Stuarts, with an ignorant clergy, and an uneducated laity; it certainly is not so in the reign of Queen Victoria. It may be so theoretically, but it certainly is not so practically. And it is precisely because I am a friend to Convocation, and wish to increase its usefulness, by making it actually as well as nominally a representative body, that I venture this day to plead for Convocation Reform.

About the *pressing necessity* laid upon us in this day to seek some reform of Convocation, I feel obliged to say a few words. It is vain to

deny that many churchmen regard the whole subject with undisguised apathy and indifference. This indifference is much to be deplored. If the Government of this country entirely ignored Convocation,—if we did not live in peculiarly critical times, one might, perhaps, understand the indifference of which I complain. But, taking things as they are, it is lamentable, disastrous, and inexplicable. Is it nothing that this very year matters of grave importance have been referred to Convocation by a "letter of business" from the Crown, and the report of Convocation upon them has been formally recognised in the preamble of an Act of Parliament? Surely, men will not tell us, at a time like this, that the constitution of Convocation is of no importance, and that it signifies nothing whether it truly represents our Church or not!—Is it nothing, again, that an organised crusade against the union of Church and State has been set on foot, and that thousands of well-meaning Nonconformists are compassing sea and land to disestablish and disendow the Church of England? And is this a time to tolerate a thoroughly defective organisation at head-quarters, and to leave the main defence of our Zion to the isolated voluntary efforts of self-constituted committees? Surely, there are handwritings on the wall which it needs no Daniel to interpret. There are signs of the times which he that runs may read. If the trumpet gives an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle? If the synod of the Church of England is to be really useful, it ought to be reformed, and reformed without delay.

The precise nature of the reforms needed, in order to make Convocation truly representative, is a subject which I approach with unfeigned diffidence, because it is peculiarly debatable ground. But honesty is at all times the best policy, and a congress platform is a place where every man should speak out all his mind. This at any rate is the principle on which I mean to act to-day.

Four changes, then, appear to me necessary, in order to adapt Convocation to the times, and make it a true representation of the Church of England. For convenience sake I will give their names, and then consider them in order. These changes are 1, Amalgamation; 2, Expansion; 3, Reduction; and 4, Inclusion. On each of these heads allow me to say a few words.

(1.) I submit, first of all, that Convocation needs *amalgamation*. I mean by this the complete fusion of Canterbury and York Convocations into one homogeneous body. The separate existence and action of the two houses, at present, appears to me a dangerous anomaly.

The reasons which might formerly have been alleged in favour of having two separate houses exist no longer.

The present arrangement most certainly does not work well. The house of Canterbury, for some cause or other, gets the lion's share of discussion and public attention, and throws the house of York a little into the shade. Which house of the two talks best and does most useful work is a delicate and invidious question which I shall not pretend to solve. It is true of debates, that "*Ponderantur, non numerantur*," and from the placid equanimity with which the house of York maintains its position I am sure it fears no comparison with Canterbury. But it is high time for north and south to be united. In this case two are not better than one.

The practical advantages of amalgamation would be very great indeed. It would do a world of good to the Church in the north and the Church in the south, to be brought into closer communication one with another. Each province has its weak points and each its strong ones. Each has something to learn and something to unlearn. To bring them face to face would do good to both and prove a benefit to the whole Church of England.

(2.) I submit, in the second place, that Convocation needs *expansion* in order to make it a true representation of the Church of England. By expansion I mean a large increase in the number of the proctors of the parochial clergy. The present condition of things is positively monstrous, preposterous, and irrational. The lower house of Canterbury, for example, contains 145 members. Of these 145 no less than 103 are *ex-officio* members, or the representatives of capitular bodies, and only 42 are elected representatives of the parochial clergy. The origin of this strange constitution of course may be easily explained. In olden times deans, canons, and archdeacons were the very cream and essence of the Church, and probably included at least three fourths of the brains of the ecclesiastical body. But 300 years have made a vast difference in this matter. Deans and archdeacons no longer enjoy a monopoly of brains. Common sense points out that in 1872 the parochial clergy have some right to complain. At present they are no more represented in proportion to their numbers and position in the Church, than Manchester and Leeds were in an unreformed House of Commons.

Moreover, the present constitution works badly, and insensibly damages the influence of Convocation. Hundreds of English clergymen never vote for a proctor, and never take the slightest notice of the proceedings of Convocation, for the simple reason that they regard it as an ill-constituted and non-representative body. Whole schools of thought are never even heard in the Jerusalem chamber, because, as things are now, their representatives can never get a seat on its benches. This alone, I venture to say, is an immense evil. A synod which does not number amongst its members representatives of every honest school of *bona fide* churchmen in the land, is never likely to command respect for its discussions or to carry weight by its votes.

How this evil is to be reformed, and the necessary expansion to be obtained, is a wide question which I have no time to handle. Three principles only, I think, should be laid down as indispensably necessary in any alteration. (*a.*) No diocese or archdeaconry should return less than three proctors. (*b.*) All curates should have votes. (*c.*) The cumulative mode of voting, and the consequent representation of minorities, should in every case be adopted. If these three points were kept steadily in view, I believe an expanded Convocation would be a much more representative body and would possess much more confidence amongst churchmen.

(3.) I submit, in the third place, that Convocation needs *reduction* in order to make it a true representation of the Church of England. By reduction I mean a large diminution in the number of its *ex-officio* members. At present in the lower house of Canterbury, no less than seventy-nine deans and archdeacons sit side by side, with forty-two parochial proctors, in the Jerusalem Chamber. If Convocation is ever to be re-

formed, this huge official element, in my humble judgment, ought to be very much reduced. This, I am aware, is a very delicate topic; but I hope it may be handled without giving offence. Of course neither boroughs nor men like disfranchisement; and not every one is ready, like Marcus Curtius, to be gulfed for the public good.

To the existing deans and archdeacons, as individuals, no one dreams of objecting. Many of them would do honour to any assembly, and are the light and salt of Convocation even now. None more able! none more liberal! But there is no getting over the broad fact that they are not the elected representatives of the clergy, and that they occupy their seats as the nominees of the Crown and the bishops. My contention is that a really representative Synod ought to be free from the very appearance of Government or Episcopal influence, and should consist, as far as possible, of proctors freely chosen and elected by the presbyters. The very idea of sitting in a representative body, by virtue of office, is out of harmony with the genius of the English constitution. We allow no *ex-officio* members in the House of Commons, and it is not easy to see why we should have them in such overwhelming masses in Convocation.

That the deans and archdeacons would be lost to Convocation, and left out in the cold, by the reform I now advocate, I do not for a moment admit. A large number of them would probably be elected as diocesan proctors, and would as surely sit in our Synod as they do now. But they would sit there as the free choice of the parochial clergy, and not as the nominees of the bishops and the Crown, in whose appointment the presbyters have had no voice at all. This difference alone, I venture to think, would be an immense gain. A dean sitting in Convocation *ex-officio*, and the same dean sitting there by election, would in my eyes be two different men.

How the reduction for which I plead is to be effected is a matter of detail into which I have no time to enter. I know no reason why the deans should not elect among themselves representative deans, and the archdeacons representative archdeacons. The whole question is one which might be safely left to a Royal Commission.

(4) I submit, in the last place, that Convocation needs *inclusion*, in order to make it a real representation of the Church of England. I mean by inclusion a change which some may stigmatise as revolutionary and dangerous, but which I contend is of vital importance to the Church's welfare. I mean the inclusion of the laity, and their admission to an equal place with the clergy in the Church's councils.

I am fully aware that the reform for which I now contend is strongly opposed by many in high position, and by men whose opinion is deservedly weighty. But nothing that I have read shakes my firm and long-standing conviction that the admission of the laity to Convocation would do great good and could do no harm.

It would enormously increase the interest which the laity feel in the Church's affairs. At present they are too much like sleeping partners in a shaky concern, whose only business is to pay up calls, pull out subscriptions, receive small dividends, and do as they are bid. It would enable the clergy to know the mind of the laity about many difficult questions in a way they cannot do now. It would bind together clergy

and laity in one compact body, by the cement of common conference about common duties and dangers. It would invest the discussions, votes, and resolutions of Convocation with an interest and influence which they do not possess at present, and secure them a full report in the daily press. It might even, if I may presume to say so, impart a more practical tone into some Convocation debates, and occasionally "sweeten, lighten," shorten, and moderate them. These are no small results, and we should risk something in order to obtain them. Admit the laity to Convocation, and I believe you would attain them.

I will not waste valuable time by reminding you of what you all know, that Scripture speaks of the laity being "the Church" quite as much as the clergy, and mentions "the brethren" at Jerusalem sending forth a synodical decision, side by side with "the elders." Nor need I remind you that Hooker, in his eighth book, distinctly maintains the right of the laity to have a voice in all church matters.* Nor will I insult your common sense by reminding you that many of our lay brethren are quite as well informed in ecclesiastical subjects, quite as spiritual-minded, quite as much attached to the Prayer-book, quite as able to discern things that differ, as any clergyman. But I will remind you that, practically in these days, the lay element in the Church of England has no regular opportunity of making its voice heard, and expressing its opinion.

No doubt, there was an age in English History when the House of Commons really was the lay representation of the Church of England, and found time to discuss every kind of ecclesiastical subject. That age, I need hardly say, has long passed away. A hundred temporal interests and secular questions absorb the attention of the Reformed Parliament of modern days. St. Stephen's is the very last place in which church subjects can obtain a calm, and temperate, and patient hearing. Members have no time for such subjects. The Prime Minister himself declared last session, that the fewer of them brought before the House the better. The House of Commons cannot even overtake its temporal work, and every session ends with a slaughter of innocent Bills. And the whole result is that the faithful laity of the Church of England have no legally recognised assembly in which they can quietly discuss matters and speak out their mind, and are consequently thrown upon the irregular action of voluntary Congresses and Conferences. This is an immense evil, and calls loudly for a remedy. The House of Commons is not likely to alter in this matter. The whole current of the times is running in the opposite direction, and religion seems more likely to be politely bowed out of Parliament, than to receive more attention. There remains, in short, only one remedy, in my judgment, and that is to admit the laity into Convocation.

How and in what manner this great reform could be effected, is a wide question which I have no time to discuss. On one point only I shall venture to express a very decided opinion. I cannot for a moment sympathise with those who prefer that the lay proctors should form a separate house, and not sit side by side with the clerical proctors, in one assembly. The plan would never answer. The laity would not like it, and it would greatly increase the risk of collisions. Nor can I discern

* The subject will be found well discussed in an article in the *Guardian* newspaper of January 5th, 1870.

the reasonableness or consistency of the plan. Clergy and laity sit side by side in parochial councils, in ruri-decanal synods, in diocesan conferences, in Church congresses. In the name of common sense, if the laity are admitted at all, let them sit side by side with the clergy in Convocation.

Nothing would so confound the Sanballats and Tobiahs of our day, as to see Zerubbabel as well as Joshua, Nehemiah as well as Ezra, laymen as well as clergymen, working hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder, in a well-organised and rightly-constituted Convocation.

I bring my suggestions to a conclusion with the resigned feeling that they will be condemned as unpractical novelties by a host of objectors. Be it so. Minorities, both ecclesiastical and political, can afford to wait a little, if truth is on their side. Time will show, in a few years, who is right and who is wrong.

(1.) Some men will tell me that the reforms I have suggested are revolution, and not reform, and that, if adopted, the venerable "*Convocatio cleri*" would be so entirely altered, that its nearest relations would hardly know its face again. Well, it is not very easy now-a-days to say what is revolution and what is reform. But I venture to predict that if the Church of England does not do something to meet the times, and set her House of Convocation in better order, we shall live to see both Church and Convocation swept away.

(2.) Some men will tell me that the reforms I advocate are simply impossible. That is an assertion more easily made than proved. If any man had told us ten years ago that a Royal Commission would land us in a new Lectionary, and an amendment of the Act of Uniformity, we should have laughed at him, and said, "Impossible!" Things move very fast now. If we could get a Royal Commission about Convocation, there is no saying what might be done.

(3.) Some men will tell me that the reforms I advocate would promote disestablishment, and strike a deadly blow at the union of Church and State. I believe nothing of the kind. No one in his senses can suppose that the House of Commons would ever allow a reformed Convocation to legislate, or would sanction its taking up an independent line of action any more than in 1640, in the days of Laud. License to confer, consult, and discuss—license to advise and report on occasional "letters of business" would be the utmost that we must expect. And even then Convocation reports would not always lead to legislative action in Parliament, and might be thrown aside.

(4.) Some men will tell me that the reform I advocate would only increase party spirit, and aggravate our unhappy divisions and hasten disruption. They seem to think that differing schools of thought cannot meet without hissing, fizzing, and effervescence, like acids and alkalies brought into contact. I do not admit all this for a moment. We certainly cannot be more divided, or effervesce more than we do now; and I believe a representative Convocation would rather help to draw us together, to rub down our angles, and make us, at any rate, understand one another. A few wild rabid men, "noble savages" of extreme views, ever showing off their war-paint and flourishing their tomahawks, might doubtless creep into a reformed Convocation, as the serpent crept into Eden, and might try to impose their Shibboleths on all. But I believe

the English common sense of the vast majority of clerical and lay proctors would repudiate the views of such men, and put them to silence and shame. I believe in the Holy Ghost, and His power to make men moderate and forbearing. It is my firm belief that a reform of Convocation will promote union and lessen divisions.

When all the vials of all objectors have been poured on my suggestions, there still remain behind three grave considerations, which I commend to their serious attention. I lay no claim to infallibility. About Convocation Reform I may be much mistaken. But I am sure the following considerations deserve to be well weighed.

(1.) I invite my objectors to remember that want of elasticity, morbid dread of change, cast-iron stiffness, frozen inability to adapt herself to the times, have too often been the plague of our dear old Church of England. I ask them to remember that "*Non-possumus*" was a maxim which half ruined her in the days of Charles I. and Charles II., and again half ruined her in the time of Wesley and Whitfield. Let us take care that "*Non-possumus*" does not ruin her altogether in the 19th century.

(2.) In the next place, let me invite my objectors to consider seriously whether there is not a strong "*à priori*" probability that the clothes, which were a comely suit of apparel in 1572, may be rather threadbare and out at elbows, and too tight in 1872, and that a synodical organisation, which fitted very well 300 years ago, may be quite unsuited to the wants of our own day.

Three centuries have made a vast difference in this country. The population of our dioceses has enormously increased. Politically, socially, educationally, all things in Great Britain have become new. Unlimited toleration has entirely changed the position of the Church of England. Antiquity is an argument that counts for very little in this day. Usefulness is the only test of institutions. Everything is tried on its own merits, and not by the intention of its founders. Surely it is not too much to suppose that Convocation may be so amended and reformed as to make it better adapted to the times.

(3.) Finally, let me invite the opponents of Convocation Reform to look at facts under their eyes in England, and to consider them well. Vast multitudes of our fellow countrymen stand aloof from the Established Church, and will have nothing to do with her. An incessant effort is made by Papists, infidels, sceptics, and secularists, as well as by all kinds of Nonconformists, to get hold of these people. Mr. Miall proposes to disestablish and disendow our Church, and is already supported by 100 members of Parliament. The land swarms with would-be Gracchi, who purchase a cheap popularity by attacking all ancient and privileged institutions, and telling people they are not governed so well as they ought to be. The Irish Church Disestablishment, the Liberationist Society, the anti-religious Education League are three great facts which alone speak volumes.

And shall the Church of England, in days like these, stand still and attempt no reform? Shall we rely entirely on our dignified position, and pretend, like the Pope, that we are infallible? Shall we entrench ourselves, in Chinese fashion, behind ancient precedents, and obstinately say, "we will hear nothing of changes?" Shall we live like men up in a

balloon, and see nothing clearly that is going on upon earth? Or shall we, like the famous naval hero, persist in putting the telescope to a blind eye, and protest that we see nothing at all? Shall we maintain, because our ancestors fought well with long-bows at Crecy, and with flint-locks at Waterloo, that the weapons of our warfare need no alteration? In a word, shall we make no effort to popularise and re-arrange our Convocation, and adapt it to the requirements of the times?

I, for one, say God forbid! If this noble established Church of England is indeed to perish, let her not perish without a hearty effort to set her house in order. "*Oportet imperatorem stantem mori.*" Let us not die sleeping, or sitting still, but, like the gallant Sir H. Lawrence, "trying to do our duty."

I ask my brother churchmen who disagree with me to ponder well these considerations, and not to pass by on the other side. After pondering them, I hope at any rate they will not set me down as an enthusiast, a fanatic, and a revolutionist, when, for the sake of the Church of England, and for the sake of Christ's cause in the Church of England, I plead for a thorough reform and re-arrangement of Convocation.

The Dean of Durham read the following paper:—

SUGGESTED IMPROVEMENTS IN CATHEDRALS.

The English Cathedral system, by which I mean not merely the church and its worship, but the foundation and other institutions connected with it, can hardly, I think, fail to strike even the most superficial observer as being a very peculiar feature of the English Church. The very building itself is the most visible example of that combination of old things with new, that standing on the old ways and building on the old foundations, which has been the happy prerogative of the English Church, even as it has been for ten centuries both the source and the principle of English national growth. The very retention of our great Cathedrals, in whose history we read the record of many of our greatest men, of St. Cuthbert or St. Wilfrid, of Becket or Grossetête, or William of Wykeham, has prevented the English Church from slighting the remembrance of our great forefathers in the faith, while the mere fact that these buildings, at the time of the Reformation, passed intact into her hands (a happiness which no other Reformed Church enjoyed) has been one of the most powerful means of preserving for us much of the genius of ancient Christianity. It laid down for us at once the right principle of public worship—lost unhappily in many other Churches—that it should be a *daily* worship, *beautiful*, and in many places even a *splendid* worship; and unsatisfactory as at some times the history of Cathedrals has been, and inadequately as their great foundations have often fulfilled the purposes for which they were meant, we may at least say this of them, that there has been no time when many of them did not maintain not only the highest theory but the highest practice of public worship; when the genius of the great composers of the English Anthems, Purcell, Croft, Tallis, and Boyce, was

not devoted to their service; or when they did not number amongst their members the Hookers, Andrews, Fields, Cosins, Pearsons, Souths, Bulls, Butlers, of English Theology, many of whom were not afraid, in successive and often dark periods, to uphold the beauty of Cathedral service.

I need not fear, then, to begin by asserting that the whole Church of England has an interest in jealously guarding the well-being of the Cathedral system, while I trust that I am also not forgetful that this very interest must increase the responsibility of those to whose care it is for the time entrusted. It has, indeed, often been said within the last thirty, twenty, or even ten years, that the Cathedral system is one of the most assailable points in the English Church, and I am not sure that some irreverent persons might not even be found *now*, and *here*, who might ask the question, which was the title of a pamphlet sent to me a year or two ago, "What is the use of Deans?" while others might even extend it to Canons, Minor Canons, and Choirs. I will say nothing for Deans at present, though I will try to keep their interests in view; but I may venture to express my belief that, at all events, the great majority of Cathedrals have shared in the increased Church life of the last generation. I entirely deny their unpopularity, in any case where a Cathedral has really bestirred itself, and though I feel deeply that it may be difficult to make them realise their first ideal, as much as the most zealous amongst us might wish; an ideal conceived, you must remember, under very different circumstances; yet, it will assuredly be our own fault if, with large means at our disposal, with the most splendid edifices in the world, and with congregations attached to our services, Cathedrals do not hold their right place as the great centres of Church life, and the best models of Church services and preaching, and also as great inspirers of spiritual thought and life in every Diocese. I do not deny that there are some real difficulties in the way; there is a certain *immobility*, I do not know how to describe it better, about most Cathedrals, which one is sometimes tempted to compare with the difficulty which is said to exist in many a heavy English battalion, and which contrasts painfully with the animated manner in which lighter troops can change their formation and bring fresh resources into play to meet some change in the tactics of the enemy; there are such things as prescriptive rights—"good customs," "vested interests," in some cases "close corporations," (this last appears to me, I must confess, an *imperium in imperio*, which has very little to say for itself); and for each of these a great deal might be said if you take it by itself, but I suspect that where many of them exist (as they do in some Cathedrals) they have a strong tendency to impede motion of any kind, and a zealous Dean or Canon, who before his election was, perhaps, convinced that nothing would be easier than to reform this point or improve that, finds himself, without exactly knowing how, tied down by a thousand little strings as tightly as Gulliver was by the Lilliputians. On the other hand, it is but right to remember that many of those drawbacks to activity arise from the simple fact of the greatness and the importance in a public point of view of a Cathedral, and of its members forming a Corporate body, each having convictions of his own which have a right to be respected. You cannot, I am afraid, hope,

except under the most felicitous circumstances, for congregations such as those which in the Middle Ages, or even in Foreign Churches, now throng the Cathedrals, because for the last century or two the devotions of the mass of the population have not taken this direction, and unquestionably, the Roman system lays more stress, at all events is more successful in recommending public worship than our own is, or has hitherto been. Perhaps some may be surprised when I add that one of the best means to put life and activity into a lethargic Cathedral (if it is not treason to suppose such a place), would be to honestly act up to the spirit of the statutes. Of course in some points of detail the statutes cannot be exactly carried out; but so far as I am acquainted with them it seems to me that the statutes, both of the old and the new foundations, were drawn up with singular care and wisdom. They contemplated making the Cathedrals, a living, active power, not only through their Services but through the excellent Grammar Schools which were so commonly connected with them, and they tended to make them effective in their Dioceses through the work of their members. Like every similar document of 300 or 400 years old, they require alteration from time to time; but I believe them to have had the right ideal of a Cathedral, and that the more we try conscientiously to carry out their spirit (which we solemnly swear to do) we shall in some, at least, of its most important features realise that ideal.

I will now endeavour to deal frankly, first with those points in which Cathedrals are often supposed most to require alteration, viz.:—the Constitution of the Chapter and the duties of the Dean or Canons, and will afterwards say a few words on the character of the services.

I may say at once, that I am not myself for any violent changes. I do not, indeed, deny that so far as the mere service is concerned, some very radical changes would leave it quite as effective as it is at present; and that if you abolished Deans and Canons at once and placed a Cathedral, like Leeds Parish Church, in the hands of a Rector, with three or four Curates, you would probably have the mere service, just as well performed as it is at present. But then I refuse to look at the Cathedral system as consisting in the mere Service of the Church. I think you have in it, not merely the means for maintaining a splendid worship in a splendid building (that I own is the first point), but you still have also a home, such as is hardly anywhere else to be found in a generation too busy to be wise, where thoughtful men may devote their powers to study, particularly to religious study,—a home where the younger Clergy of the Diocese may receive, that which is so eminently needed in the English Church, some training, even though it be of the slightest kind, in Scientific Theology; in a word, a Cathedral, working in combination with a Bishop who appreciates its advantages, for without *that* it will assuredly fail in the point I am about to mention,—a Cathedral may be made in numerous ways, both direct and indirect, not only the pattern Church of a Diocese, but also its centre of religious thought. But let us all be warned that there are very few instances in history where Corporate bodies have ever effectually reformed themselves. Perhaps some of the points which I am about to notice may suggest the reason, I shall deal with the constitution and the duties of the chapter first; because, according as these are placed on a right or wrong

footing, very much depends the character of every thing else in a Cathedral.

I. The history of three or four great Cathedral chapters if it were fully written, would be a most instructive, though I am afraid a somewhat painful portion of Church History. I am afraid it would illustrate the fact that in many of the greatest institutions of the Church the reality has been so far from the ideal, that nothing has been found harder than to hold together for a length of time any congregated body of men in the fervour of their first devotion; and that, in the particular case of Cathedrals, the excessive addiction to pluralities and non-residence, which we are apt to think was most rife during the last century, has in reality been rampant amongst them from their very earliest days. Mr. Freeman, whose intimate knowledge of everything relating to the Middle Ages, makes him perhaps the greatest living authority on the subject, has given us such a sketch in his Lectures on Wells Cathedral; and while he, justly I think, eulogises the careful gradation of offices in the old foundations, the Dean as "general superintendent of the whole institution;" the Precentor, as "governing the choir;" the Chancellor, whose duty it was to look after the instruction of the young, and the other three or four principal officers, all bound to their definite occupation, and all in constant residence, he is too honest a historian, and knows the Middle Ages too well, to let us suppose that this fair ideal was ever completely realised. "What hindered," he says, "this goodly scheme from being carried out for any length of time, was the vice of the age, the inveterate tendency to pluralities and non-residence. In fairness to our own age we must say that the instances of those abuses which still remain, even those which remained in the last generation, are trifles compared with the pluralities and non-residence of the Middle Ages." And he quotes, in support of his opinion, one passage from a writer of the earliest age of Cathedrals, which brings this matter so vividly before us that I hardly think it a digression to give it. "The Canons vied with each other," says Richard of Devizes, "in building large and lofty inns for their own convenience, in case they ever in the course of their lives happened to visit the Cathedral. None of the Prebendaries ever settled down there to live religiously, in fact, Prebendaries never do that, but they insult God by hiring a few poor Vicars at small pay, and whilst they are enjoying themselves in their own palaces, they hand over to them the choir and the bare walls of the Church. And this is true religion forsooth, that the secular Canon may be absent from his Cathedral as long as he likes, and spend the patrimony of Christ on his own pleasures. And if some stranger comes to their doors, or some poor man begs there, he will be told by the poor Vicar who is in charge, you must go and ask your alms elsewhere, for the master of the house does not reside here." But not to detain you on this point, Mr. Freeman has traced all the changes of the system in a manner which mere lack of time prevents me from bringing before you; and his main conclusion is, (he is speaking of the chapters of the old foundation, but he would probably apply the same remark to the new), the absolute necessity of residence. "No Residentiary," he says, "should have any parochial cure, except within the Cathedral precincts or liberty. It is most important that clergymen beneficed

in the Diocese should be represented in the Chapter; but that element is supplied by the non-residentiary Canons. Before all things in any scheme of reform, Residentiaries must be really resident."

I confess that, as regards the greater number of the Residentiary Canons, this conclusion appears to me irresistible, especially where, as Mr. Freeman puts it, "The Precentor, the Chancellor, the Treasurer, are still absent for nine months of the year, in some places they were absent for ever." I observe, too, that the Dean of Chester makes the same remark: and suggests that so long as out of his Canons *three* have their homes and work in the Dioceses of Rochester, Winchester, and Worcester, they "cannot well co-operate in continuous work for the benefit of the Diocese of Chester." He is kind enough, however, to add that "probably *we* gain as much in Chester by the intermittent visits of *our* Canons, as other Cathedral cities would gain by the continuous residence of theirs;" a somewhat doubtful compliment, as it seems at first sight to mean that the less a Dean and a Cathedral see of their Canons the better. Cathedrals will never stand right either with the clergy or the public, till it is seen that the greater number of their residentiary members have duties in or about the Cathedral. And in all our Cathedral improvement we are bound to aim at supplying work,—and I will presently show some cases in which this could be easily done, for the greater portion of the Residentiaries. At the same time I must acknowledge that two things, however, would prevent me from applying the rule so universally as Mr. Freeman would appear to do. In the first place it does not seem to me to be so desirable in the cases where *six* Canons still remain, viz., to those where there are only *four*, partly because under our present circumstances it would be really difficult to find work for the whole *six* (and I cannot think that Residence without definite work would be at all desirable), and partly because we should then lose the presence of some very valuable Canons, Professors, for example, from the Universities, who certainly now both adorn and improve such Cathedrals as St. Pauls, Canterbury, Peterborough, and Norwich. Nor would it be just if I did not add that a Canonry in one of the larger Chapters seems to me well bestowed on the clergyman of an important living or a large town where as so often happens the endowment is quite inadequate. The other consideration may be a very common-place one, but it certainly cannot be overlooked; I mean the money difficulty. The income of Canons on the old foundation has been in most cases greatly reduced, I fear there is little chance of its being increased, and I do not think that a Canon, who is subject to many calls, is placed in a fair position with a bare income of five or six hundred a year.

What we might reasonably, then, and wisely demand, in the way of residence, seems to me something of the following kind:—In the case of the old foundation it might be required that the Precentor and Chancellor of the Cathedral, to whom I should add one of the Archdeacons, should always reside. With regard to the fourth Canon I would either give it up and thereby increase the income of the others, or would leave it open, to be bestowed on such persons as I have already designated. In the case of Cathedrals where six Canons now remain, I should mark out distinct work involving residence for four of them; and I ought to add, that in some Chapters, our own for example, I should recommend

(indeed our answers to the Archbishop of Canterbury's questions suggest this course) the appointment of a Canon as a kind of Mission preacher for the Diocese. This, too, would very much accord with the old idea of a Cathedral, particularly in a Diocese where the increase of the population is enormous and its character so peculiar as in that of Durham.

II. I now proceed to consider a plan which would undoubtedly give ample occupation to one or more Canons in every Chapter, and which has been put forward as the most important improvement which could be made in the Cathedral system, by Professor Westcott and Canon Norris, in their papers in the Cathedral Essays. I mean the plan of establishing, what may perhaps be rather called a Theological *Training* than a *College* in many, I could not say in *all* Dioceses. This, it is obvious, would be an immense addition to the existing system, nor is it pretended that it was exactly the idea of the original foundations, though it is urged with great force by Mr. Norris, that it was very much the conception of the reconstituted foundations of the Reformation, while Professor Westcott thinks (and I quite agree with him) that it is a sufficient plea to urge in its favour, that a deeper training in theological knowledge is evidently needed.

I confess that I thought on first reading Professor Westcott's Paper that the idea of a Theological College, even for most Dioceses, was a mistake, and that the small number of students, the want of emulation, and the close and limited views which are incident to the teaching of a small college, would be fatal to it. But you must set on the other side, that after all some theological teaching and training is better than none, that what the bulk of the English clergy get in the way of systematic teaching of theology is next to nothing,—in my time at Oxford it was absolutely *nil*,—and, in fact, that to most young men one year (which is all that Professor Westcott demands) devoted to quiet and study just before their ordination would be of no inconsiderable value, both intellectual and religious. I must add, too, that such colleges and such teachers would be of value to the Cathedrals themselves, by ensuring the constant presence of men devoted to learning. Nor is it an unimportant fact that this reform is one which could be easily accomplished. The Bishops have, in most Cathedrals, the appointment to the Canonries, and it is simply required that a few of them should say (as has been done, though in different ways, at Exeter and Gloucester already) we will establish a College, and appoint a Canon, for a year of theological study, —and the experiment might be tried at once.

By these two methods, then, by the establishment of habitual residence as the general, if not the universal rule, and by founding a College for theology at most of the Cathedrals, I believe a very considerable step would be made towards giving fresh life to the Cathedrals.

The next question is in what way will a Cathedral best act upon the Diocese. It has been often proposed,—and especially by the Dean of Chester,—that the Prebendaries of the old foundations, and the Honorary Canons of the new, should act as a Council to the Bishop, and that they should assume a considerable part in the government of the Cathedral, having a vote in all distribution of patronage, and on all the more important questions of the government of the Cathedral. Without feeling strongly opposed to it, I somewhat doubt the policy of

this alteration. In the first place, it may be questioned whether such a body, regarded as a Council to the Bishop, is much needed, and whether their functions would not clash with those of other existing bodies which are pehaps more adapted to the character of the times. Many of the Bishops already have their conferences, in which Laity and Clergy are combined, and with great mutual advantage; it can scarcely be proposed, I imagine, to introduce the Laity into such a Council as is proposed, and yet it would be difficult to avoid discussing the same kind of questions, and perhaps deciding them in a different manner. In a word,—though without the slightest disrespect to Conferences, which I would not venture to breathe, especially to this meeting,—I am not sure whether we have not about enough of them at present, and I hesitate to call another into existence which I suspect might become an unreality. As to patronage I certainly feel that there is much to be said for its being distributed by the votes of a larger body, as is the case, I believe, at present at York; although, with regard to the present mode of appointing to livings, we must clearly distinguish between the cases in which each member of a Chapter presents in rotation, and those in which the appointment is made by a general vote; and in the last case, so far as my own experience goes, the appointments have been quite as good as were likely to have been made by a larger body. And I certainly think, though I may not be unprejudiced in this matter, that the general management of the Cathedral is better left to those who know it most intimately, and that to place it to any extent in the hands of a much larger body, would open a door to constant disputes, while it is opposed to the practice of all Cathedral foundations, and contrary to the statutes of those of the new foundation.

III. If I have reserved for the last point of consideration that which may be regarded as the great object for which Cathedrals were erected, and for which they still exist, their Services, it is simply because I believe that they are the subject which, in the present day, has the least danger of being neglected. Once make the Cathedral body generally sound, and the Services are almost sure to be well and fitly conducted, as in a negligent state they are sure to languish. It is, indeed, mainly for the sake of the becoming celebration of their grand services, that we wish each officer to know and perform his appointed function—that we feel that the constant presence of the Dean, and of several Canons, is essential to the regular and devout performance of the worship; that we desire the Precentor (whether on the theory of the old or of the new foundation) to be one of the most important officers of the Church; that we must be anxious, in every possible way, to improve the position (perhaps the most trying in a Cathedral) of the Lay clerks; that the school and training of the choristers should always be in the hands of a trusted member of the Cathedral body; that we propose to place, in immediate connection with the Cathedral, the young students destined to enter the ministry in the Diocese. No Cathedral can therefore be in a sound condition in which the Services are not the subject of the constant attention of the chief officers, and I am bound to say that I feel that, in this respect, the Dean is the most responsible of all officers, and that he must take the discredit to himself unless the Services are really what they ought to be. And here again, I think the statutes of both the Old and

New foundations have shown a sound discretion in throwing the responsibility for the Services especially, upon the Dean and the Precentor of the Cathedral. "Curet Decanus," say the statutes of Durham, "ut "divina officia pro decoro celebrentur temporibus et locis quæ ejus "prudentiæ aptissima videbuntur." Nor can I esteem a Dean as otherwise than most fortunate, who has an active and sensible coadjutor in the Precentor, the officer of all others, who, being in immediate contact with the Lay vicars and the choristers, may exercise a powerful influence over them, upon whom their conduct, and even their characters, will in great measure depend, and upon whose care and judgment the efficiency of the whole service will in great measure depend. Nothing can compensate in a Cathedral for the want of an able and zealous Precentor, as an inefficient one will do much to paralyse the noblest services.

One point, however, in Cathedral Services deserves more special notice, I mean the preaching: and it seems to me one of considerable difficulty, for in the case of a mixed body there must be great varieties in this respect,—and, in a word, I believe it is generally felt that the preaching in Cathedrals is far from the strongest point in the service. And yet it is assuredly the fresh life lately given to preaching which has done most to endear our Cathedrals to the people, and to give them real power. We may depend upon it there never will be a day when really powerful preaching is not in the eyes of the mass of the people the great evidence of the success of a Church, as it is certainly one of the noblest efforts of the mind of man; and no one who has been present under the Dome of St. Paul's, or in Westminster Abbey, or in York or Norwich, can doubt that whoever it was who first conceived the idea of Nave preaching (now so common)—I think it first began in Westminster—discovered a new world of influence, first for the Metropolitan Cathedrals, and in a degree for all. I venture to think then, that it is a mistake in so great an institution as a Cathedral to limit the preachers so much as is usually done to the members of the Cathedral body, either residentiary or non-residentiary; and that even where the practice of special evening services does not prevail (and it is of doubtful wisdom in small Cathedral towns, well supplied with parish Churches), it is desirable in the afternoon service to largely invite the assistance of the most distinguished preachers of the Diocese.

Here then are the specific points which I suggest for Cathedral improvement, and in this short paper I have thought it the wisest course to limit myself to such practical improvements as we may have a fair hope of accomplishing. I would have a large increase in the amount of residence; I would distinctly define, or rather I would carry out the statutes in their distinct definitions of the offices which relate to the services and the management of the Cathedral; I would at least have the experiment of Cathedral Colleges widely tried; and I would endeavour, in various ways, to make the Cathedral the centre of Diocesan life.

I feel myself bound to say, especially as I have freely criticised many of our existing arrangements, that I believe many Cathedrals have already attained, or are on their way to attain, some of the most important of these objects: in my own Cathedral the majority of our Canons constantly reside, and the services of two of them are devoted to the Univer-

sity. I think it right, moreover, to urge strongly,—what has really not been enough considered in the matter,—how very much may be doneby the Bishops, with whom so many of the appointments to Canonries rest, and who have surely the power to do what, I believe, has been done by the Bishop of Carlisle, attach definite work to a Canonry involving residence. But I must add that we have no time to lose; what we require is not isolated efforts, but a general movement; and unless this is made, unless we can give such a *rationale* of the work of Cathedrals, as a general residence and definite occupations can supply, Parliamentary attacks are imminent.

This, in conclusion. I have sometimes spoken as if a certain want of *life* was the characteristic of most Cathedrals. I believe that the machinery suggested might help us to obtain this: but let me remind you that no machinery alone will give it. The work of Cathedrals, like all other work, must be the work of living men; it is we ourselves who must put life into it. What we ought most earnestly to desire in the case of Cathedrals is that each of their members may feel that he has a real work to do in his Cathedral—and that in that sphere he may deserve the fine title that was given to one of the greatest men who ever presided over a Cathedral, St. Anselm, that he was above all things a *Vir Vitæ*. And a few Cathedrals in which the principles laid down were thoroughly carried out, and where the whole body were working as one man (as you may sometimes see in the case of a great public school) would do more to show us what Cathedrals may really be made, than any mere reformation of statutes or of customs.

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. Canon Trevor made the following address:—

My Lord,—From the very wide chapter of Church Reform opened up to us in the three papers we have been listening to, it is my province, by desire of the Committee, to select the single question of the admission of the Lay element into Convocation. I shall say nothing of the many other Reforms sketched out by my friend Canon Ryle, further than to observe that the larger representation of the parochial clergy, which he very reasonably desires, is already within the constitution and power of the existing Convocations. It has been actually secured in this province by the quiet exercise of the Archbishop's prerogative; and it will be realised in the Convocation of Canterbury also, whenever the Lower House of that province shall make up its mind to insist on the ancient, indisputable, and undoubted right of returning two Proctors from every archdeaconry by the direct election of the clergy. With this single remark, I pass to my proper subject, the Lay element.

And here I would cordially subscribe to a sentiment I heard last night, that we shall be more likely to arrive at a practical solution of this question, and of the position of the Lay element in general, if we leave alone the usages of other times and other churches, and confine ourselves to the wants of our own day, and the particular constitution of our own Church. Looking then to the Church of England,—the Church established by law in this country,—I confess it surprises me to hear it gravely debated at this time of day, whether or no it should admit the Lay element into its counsels. It reminds me of that worthy tradesman in Molière's comedy who had been speaking prose all his life without knowing it. My Lord, the Lay element, always represented in this Church from the first, has for at least two centuries been dominant over the clerical, in every part and

corner of our ecclesiastical Constitution. It makes all our ecclesiastical laws in Parliament. It administers all our laws in the Ecclesiastical Courts. It appoints all our bishops and deans, and about half the other clergy by Lay and State patronage. It is just now engaged in making away with one of our Creeds by a Lay memorial. It watches every service and sermon throughout the land with the most unsparing criticism in the public press. In short, we seem to be fast coming, if we have not already come, to such a pass that no clergyman can call his soul his own, without being urged to take two affectionate laymen into council for its management.

Now, my Lord, I think this is a mistake. I have a great regard for the Christian laity. But I believe also in a Christian priesthood, and I hold firmly and conscientiously that you can never keep your bishops and priests up to the mark of their high responsibilities, if you are for ever merging them in the Lay element. It is a capital element to wash in. Souse your priesthood in it (if you like) over head and ears—it will cool down any sacerdotal fever—but if you value its life, give it, I beseech you, a chance of getting its head above water now and then, and drawing a breath or two of God's free air for itself. It will drown if you don't.

Just let me read you one single paragraph from a leader in the *Times* last week. "There are no functionaries in the whole world so localised, so hand tied, so superintended, so placed at the mercy of every one about them, as the parochial clergy of England." (*Times*, October 3.) That is what the Lay element has brought us to. Its one idea is to *parochialise* the clergy. No doubt it loves us very much; it will pet us as a lady pets her canary-bird, but it cannot bear to let us sing beyond the parochial wires. It is intensely jealous of a clerical Synod, which I believe to be the very thing most wanted for the unity and purity of the Church of England. I believe that the differences we all deplore so deeply are very largely due to the unwise practice of scattering diligent, able, vigorous clergymen broadcast over the laity, and making no provision for recalling them into clerical Synods, to regulate, unite, and harmonise the priestly function.

And this is not my opinion only, but the fixed judgment and policy of the great leaders of the Reformation. You are well aware that in the constitution designed for this Church in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, it was expressly provided that every bishop should hold a yearly Synod of the clergy of his Diocese; and the reason is given "that a Synod is the most suitable remedy for correcting negligence, and removing the errors which from time to time are sown in the churches by the devil and wicked men;" and moreover, "that it is by Synods of this kind that love and concord are augmented and preserved between the bishop and his clergy." That is what was meant to be in this Church of England as in all others.

But our Diocesan Synods—now more than ever urgent—have been suppressed, from the jealousy of the Lay element, till they could be supplanted, instead of being supplemented as they ought to be, by mixed conferences. Convocation is the only corner left to the clergy; and the moment we have got a spark of life into Convocation, rap, rap at the door comes this dear, loving, importunate, amorous Lay element, crying, oh! pray let me in, I want to share all your thoughts, and outvote your judgment by two voices to one!

My Lord, I have no distrust of the Lay element. I have given it my heart and hand. I have taken the vow to love, honour, and obey, according to the ordinance of the realm, and I do not repent of my bargain. But I want to know why the laity, for their own souls' sake, should not trust the clergy a little more. I say the great practical want of our time is *not* the expression of the Lay voice—the air is full of it. What we want is the calm, deliberate, guiding tones of the united priesthood, to clear the air and show the bewildered flock the path of faith and duty. My Lord, I attribute most of our present divisions to the suppression of our episcopal and clerical Synods. We have parochialised the clergy too much. We want the regulating united voice of those who are recognised as the ambassadors of Christ. We want—what has been the right and duty of the priesthood in every age—the power of going apart from the people, to take counsel on the mission which we have received from God and not from man. It is no wonder if the clergy are

divided and insubordinate, when you persistently withhold the institution expressly designed to merge the private judgment of the individual in the authority of his sacred Order. The more real and active the co-operation of the laity,—the more democratic the age,—the more indispensable becomes the Synod of the clergy. The expedient of voting by orders in a mixed assembly is too vague and feeble for a resolute people like ours. We must have our separate House—our separate responsibility—if the salt is to retain its savour, and the light to be kept from dying out on the face of your priesthood; if we are to be to all this people what S. Charles Borromeo desired the clergy to be *sales, soles, tantarum gentium.*

At all events, my Lord, let us know what we are about. The introduction of the Lay element into the Convocations of the English Church would not be a reform, but the destruction of those ancient traditional, constitutional Institutions—one of the links which connect you with Catholic antiquity—and the substitution of a new spick and span Act of Parliament Convention. Canon Ryle utterly and entirely mistakes the position of Convocation in the constitution of the English Church. It never pretended to represent the Church in any other sense than as the Church is officially represented in the Clergy. Convocation is constitutionally and essentially the assembly of the Bishops and Clergy. In the Church it is the ancient ecclesiastical synod of the province, canonically summoned to advise with the Metropolitan. In the State it is the spiritualty of the realm, called by the Queen's writ to treat with the two other estates in the great Council of the nation in Parliament. Neither the Archbishop nor the Queen has any power to summon the Lay element to Convocation; it is not the place of the whole body of the Church, but of its ministerial organisation, the *personæ ecclesiæ.* You will find it so laid down in every statute and document referring to our Church Constitution. The name of the Church is given to its spiritual representation. For example, in the famous preamble to the Act against Appeals (24 H. VIII., c. xii.) the whole body politic of the people is divided into spiritualty and temporalty, and of the spirtualty (*i.e.*, the clergy) it is said they are "now usually called the English Church." Again, in the Royal Declaration prefixed to the XXXIX Articles, after setting forth that the work of Convocation belongs to the clergy, the King engages "out of Our Princely care that the Churchmen may do the work which is proper unto them, the Bishops and Clergy, from time to time in Convocation, shall have licence to deliberate," &c. Here the word *Churchman* is equivalent to *Clergyman*, which is its proper meaning in good English authors, just as *Statesman* means an officer, in distinction from a subject, of the State. And the same again is the meaning of the Canon recited by Mr. Ryle, and to which I have myself often called the attention of bishops and clergymen, in the hope of checking the serious ecclesiastical offence which he has just been guilty of. The 139th Canon affirms our National Synod (which consists of the two Provincial Convocations of Canterbury and York) to be "the true Church of England by representation," meaning that in such National Synod, and not in any Romish or Presbyterian assembly, the true Church of England is officially represented. It is the Church representative, as bishops represent their churches in a General Council. There is no question at all of the laity, or of the notion of representation by popular election, which prevails in modern disestablished or non-established Communions, In our constitution of Church and State, both before and since the Reformation, Convocation belongs to the Clergy, and its work is "proper" or peculiar to them. To make it anything else is to destroy and not reform the Constitution.

Now, my Lord, I have four principal objections to this Revolution, and I will name them at once, for fear that I should not have time to prove them all in succession. I am quite prepared with the demonstration of each, and nothing but time will prevent me from producing it. I object—

I. That the proposed change would separate the Church from the State.

II. That it would separate the Church from the Nation.

III. That it would separate the Church from its revenues. And

IV. That it would go far to separate it from the Catholic Church.

All this I am ready to prove to a demonstration.

1. And first, as regards the State. The new Lay representation in the Church is to exhibit a stronger and more definite church feeling than you can ever hope for in the House of Commons. Well, then, the Lay mind of the Synod is to be different from the Lay mind in Parliament: a nobler and truer mind, but still a different one. That is separation to begin with; and when the Lay churchmanship has been still further elevated (as we must hope it will be) by close and long intercourse with the clerical, the mind of the Synod may be expected to differ very widely from the mind of Parliament. Still it will have to go to Parliament, as at present, to invest its measures with any legal authority. By what process do you hope to induce Parliament to accept, at the hands of another body, measures which you acknowledge it would not pass of itself? If I know anything of the temper of an English Parliament it is this, that it entertains the most extravagant jealousy of Church Synods claiming spiritual powers apart from itself. Do you think that Roman Catholics and Dissenters in the House of Commons will do the bidding of your Church Synod, simply to show their Christian charity, and perpetuate a State Establishment which they detest? Are you sure that your own friends would be always ready to fight in Parliament for measures on which they had not been consulted, and of which they might not altogether approve? Can you believe that either House of Parliament will show your Synod a deference they deny to each other, by submitting to read Church Bills, and forward them through the several stages of deliberation, with the understanding that they are already settled in another place and must be passed without any alteration? Whoever thinks so entertains a very different opinion from mine of the spirit of an English Parliament. I believe it would show its supremacy by altering your measures, by dropping them, or by rejecting them, exactly as it thought fit. And then the Church would be in a worse bondage than ever. For, remember, it would not then be, as it is now, the wish of the clergy overruled by the larger representation of Church and State in Parliament, it would be the whole Church body—bishops, clergy, and laity,—the entire New Testament Church, in the formal exercise of the authority which all Christians are commanded to hear and obey, silenced and overruled by a State which no longer even pretended to represent the Church. How long would the Church submit to such unmitigated Erastianism? How long would Parliament endure the collisions and remonstrances inevitable from such a conflict of authority? If Convocation, as it is, be too small for your wishes, depend upon it that, as you would make it, it would be too large for the place. A Session or two would put an end to the preposterous arrangement, and the last shadowy link of the union with the State would be severed by way of mutual relief.*

The Dean of York made the following address:—

I have been asked to say a few words on the subject of the cathedrals of this country; and after the expression of opinion which has already been elicited, I assume that on one point at least there will be no difference of opinion, and that is, that England's cathedrals, with their services and organisation, shall remain part and parcel of England's Church. The question then arises, Can we make this system more conducive to the interests of religion, and to the deepening of spiritual and devotional life? Something has already been done in this direction of late years by the capitular bodies, and I am not afraid to predict that if they are allowed, something more, and not a little more, will be accomplished. Certain proposals have lately been made to us with a view to cathedral reform and to imperial legislation. Attacks have also been made in no friendly spirit. So far as I have been able to judge, it seems to me that those proposals were most decidedly clumsy, and those attacks most decidedly mischievous. At the same time I am by no means disposed to deny that there are not certain general principles which might fairly admit of consideration and attention. If we are to have legislation, it should be borne in mind that no two cathedrals are precisely alike. What, therefore, might be life to one, might seriously paralyse another. But there are other things

* This address, which was cut short by want of time, had been published in a complete form by Canon Trevor. (J. and C. Moxley; London).

entitled to consideration. There are, for example, the cathedrals of the old foundation and the cathedrals of the new foundation, and I, for one, venture to think that the cathedrals of the new foundation might be assimilated to the cathedrals of the old foundation, with decided advantage to the Church and to the cathedrals. The next question which arises has reference to the cathedral functionaries, first among whom comes the Visitor. If the position of the Visitor is not sufficiently defined, by all means let that position be properly considered, and rendered intelligible. I am perfectly satisfied this may be done without trenching upon the rights and privileges of other cathedral functionaries, and without creating either jealousy or unpleasant feeling. Next to the Visitor comes the Dean. There are some who say there is no use in the Dean. I will not detain the section with any expression of my own mind on that point beyond saying, that if the cathedrals are to meet the public requirements of the day, the position of the Dean must be faithfully maintained. Next to the Dean come the Residentiaries, and with regard to them there might be some differences of opinion. I, for one, think that no legislation, no change, no alteration in the cathedral system will be satisfactory, or even honest, unless it deals frankly, and without reserve, with the three months' residence and the nine month's absence. I would make the residentiaries realities, and I would make them at least reside within the limits of the diocese of the cathedral to which they belong. What can be more anomalous and unsatisfactory than a parochial incumbent in Hampshire or Wiltshire receiving the appointment of canon residentiary of a cathedral in the northern province? What can be more unsatisfactory than a parochial incumbent in Northumberland or Durham being appointed to a stall in the Cathedral of Exeter or Canterbury? What can be more unsatisfactory than to appoint one whose time is entirely occupied in the metropolis and diocese of London, to the position of canon residentiary to a cathedral 120 miles away? Perhaps it might be asked, what would be the duties of these cathedral functionaries and residentiaries, and I do not think the question will be a difficult one to answer. I speak from a cathedral point of view, and I hope you will give me credit for honesty of conviction. I would, in the first place, revive and make a reality, in the new as well as in the old foundations, the venerable offices of Precentor and Chancellor. I would unite these offices with the residentiary body. Under these circumstances we should have a head who would be able to guide, control, and influence, not merely the music of the cathedral, but who would give a tone and direction to the music of the diocese. We should have another officer who would take under his charge the theological learning and literature of the diocese, who might give lectures in the cathedral city, and who might supply with efficiency theological instruction to candidates for ordination. He might stimulate intellectual labours among the younger clergy of the diocese, and he might give a taste for serious and healthy reading among the students of the public schools of the cathedral city. But I might be told, with regard to the former officer, we have too much music already. Only a few days ago I met with a statement, made by one who I really thought knew better, that it was impossible for any one who had been in the habit of constantly attending cathedral services not to have been struck with the idea that the exquisite music with which the services were adorned was more than was conducive to a devotional spirit. Are we then to understand, that that which is conducive to a devotional spirit is not exquisite music, but music which is inexquisite? I am glad I am standing in the centre of this great town of energy and enterprise, for I can appeal, not merely to the young men of Leeds, but to the young men of the West Riding, who Sunday after Sunday attend their parish churches in the evening, and, as a work and labour of love, join in the choral services of their respective churches. I would ask, then, in all sincerity and earnestness, do they find music a bar to devotion? But I will come nearer home still, and ask the President of the Congress, and this magnificent church gathering, whether the beautiful hymn sung this evening has left no devotional impression on the mind of the assembly? I say, then, the music should be exquisite, and that it is no bar to a spirit of devotion. This, then, will dispose of two residentiaries. Then comes the question, What is to be the third and fourth? Some years ago I submitted to a meeting of the Northern Convocation certain proposals for dealing with the residentiaries, and I then said that I thought the

income of a residentiary might, when required, be applied to the extension of the episcopate by paying the salary of a suffragan bishop. Since then two instances of the kind have occurred. We have, at the present moment, in the southern province two suffragan bishops, who are also residentiaries, and I have yet to learn that the system has not been found to work with advantage to the Church at large. If it is found, after what I have mentioned, that the canon residentiaries have not enough to do, I would supplement their work by making them diocesan preachers. I would send them forth from the cathedral—the mother and central church of the diocese—to help parochial incumbents in home and foreign mission services, harvest thanksgiving services, and other occasions when special sermons are wanted. This, I believe, would be one way, and a very material way of attaching to a still greater extent the cathedral, as a mother church of the diocese, to the diocese at large. But I must conclude by saying there is one thing especially for which I wish to speak your interest in behalf of the cathedral service. For many years the cathedrals have continued, and still continue, even sometimes alone, the daily worship of the Church. Day by day, morning and evening, they present to the throne of grace the offering of prayer and praise. But more than this, not only did our forefathers build these noble shrines as places of public worship or mere places of assemblage; they built them for the honour and glory of Almighty God. For the honour and glory of Almighty God they endowed the Church, and provided for the instruction of the poor and ignorant.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. Beresford Hope, M.P.

The subject upon which I wish to speak is cathedral reform. On this matter I am an extreme reformer, logically, indeed, I should say a "radical" one, for radical reform means reform which goes to the root of the question, not reform that deals with the leaves and twigs. There are many sorts of cathedral reform. There is one which I would call the moderate or Whig cathedral reform, which persons in high places have promoted, and its object is to increase the popularity and efficiency of cathedrals by cutting down their staff. I will not say this is inefficient, I will not say this is an unsatisfactory method of cathedral reform, I simply say that it is a lunatic one. What would you think if one of your great merchant princes here, one of your great manufacturers, were to get up in this hall and say—"My eyes are open to the importance of my business; I see I can do a great deal more than I thought I could; I will reform my business; I'll increase its efficiency—and in order to do that, I'll send away half my hands." That is the system of moderate cathedral reform. My plan of cathedral reform is to increase the number of the cathedral staff, to increase the members of the Chapter, and make them living realities; to fill the stalls, not with dummies, not with ladies coming to hear the anthem, but with clergymen come to do the business of the diocese. I will now briefly explain my scheme, which I have put out in print in a volume of Cathedral Essays, edited by my old friend and college contemporary, the Dean of Chester. It is so simple a plan that I suppose it has not been thought of before. What is it that under the Providence of God has more than anything else developed our parochial system through the country, which has, indeed, in some people's opinions, developed it almost, I may say in many cases quite, to an excess? It is the legal facilities that have been given within the last fifty years by successive Acts of Parliament for creating new parishes, building new churches, and setting incumbents in them—not by the old costly machinery of an Act of Parliament for each, but by the more simple process of an order of the Queen in Council. We have had half a century's experience of that system, and it has been shown to be practical. Try the same in cathedrals. Make it possible, by private munificence, to endow additional members of the cathedral body, and I care not whether they shall be

full Canons, with all the privileges of existing Canons who owe their appointments to Lord Chancellors, Prime Ministers, or Bishops; or whether they shall be subsidiary, like bye-fellows in colleges. You have Parliamentary precedent for this proposal under the Cathedral Crushing Act, the Act of 1840, by which cathedrals have been reformed. In that Act there are some inefficient provisions, which have never been acted on, for the partial re-endowment of suspended stalls; something which should follow out that provision in a more complete and liberal way would solve many of the Church difficulties of the day. A special difficulty is, how far schemes of church improvement sporadically started, here and there, all of them it may be good, can be got to work into each other. In every case there is a fear that instead of an auxiliary to the existing machinery, you will set up an antagonist. Let each new and special work wherever it is possible, hang on to the great old central institution of Church and Diocese, and each will then have its place. You have heard the claims of missionary preachers advocated. Let the missionary preachers be attached to the cathedral, going from it on their circuits, and returning to it for rest and residence. The new Education Act has created for us the necessity of religious inspection in our schools. Churchmen are liberally subscribing their money to pay these diocesan inspectors. Let these diocesan inspectors be attached to the cathedrals. Let the heads of colleges for training clergy for home and missionary work be attached to the cathedral. There is in some dioceses, in the diocese in which I reside, for example, a useful officer called a Diocesan Precentor, who goes about training parish choirs. Why not attach him to the cathedral? Do you not then see how by this plan you get over the difficulty of dislocation and competition? How many people there are whom God has inspired with a holy thought of some act of munificent self-sacrifice, but who know not how to carry out what they want. They have not the means to create any whole new institution, any fresh house of charity or religion. Such an undertaking requires money and organisation, and there is a great risk of failure in the multiplication of those new institutions. Let the old cathedral be the peg on which you hang them, and the thing is done. What I am proposing is practical, as I can show in three words. On my right hand sits a prelate (the Bishop of Edinburgh), whose mind is anxious now, not about the organisation of a single canonry, but about the building of a cathedral and the organisation of a whole chapter, all given to him by a single benefactor. Such munificence is both possible and a fact in Scotland, because there are no obstructive Acts of Parliament in that country. All that we want here is the untying of our hands, as the Church Building Acts have untied them, and then it will be our own fault, and the fault of all the laity of England, if the cathedrals are not put on a new, practical, and glorious basis.

Archdeacon Bickersteth.

My Lord Bishop,—I should not have ventured to say anything on this occasion, if I had not been called upon from the chair to say a few words upon the subject of the reform of Convocation—a question which has occupied much of my thoughts, and of my interests, for many years. I confess I am almost ashamed to present myself before this goodly assembly as Prolocutor of Canterbury, after the kindly, I must admit, but somewhat trenchant observations which have been made, by Mr. Canon Ryle, with regard to the Convocations of this Realm. I think it important to state, in the first instance, that although it is quite true, that as a matter of theory, the elected members of the Convocation of Canterbury are very much outnumbered by the official members, nevertheless, as a matter of fact they are not so outnumbered, and for this reason, that the elected members, as a body, attend with much greater diligence and constancy than the members *ex officio*. I have held the office of Prolocutor for nearly ten years; and you may take my word as evidence of the fact, that, in all the great

discussions which we have had during that long and eventful period, the elected members have had their full weight. In the great and able debate upon the Athanasian Creed, in the spring of this year, almost all the elected members were present; and I believe that the important division which took place on that occasion, was the expression of the present opinion of the Clergy of the Province of Canterbury. At the same time, I am free to admit that it is not a satisfactory state of affairs, that we should at any moment be liable to be swamped by the *ex officio* members. Therefore, I for one, have taken an active part in endeavouring to bring about such a reform as might effect a more adequate representation of the parochial clergy. I think it would be very desirable, as tending to this object, and at the same time to assimilate us to the Convocation of the Northern Province, if the elected members of the Canterbury Convocation were chosen, by two for each Archdeaconry. I am not without hope that His Grace, the President, at some future Convocation, may be pleased to direct the election of our Clergy Proctors to be made upon this principle. With regard to the wider, and far more important question which has been opened by Canon Ryle, I mean the introduction of the laity into our Convocation, I stand here to protest, in the strongest manner, against any such change. I venture to think that if those gentlemen who are advocating this view, would inform themselves better with regard to the constitutional history of this kingdom, and to the primitive principles of Church government, they would come to a different conclusion. I am afraid they have taken their views from the systems of modern times, rather than from those which are to be found deep in the foundations of the primitive Church. I consider it as nothing that we can refer to a country like America, a country of yesterday, or to our Colonies, where we find Conventions of the clergy and laity. Those cases are not, and cannot be, precedent and example for the people of this country. If you could separate—disintegrate—the ancient and famous constitution of this Realm, if you had to begin *de novo*, the whole state of things would be different. But I contend that those who urge the admission of the laity as a constituent part of our Convocation, are introducing an organic revolution into the whole Constitution. My Lord Bishop, I have thought over this matter very carefully, and have for many years given my attention to it. I have, as my friends who so kindly support me in the Convocation of Canterbury know, endeavoured to promote means by which we may obtain the support and co-operation of the laity—the church laity—in our Convocations; and I can only say this, that if any plan can be devised by which we can obtain their co-operation, not as a co-ordinate or constituent part of Convocation, but as a friendly co-operative committee to work with us, there is no one who would more gladly welcome it than myself. I trust that some such scheme as that may be devised; but I will venture to say, that if any man wishes to bring about the separation of Church and State, he cannot do a better thing for the accomplishment of his object, than introduce the laity into Convocation. I think it possible that there may be—without the action of Parliament—for, I assure you, there is nothing I dread more than the action of Parliament in a matter of this kind—I think it quite possible that, without the action of Parliament, we may obtain some such co-operation as this which I have described. I have looked, with great satisfaction and thankfulness, upon the proceedings of my dear friend, the learned and excellent Bishop of Lincoln, in his diocese; and I consider that when he boldly called together his Diocesan Synod, according to primitive practice, and out of that Synod evolved a scheme for lay and clerical conferences, he did more to strengthen the bonds of Church and State than anything which has been done in our lifetime. I cannot refrain from here expressing my thankfulness to the Bishop of my own diocese, that he has followed so excellent an example, and called together his Diocesan Synod, and arranged for a similar clerical and lay conference in the diocese of Oxford.

Mr. W. S. Stanhope, M.P.

I HAVE been requested by one of those self-constituted societies, to which Canon Trevor has referred, to say a few words on that subject which has already occupied your attention at considerable length, which has been nearly exhausted, and the opposite view of which has ben taken in the humorous speech of Canon Trevor, and also in the authoritative speech of the last speaker. Little remains for me to say upon the subject, but I believe that we, as a body, wishing to make the Church of England as national as possible, cannot now pretend by that word "national" to mean a church co-extensive with the nation numerically speaking; neither by that word "Churchman," which, I believe, was so used by Canon Trevor, can we now mean merely those who have entered Holy Orders. The word Church, more and more takes the sense of an assembly of Christian men. We feel that the union between the National Church and the State, much as we desire it to be continued, being now somewhat strained by those who oppose it, must naturally assume a different aspect as to the nature of its bond as time passes on. The laity feel that, as a laity, they have a duty to perform which they cannot delegate to their spiritual ministers, and they feel this, that if heretofore, or at some time long ago, Parliament was the expression of the laity of the Church of England in its debates, the saying can hold good no longer at all events to the extent which it formerly did. In the House of Commons, there are many members who are opposed to the National Church in its national aspect, who are not members of the Church of England, and who rightly says, when questions affecting Church legislation come before them, that the House of Commons is not the place for debates on the different opinions which unfortunately divide the Church. They say, "Tell us what the opinion of the Church is, and then you may call upon us to legislate for it." That these diversities of opinion exist in the Church is not, to my mind, to be entirely regretted. Surely they are signs of vitality, and I do not see that they need prevent the Church, if it is in possession of a deliberative and representative body, from giving a decided opinion upon any point which requires legislative interference. The members of the House of Commons represent every diversity of opinion, and still their acts and their deeds are rightly taken as those of the nation at large. I am not here to go into details of a plan for the true representation of the Church; but I do feel that such a representation by means of a deliberative assembly—not one with legislative capacity, but merely for deliberation—is eminently necessary. I believe that this can best be effected by a reform in Convocation; but I do not presume to go into the details how that reform can be carried out. I shall be quite willing, if it is the opinion of members of the Church generally, that this should be the case, to leave the question in the hands of Convocation itself, who will, I am sure, take it into their careful consideration. I would wish also to impress upon the members of Convocation, that, however eminent they are in their councils, it cannot be said that their decisions carry the weight of a decision of the Church of England. Theirs are the decisions and opinions of the clergy of the Church, but until they can speak out authoritatively, and announce the decisions and the opinions of the Church itself in its largest sense, they will not carry that weight to which they are entitled, when they come before the country for legislation. I wish for a moment to touch upon one other subject, which was partly touched upon by the Rev. Mr. Jackson, a subject, if anything, of still higher importance. He detailed to you what the proper duties of deacons were. Now, the point I wish to enforce is this—much as we may rejoice, as the Bishop of Ripon has said to us—that the clergy in his diocese during thirty-six years have as nearly as possible doubled, still everybody feels the difficulty of obtaining suitable persons to fill offices in the ministry. But what, in my humble opinion, is the chief drawback preventing young men from entering the ministry now, is the irrevocable nature of the office. A young man entering into orders must make up his mind to that profession for life. If it were now universally acknowledged that the diaconate should be merely a probationary stage into which a man might enter, without any intention of

pursuing it beyond that stage, for two or three years or more. The deacon could then ascertain his fitness for the office, and would not feel so much as he now does the danger of finding himself unfit for the discharge of the office after he has taken it up. We should also induce many young men of high position to devote a few years of their life before entering upon their secular duties to the assistance of the Church; and if centres were formed in our cathedral and large towns, where these young men might be trained in their duties, we should meet wants which are continually occurring in these large manufacturing districts. From districts, where villages are springing up, and large works established, we could then send to head quarters at the town, or to the bishop, and ask him to send us down a man at once, who would undertake to minister to the spiritual wants of the population which has suddenly sprung up.

The Rev. Canon Barry.

My Lord Bishop,—One who speaks at this advanced period of the debate, can only attempt, I think, to throw out a few isolated thoughts upon the great subject which is placed before us. In the speeches which we have heard to-night, there is one marked point of agreement on all sides. No one has stood upon this platform who has for a moment questioned the necessity of some Church reform; and I myself, as one profoundly attached to the old principles of the Church of England, and not otherwise than Conservative in my instincts, would seek to impress upon this great meeting the importance of a real reform, both for itself, and as the best possible means of Church defence. But there is one reform which is beyond all others, so much beyond them, that it may actually absorb our undivided attention. I value greatly the proposal for a true diaconate; I believe there is abundant room for a sweeping cathedral reform, although I stand here as an instance of the anomaly described, as an unfortunate man whose business is in the diocese of London, and who has been appointed to a canonry exactly one hundred and twenty miles off. But there is one reform above all others, because from it all others will flow, and that is the restoration of the Church to some true power of self-government. I grant, with gladness and thankfulness, the outpouring, by the Spirit of God, of the power of individual life and energy in the Church; but, just as no nation is truly civilised, if its members, however cultivated, are not able to act together, so I believe no Church can be living and effective, unless it is able to act, not merely in isolation, but in something like corporate unity. I think this of such infinite consequence, that if the risks we have heard of to-night were tenfold as great as they are, I should be prepared to incur them; and with all possible respect for our present Convocation, even if it could be reformed to be a true clerical representation, even if that unfortunate class of clergy to which, until recently, I have belonged entirely, could be at once recognised in that Convocation, still it would not fulfil entirely the purpose which we now require, it cannot be a true representation of the whole Church of England. Canon Trevor, in his very amusing speech, spoke of a certain amount of lay tyranny upon our clergy at the present moment. I wonder it did not occur to him to remember, that tyranny is irresponsible power, and that if the laity had a true, responsible power, they would not be so liable to exercise that which he has described, in fact, if not in word, as a kind of oppression upon the clergy. I believe that if the clergy and the laity met under joint responsibility, they would each learn to respect each others' rights much more than they do at present. We have been told by the Prolocutor of the southern province, that the admission of the laity into the Convocation would be organic revolution. I know not how that may be, but I am certain it would not be a reversal of that original intention which united Convocation and Parliament as a true representative of the whole Church. Parliament now occupies a position entirely independent of the Church of England, and therefore, as a matter of fact, it cannot possibly be a representation of that body, and such a representation we need. What Mr. Stanhope has said is

perfectly true. Again and again members of Parliament declare, "We cannot discuss Church subjects here; let us know what the Church of England really wants, and not what this party or that party would like; let us know what the Church wants, and if we cannot grant it, at least we will give it a careful consideration." I, for this reason amongst others, do not believe there need be any collision between Convocation and Parliament. What are the facts? Parliament represents the whole realm, and, of course, no laws can be passed without its consent. At the same time, Convocation should have that which everybody but the Church possesses at this moment—an authorised representation, which should declare what the whole body requires, and lay it for consideration before the Imperial Parliament of the Realm. Instead of its tending to promote disestablishment, I believe it would do more than anything else to prevent it. Unless the Church of England has some real power of reforming itself, and reforming itself not merely in details but in some really important points, still adhering to its own basis and principles, disestablishment is a far greater danger than it at this present moment appears. At this moment there is a reaction against the merely destructive attacks which have been made upon us, and against the policy of pulling down what cannot be replaced; but the country is in an attitude of expectancy, looking to see what the Church will do for herself. But I would say more than this. If I thought—which I do not—that it would increase the danger of disestablishment, yet I care very much more for the Church than for the Establishment as such. For the sake of the Church as a spiritual body we require a power of adaptation to the spiritual needs of the present day. Being not content, as I think earnest churchmen cannot be content, with the present condition of things, and believing that by having a real power of corporate action, we might be more spiritually efficient—I would be prepared to run the risk of that disestablishment which seems to be a bugbear to so many, but which, under such circumstances, I should not fear. For these reasons I most earnestly hope that whatever else we do in Church reform, we shall keep to this which really will contain all the rest. There was a time in our political history, some forty years ago, when all other changes were sunk in the one desire of a true representation of the people. I hope we shall make, with the machinery we have, all the reforms that are possible; but I am certain that reforms going sufficiently deep, cannot be made under present circumstances, for I am one of those who do not believe that they can be made, or ought to be made, by the mere authority of an Act of Parliament. Therefore, just as forty-two years ago men sank all their proposals of other changes in the one desire of a true representation of the people, so I trust that we churchmen shall not allow other objects, however important, to prevent our straining every nerve for that most important object of all—a true, living representation of this Church of England as a branch of the Catholic Church, able to act in the present day as well as in the sixteenth century, with the same power, and under the same blessing. I press this upon you very earnestly, for the time now granted us is golden, and it may be short.

The Rev. Dr. Littledale.

I DESIRE to supply an important omission in the remarks of all the previous speakers. While dealing with the Reform of Convocation and of Cathedrals, they have spoken throughout as if there were only a Lower House of Convocation, and as though there were no higher officer in cathedrals than a Dean. I believe that we must fly at higher game, and that the crucial, the burning Church question of the day, is Reform of the Episcopate, particularly in the matter of the mode of election. There is now no popular element in the Upper House of Convocation, whereas anciently a number of its members were abbots and priors, sprung from the people, and elected (save where the Crown had the right of nomination) freely, who really supplied that element. It seems to me that the first thing to be done is to agitate for reform in the manner of electing Bishops, and

to that end we must strive for the abolition of the statute of *præmunire*. Then, as regards the cathedral bodies, their true function is not the performance of daily service, nor even to provide for splendid worship—albeit these are both important duties—it is that they may form the Bishop's Council, and be a standing committee of the diocesan synod. The Bishops are entitled, by ancient law and scriptural precedent, to a larger degree of power than they now possess. When a Bishop wishes to be obstructive, every facility is afforded him, but if he wants to do good he is hampered in every direction, so that his intentions and powers for good are utterly cramped. The Bishops have no power in the cathedrals at present—less, at any rate, than in any other church of their dioceses—but if the Canons were recognised as diocesan officers, having each some definite work for the entire diocese to do, six of them would not be too many in a small town, as Dean Lake has said, and they would have a direct relation to the Bishop as the natural head of the diocese. So thus the Bishop might again have his full rights, not merely as an occasional visitor, but rights as wide and as important as those of the Dean and Canons Residentiary, because he would preside by right over the cathedral, so far as it is a diocesan institution, leaving the headship of its internal economy, and the management of its services, to the Dean. What we have to do, then, is to go to Parliament—not for the enactment of new enabling statutes, of which we are getting rather too many, but for the repeal of disabling ones, and, above all, the statutes of *præmunire* and the Act of Submission of the Clergy. Further, a tribunal, before which a criminous Bishop could be cited, is much needed. As matters stand, a Bishop is nearly unassailable, an Archbishop quite so, while Dr. Colenso's history has taught us that prelates are not necessarily impeccable. I do not want to restrict the powers of Bishops. I agree with a speaker at a former meeting, Mr. Clark of Taunton, in saying that only Bishops can give a definitive vote in synods; but I wish to see each Bishop checked by knowing that he is responsible to the Provincial Synod, and each Metropolitan to a National Synod, and is liable to deposition on adequate grounds. That would enable us to do what no party in the Church now does, trust to the Bishops frankly and gladly, instead of yielding them a reluctant and suspicious obedience. In a word, I recommend Churchmen to agitate for the free election of their Bishops, and their restoration to their proper places as heads of cathedrals.

The Rev. E. L. Blenkinsopp, Rector of Springthorpe.

All Church reform ought to begin at the beginning. The parish is the unit; the parish vestry ought to be reformed; and instead of a money qualification, it ought to be a communicant one. Then the churchwardens should be chosen, not because they possess similar qualifications, but as men who hold an ecclesiastical office, and are representatives of the parish in its spiritual aspect. In connection with this it would be well if Archdeacons' Visitations were so managed as to impress on the churchwarden mind that they hold office, not merely in the Established Church, but in the Church of Christ. On the reform of Convocation, I may say that the power to effect it lies wholly in the hands of the Archbishop, without any reference to the Crown or Parliament, at least as regards the increase of parochial proctors. The Queen's writ is directed to the Archbishop to summon the whole clergy *coram vobis* "before you," and he issues his writ for the clergy to appear *coram nobis* "before me," not the Queen. Again, he is to summon *totum clerum* "all the clergy;" it is for him, with the advice of Convocation, to arrange in what manner, and to what extent, the clergy are to be represented. Still, however, the whole action of Convocation is tied and bound by the Act of Submission, which prevents her from making canons without the Royal licence. This ought to be repealed, so as to allow the Convocation to revise the old Canons and to make new ones as occasion requires, subject to the assent of the Crown. Again, there is the great difficulty of the two Convocations—a difficulty which must continue so long as there are two provinces. But it is competent for the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Primate of all England, to

call a National Synod; and we have actually laid down in the National Synods of 1070 and 1072 the order in which such Synods should be held. Here is the most perfect freedom of action. National Synods are no more bound by the Act of Submission than Diocesan. Canons could be enacted, binding of course only *in foro conscientiæ*, having no more coercive power than belongs to obedience to the Church; and surely we may trust to this. We do not want Acts of Parliament. The day is passed for enforcing religion by civil penalties. Let the Church throw herself on the voluntary obedience of the faithful, and she will not be disappointed. Better to have a hundred faithful churchmen than a thousand half-churchmen. We come to the faithful laity to ask their voluntary aid to restore our cathedrals and our churches, and the call is everywhere responded to. Let us also call upon them for the like in restoring discipline and order by canons binding only on the conscience. What holds us back is timidity. Once enter upon a bold course and a right one, and we shall have the hearty response of a willing people.

Archdeacon Ady.

I am not in any way connected with any cathedral chapter, but the whole subject of Cathedral Reform has been brought very fully to my mind as chairman of a committee of the Lower House of the Convocation of the province of Canterbury, appointed to consider that very important question. If I had spoken at an earlier period of the evening I should have endeavoured to have laid before this meeting some of the recommendations of our report. But almost all our suggestions have been anticipated by previous speakers, and I hardly know one that has not already been mentioned to you by those who have gone before. But there is one that I would venture to lay special stress upon, and that is, that our great cathedral chapters should be made more diocesan, and that they should be the head-quarters for every clergyman in each diocese. If any of the members of the Convocation of York would like to see the report which was drawn up, I believe they can obtain it at Messrs. Rivingtons. Having had that part of my subject supplanted by previous speakers, I would venture to say one or two words with regard to the reform of Convocation. The Congress is not, perhaps, aware that the Lower House of Convocation, in the province of Canterbury, have organised a carefully prepared scheme for their own reform. The principal features are,—first, that the number of the representatives of the parochial clergy are more than doubled. They are increased so as to outnumber, by a clear majority, the nominees of the Crown, the Bishop, and the Cathedral Chapters. Another recommendation in the report is, that every clergyman holding the bishop's license shall have a vote for the election of parochial proctors. I am very glad indeed to hear from several speakers, who are more learned in the matter than myself, that it does not depend at all upon the action of Parliament for the carrying out of the recommendations which this committee have brought before the Upper House of Convocation. These speakers, I believe, are perfectly correct in saying that the Archbishop of Canterbury has power to call together the next Convocation at the next election, according to the scheme which has been drawn up; and I do think it is prudent to try what the working of Convocation will be with this large admixture of the representatives of the parochial clergy, before you proceed to any greater and more violent changes. You must remember that the reforms recommended by Mr. Ryle and Dr. Barry can only be carried out by the whole question coming before Parliament, and I do appeal to members of Parliament whether such a subject would be at all likely to be tolerated in that House. I believe the House would refuse to entertain the question at all, and tell us to settle it amongst ourselves at our voluntary meetings. This is what I look forward to with the greatest possible hope. In almost all the dioceses now, we have diocesan conferences of clergy and laity, and what will be the natural result, when every diocese of England has its proper conference of clergy and laity? These conferences will meet as a provincial conference, and after that must follow

a national conference, and that will give almost all Mr. Ryle wants with regard to this important question. I say, then, we need not be in too great a hurry to reform Convocation. It is almost too sanguine, perhaps, to say I believe, but I do hope the next House of Convocation will be elected according to this scheme; and if it is so elected, I sincerely hope that the clergy of Suffolk will elect my friend Mr. Ryle to sit in it; and if he sits in the House of Convocation as many years as I have done, and sees the carefulness with which each subject is considered, the great prudence and caution which influences all our proceedings, and which, I may say, our Prolocutor takes a great part in carrying out by his able presidency, I think he would say that the clerical body ought not to be swept away. I myself have never taken any prominent part in Convocation except by very constant attendance, but I have been there long enough to see that the prudence, diligence, patience, and caution of that body, deserves a better fate than that it should be revolutionized from off the face of the earth.

Mr. W. Cayley Worsley.

I WONT detain you five minutes, because that represents the period during which our session has yet to run. But I must say as a layman, and the second layman who has spoken to-night, that we do knock affectionately at the door of Convocation. I do not know, as a matter of fact, whether the laity in the old times formed a constituent part of that body, but I gather from what has been so ably shown, that as Convocation stands at present, it neither represents the Church of England, nor professes to do so. But it so happens that Convocation is the only authorised body to discuss and consider, subject of course to the authority of Parliament, Church matters. That is the reason why the affectionate laity, and they are affectionate and loyal to their clergy, that is why they come and say, "Please give us a corner in this nice little nest of yours. We want to see what you are doing. We see able reports in the paper, and admirable reports printed, and we follow your proceedings with great interest, but we cannot say you are the whole Church, and we want to have a finger in the pie." That may be a very revolutionary and dangerous aspiration, and I do not altogether say there may not be something revolutionary in it, but you must, if the Church of England is to live, and move, and have a being, which can really hold this country together, you must have some power for the laity to speak in Church matters. Without going into a legal and archæological question, as to whether or not in old times the laity formed a constituent part, I say, "Let us in, if only as assessors; we will come in very meekly at first, but let us in and have a talk about all these things." There are many matters which are of serious import to the Church of this country, and not the least is the election of the principal church officers. There are many very earnest churchmen who feel the greatest possible dissatisfaction with the way in which our chief pastors are chosen. In alluding to this subject, I must say it is a matter of the highest congratulation that the clerical body in the Church is of such extreme excellence that the choice which has been made, and the way it has been made, has produced a bench of Bishops which we are proud to acknowledge. But still I say, as a member of the Church of England, there is a considerable dissatisfaction in the way in which the Bishops are elected. If a body which should claim to represent the Church of England could meet together for the discussion of matters like this, men who would be satisfactory to everybody would be selected, names should be sent up, and the laity should have a voice in the election. These are questions coming up day by day, and I do say, we must have some expansive principle which will admit the laity to a voice in Church matters.

THURSDAY MORNING, 10th OCTOBER.

The Right Reverend the President took the Chair at Ten o'clock.

THE JUST PRINCIPLE OF THE CHURCH'S COMPREHENSIVENESS IN MATTERS OF DOCTRINE AND RITUAL.

Rev. E. Garbett, Surbiton, read the following paper:—

The difficulty of my thesis, and the vexed questions of controversy necessarily raised by it, will secure for me, I earnestly trust, a large measure of generous indulgence. I might speak generally, and then I should offend no one; I may speak plainly, and then it is inevitable that I should express opinions which others will reject as earnestly and conscientiously as I maintain them. I painfully feel the difficulty. But the frank comparison and conflict of opinion is the object of this Congress, and out of it alone can possibly grow a fair understanding of each other's opinions, and a brotherly respect for each other's principles. In accepting the office put on me to-day, I have accepted the obligation of frank speech, as a duty equally due to myself, to you, and to our Master. I shall endeavour to exercise it with modesty, but with freedom, and must leave the result to you and God.

The exact subject with which I have to deal is not the limits of the Church's Comprehension considered as a matter of fact; but it is the principle which underlies them. Nor is it the principle on which the Church of England has actually proceeded in defining the boundaries of her Communion, but it is the just principle, on which any Church should proceed which is a true branch of the Church Catholic. I rejoice that, in the present case, the two theses are identical, and that the Church of England has adopted a principle which I devoutly believe to be the only just principle—I may say the only possible principle, if the dogmatic statements of her articles are to be accepted as true. I assume that these statements are true, and the assumption is no more than I, a clergyman of the Church of England, speaking in a company of Churchmen, am justified in making. Two other assumptions are included in the language of my thesis. The one is, that a principle of comprehensiveness implies that there are limits to comprehension, for why else the need of a rule and of a principle to support it. The same assumption is included in the idea of a Church, the Ecclesia, the body of the ἔκκλητοι, for a body involves boundaries. We must deal to-day, not with things as they might conceivably be, nor as they actually will be in the glorified Church of the future, but as they actually are amid the intellectual and moral conflicts of the Church militant under the actual conditions of the world. The necessity of limits to comprehension implies a further thing, that the Church is not a loose aggregate of individuals accidentally brought into contact, but an organised

society, visible and recognisable. I make these three assumptions, and I claim the right to use them as ultimate truths, by which other conclusions may be measured. Any principle which would imply that there is nothing true and nothing false, that there should be no defined boundaries to Church Communion, or which would destroy the visible unity of the Church as an organised society, would militate against these postulates, and therefore cannot be the just principle of which we are in search.

That our own Church has imposed limits on her comprehension is evident from her Baptismal Service. No one can be a member of the body who is not admitted into it by the sacrament of Holy Baptism, and no one can receive baptism, except on a solemn profession of faith. In thus defining her Communion she has followed the precedent of the Church Universal. Enjoined by the explicit authority of the Apostles, conveyed by their example in the first foundings of the Church; confirmed by the incidental references of the Epistles; supported by the habits and customs of the primitive ages, just as the history of dead nations is embodied in their monumental ruins; expressed in the large number of Confessions of Faith which still remain to us—the rule stretches like a continuous thread of gold from the Apostles to ourselves. The first links of the chain in the teaching of the Apostles, and the last links in the Creeds of our own Church, are none the less plain and certain because the intermediate links are broken and interrupted. It would not be possible to furnish anything like a legal proof that all the branches of the Church Catholic have defined their Communion by a profession of faith, but the facts raise an enormous probability of it. It is morally certain, though not legally provable, that the Church of England in this respect has followed the precedent of the universal Church in all lands and during all ages.

But is there any common principle on which the appeal to Confessions of faith has been rested? There is, and it is this—that the Church is not her own, but Christ's; her office, therefore, is not to do her own work, but Christ's. Not to shape herself into conformity with the shifting fashions of the world, nor to develope a higher idea of humanity out of human philosophy and science, but to fulfil the definite functions specifically entrusted to her by her Master, is at once her commission, her highest honour, and her only safety.

But what are these functions? To ascertain this is to acquire the master principle which must govern all the rest, for membership must correspond to commission. The Church dares not to be wider than her authority. What we need to ascertain is the Will of God, and we can go no where for it but to the Word of God. To the ultimate authority of this Word the Church has invariably appealed, even down to the age of the scholastics. "Nolo argumento credas et nostræ disputationi," are the words of the illustrious Ambrose. "Scripturas interrogemus, interrogemus Apostolos, interrogemus prophetas, interrogemus Christum." "I would not that you should trust to any argument or reasoning of mine." "Let us enquire of the Scriptures; let us enquire of the Apostles; let us enquire of the Prophets; let us enquire of Christ." (De Fide l. iv. c. 6.)

The answer returned to us is precise. The commission entrusted to the Church is primarily to declare to mankind a certain defined body of

revealed truth, designated as "the faith." The authority of the Master Himself is on this point decisive. "Go ye and make disciples of all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The risen Saviour explained His own meaning, "That repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations." So St. Peter: "He commanded us to preach unto the people and to testify." (Acts x. 42.) So St. Paul, "Christ sent me to preach the Gospel." (1 Cor. i. 17.) The primary work of the Church is to proclaim "the common salvation," "to contend for the faith once for all delivered to the saints." (Jude i. 4.)

But, while the primary work is to preach and teach, the secondary work is to gather into the Church those who are being saved (τοὺς σωζομένους); to feed them with sound doctrine, and sustain their spiritual life through sacraments and ordinances. The secondary function is dependent on the primary. It follows that the members of the Church are those who believe in the word preached by the Church. Here, again, the evidence is positive. The Church of the day of Pentecost, which continued steadfast in the Apostles' doctrine, consisted of "all that believed." (Acts iii. 44.) The society, which was of one heart and of one soul, was made up of "the multitude of them that believed." (Acts ix. 32.) Thus the visible Church was identical with the invisible members of Christ; for, "believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." (Acts xvi. 31.) Our Lord's own yearning heart appears to have reached no further. "I pray not for these alone, but for them also who shall hereafter believe on Me through their word." (John xvii. 20.)

The primary function of the Church is, therefore, to preach a given truth, and membership of the Church is defined by acceptance of that truth. Now, what is that truth? Is it a variable quantity from which any part may be dropped which offends the sentiments of a particular age, or to which anything may be added out of the exhaustless bosom of an oral tradition which the sentiments of a particular age may demand? No member of the Church of England can consistently hesitate in his reply, for she has identified the faith without which there can be no baptism with the Apostle's Creed. That in so doing she follows the mind of the Primitive Church, let Tertullian witness, "Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis." "The rule of faith is one and alone, immovable and unalterable." In another place he calls it the rule instituted by Christ, and he adds "to know nothing against this rule is to know all things." "Regula a Christo instituta; . . . . . adversus regulam nihil scire, omnia scire est." (Tert. De Præ. c. I. xiv.)

But on what grounds are we justified in identifying the articles of the Apostles' Creed with the faith once delivered to the saints, so absolutely as to make acceptance of them a test of Church membership. We do so on the authority of the Word of God—"They may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture."—(Art. viii.) The Church, prior to the early ages, never dreamt of any other authority. The voice of Christian antiquity never falters on this point. "Ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τῶν γραφῶν ῥήμασιν Ὁ Κύριος" "The Lord is in the sayings of Scripture," are the words of Athanasius. (*ad. Marc.*) "Ὅσα ἡ θεία γραφὴ λέγει, τοῦ Πνεύματός εἰσι τοῦ Ἁγίου φωναί" "What-

ever Holy Scripture says is the words of the Holy Ghost. (*Eunom. Orat.* vi.) is the language of Gregory of Nyssa. Chrysostom, in one of his grand passages, dilates in burning words on the identity between the language of St. John and the language of the Spirit of God—"Τὸν Παράκλητον ἔχει φθεγγόμενον ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν πανταχοῦ παρόντα, τὸν οὕτως ἀκριβῶς εἰδότα τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς τὰ ἑαυτῆς οἶδεν ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχὴ, τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἁγιωσύνης, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ εὐθὲς, τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, τὸ χειραγώγουν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, τὸ ποιοῦν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑτέρους, τὸ παρασκευάζον τὰ μελλοντα ὡς τὰ παρόντα ὁρᾶν, τὸ καὶ μετὰ σαρκὸς τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς κατοπτεύειν παρέχον" (*In Evan, Joh.*, Hom. i., p. 6). "He hath speaking within him the Comforter, the Omnipresent, who knoweth the things of God as exactly as the soul of man knoweth the things which belong to himself, the Spirit of holiness, the righteous Spirit, the guiding Spirit, who leads men by the hand to heaven, who gives them other eyes, fitting them to see things to come as though present, and giving them eyes in the flesh to look into things heavenly." The words of Augustine express the universal sentiment, "Cedamus igitur et consentiamus auctoritati sanctæ scripturæ, quæ nescit falli, nec fallere." "Let us yield and consent to the authority of Holy Scripture, which can neither deceive nor be deceived." (*De Peccat. Merit.*, Lib. i., c. 22).

But the rule of faith thus gained, although it admits of no qualification, admits and requires an addition. It must be acknowledged that the comprehension of a Church, defined by a general acceptance of the authority of Scripture, would be exceedingly broad. Every form of heresy in the history of the Church has sought to justify itself by this authority. The fact is a silent homage to its divinity and sole supremacy. But amid this chaos of interpretation we need a witness to which we may appeal, in evidence that the articles of our faith truly represent the mind of God. Our Church finds this witness in primitive antiquity during the period covered by the first four general councils, and I know not what other appeal she could make. She does not for a moment place ecclesiastical tradition on the same throne as the Word, but she accepts it as a witness to what the Church believed, and as a divinely given help in the interpretation of the Word.

But from this follows the necessity of another addition. If different meanings have been placed on divine words, who shall count the endless diversities of meaning placed upon human words? If a rule be needed to assure us that we are right in our interpretation of the Word, much more is it needed to assure us that we are right in our interpretation of the Fathers. The remnants of their writings, which alone we possess, are sometimes obscure, sometimes conflicting, sometimes trivial, sometimes mystical, and on points of doctrine, unchecked by the developed heresies of later days, in rhetorical passages, loose and inexact. As a matter, not of opinion, but of fact, consentient tradition there is none. If the writings of antiquity are a witness to the catholic sense of Scripture, they need to be themselves measured by the standard to which they testify, just in the same way as in measures of length or quantity, general usage may witness to the existence of the standard, and yet, in particular instances, may need to be corrected by the standard to which it witnesses. This rule is to be

found in the judgment of the Church to which we belong, and in which we have accepted membership or office.

To the Apostles' Creed, as an embodiment of the faith, our Church adds two other creeds, and Thirty-nine Articles of religion, of which twenty-six are doctrinal. No theories on the relation held by these Articles to the oral tradition of revealed truth, current in Apostolic days, need to be discussed, because practically the Apostles' Creed is identical with the Scripture, and the doctrinal Articles are identical with the Apostles' Creed. The Creed does not contain one solitary assertion which is not gathered out of Holy Scripture; nor is there any doctrine taught in Holy Scripture which may not be inferentially found in the Creeds. So it is with the Articles, which are neither more nor less than the technical and scientific amplification of the Creed, as I believe the Athanasian Creed to be no more than the technical and scientific amplification of the one Article, "I believe that Jesus is the Son of God."

The just principle of the Church's comprehensiveness is therefore to be found in the supreme authority of the Word of God, and the secondary authority of the Church. Practically the principle is embodied in the law which demands belief in the Apostles' Creed as a condition of membership, and acceptance of the Thirty-nine Articles as a condition of office. But conditions of membership are not the same as conditions of thought. The Church submits the articles, not as speculative propositions to be measured by the individual judgment —not as theses to be referred to the higher authority of a so-called Catholic tradition (for in this case all the postulates with which I started would be violated: the limits would practically be no limits; the lines separating truth and falsehood would be dissolved; the Church, as a regulated society, would cease to be), but as ultimate terms, embodying, in the Church's judgment, both the witness of Catholic tradition and the authority of the Word of God. Is it asked where, then, is the supremacy of conscience, if an office-bearer in the Church be compelled to accept doctrines which he disbelieves? I reply that the solution is not to be found in the doctrine but in the office. The divergency of belief which breaks through the conditions should be fatal to the membership. Nor can I understand what ground of hesitation a man can have in resigning office and membership in a Church which has ceased to be, in his opinion, a true Church; for she teaches that which he believes to be false, and fails to teach what he believes to be true.

Such I maintain to be the true principle of Church comprehension in matters of doctrine. If this be settled, the question of ritual becomes a very narrow one, for the doctrine must of necessity govern the ritual. Men may dispute what the doctrine should be, but once formed, it must be accepted as the formative principle of the worship, just as the human brain moulds to its own shape the hard external skull within which it resides. Our differences here will lie not in the principle, but in its application. Ritual there must be; and as the Word of God supplies no absolute and invariable law to govern its details, its regulation must be vested in the particular or national Church of the thirty-fourth Article. A visible organised society, such as I have assumed the Church to be, cannot exist without a government; the Divine Lord who instituted

the Church has therefore implicitly instituted the government, and the reverent faith which accepts the promises to the one must likewise accept the obligations of the other. The ritual appointed by it should be implicitly followed, provided that nothing be ordained against God's Word, and that all things are done to edifying.

The ritual thus established should follow a few simple laws, each of which springs of necessity from the principle already asserted. It should be marked by a general uniformity, because it is the visible and outward expression of the Church's common life. This uniformity should not be stiff and rigid, but elastic and pliant, and comprehensive as the Church herself. Yet it should have precise limits, or uniformity itself will perish. The pliancy arises from the absence of exact regulation in the Word of God, and the discretion consequently left to the Church to adapt her rites and ceremonies "to the diversities of times, countries, and men's manners," and, I venture to add, to the legitimate variations of the tastes, the habits, and the emotional constitution. The necessity of limits arises from the doctrinal boundaries of communion, and from the precision with which the Word of God lays down doctrine, in comparison with the reticence with which it passes over ritual. It is said that ritual is the unspoken language of doctrine. I have no confidence whatever in the statement. But if it be true, it only confirms what I am laying down. If doctrine governs ritual, ritual should follow doctrine. On the positive side, it should express the doctrine which the Church holds, and be harmonious with its spirit. On its negative side, it should not express what the Church does not hold; still less doctrines which the Church denies, and has formally rejected. What is false and dangerous in doctrine cannot possibly be true and wholesome in practice. "Hæresin non tam novitas," says an ancient Father, "quam veritas, evincet. Quodcunque adversus veritatem sapit, hoc erit hæresis, etiam vetus consuetudo." "Not novelty so much as truth will be the test of heresy. Whatever savours of opposition to truth, that will be a heresy, even though it be an ancient custom,"—(Tert. de Virg. Vel. c. I.)

Such is the principle, on which alone it is possible that the communion of a Scriptural Church should be constituted. It maintains the supreme authority of the Word of God, and yet within the limits allowed by the Word it recognises the subordinate authority of the Church in her proper province. It preserves the integrity of the faith in all points on which God has definitely spoken; yet it leaves the most ample scope for liberty of thought and variation of opinion on subjects on which God has not positively pronounced His own unalterable will. It is definite, yet comprehensive; firm, yet elastic; precise, without narrowness; clear, without harshness; trenchant, without severity. It conserves the honour of Christ as the supreme living Head over all things to His Church, and is, I believe in my conscience, accordant to the mind of God.

The Rev. Dr. Irons, St. Woolnoth's, London, read the following paper:—

1. Christ's words, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," suggest at once the true idea of the "comprehensiveness" of His Gospel; while the statement which follows, as to those who receive, and those who reject it, reminds us of its "limits."*

2. His Church has no option; but must "teach all things whatsoever He commanded," whether it be doctrine concerning His Person, or rites which He instituted, or principles which He sanctioned, or precepts which He enjoined.† These may never be set aside. But, evidently, the circumstances and conditions under which His Church's teaching would have to be given would be far from uniform in a world like this. External rules which would at first be required for the Jews of Jerusalem might soon be relaxed for the Gentiles of Antioch; and yet later times would find the Church in new and often-changing positions, in which it would be her duty variously, but faithfully, to fulfil her mission to the "tribes of the earth" according "to the grace given her,"—led continually by the Spirit Whom Christ had promised to send.

3. At first there was an acknowledged antagonism between the Gospel and the whole state of "the world" to which it was sent. Since then, the course of the Church has mingled on different terms with the secular order of events, and generally, for 1,500 years, has adopted some friendship with the governments of the nations. This is a plain fact, or series of facts, in that Providence which must be believed in the main to have guided our way, for it cannot be supposed to be all accidental. We hear sometimes of the "logic of facts;" and if the phrase has any worthy meaning, or is anything more than the exultation of mere force when it bears down reason, it may just imply that realities cannot wait till their theory is understood; and so it may be often of much use to look back, to trace, if possible, what the theory was. A retrospect of 1,500 years of facts may show us how they were not a merely fortuitous concourse of events. We rightly aim at a philosophy of history; the world, too, may not be wrong in trying to form a philosophy of our religion; but why not, also, ask for a philosophy of the relation which has subsisted, and must subsist, between them in the advance of civilisation?

4. Thus far, no doubt, that relation has been very roughly determined; but everything now indicates that there is need of a principle for the future. The *sic volo, sic jubeo*, of Emperor or Pope or Parliament will not, in our changed civilisation, finally settle questions in which conscience is essentially concerned—and this surely is one of them—as to the right relation of Religion and Government.

5. Time was when missions of truth had to force their way against falsehood upheld by power. That ordeal stirred a heroism which "worked the work of God," and deeds were done which changed the

*. St. Matthew xxviii. 18—20; St. Mark xvi. 16.
† St. John v. 23; viii. 58; x. 33—38. St. Matt. v. 43—48. St. Mark x. 9—11. Rom. vii. 2—3. 1 Cor. xi. 23, &c. St. Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. vii. 10, 39.

coming world. Again time was when, "at the commandment and will of princes," Christian nations were in some sort "born in a day," and barbarous multitudes "comprehended" *en masse* were brought at least to a new civilisation, in which a real Christianity became possible where otherwise it would have had no place. We may not adopt either of those factors, either the "enthusiasm" of inspiration, or the "enthusiasm" of conquest, in the moral problem before us. We should but degrade the earlier epoch of the faith, were we to describe the "divinity that stirred within," in such poor terms, as the "effort of the voluntary system;" and we should feebly misread those later times, if we thought to dispose of them by some superficial formula, as "worldly" or "Erastian." At present it is enough that they lie external to any philosophy of the subject before us.

6. It is now frankly agreed on all hands, that the State, as such, is not the organ of Divine Revelation to mankind. The *Imperator sum et sacerdos* of the Byzantine monarch will hardly be heard again among Christians. But still it is felt, more and more, that the duties which devolve on the State are very grave. The social system which it has to protect, and the laws of property, relationship, justice, and even health, which it must administer, have some *ethical* basis, and every one begins to perceive that this should be consonant with the general conscience. The condition of the Conscience of the community cannot, then, be an indifferent matter to the State. Conscience needs educating no doubt; but taking it as it actually is, at any time, the State must treat it with respect. The moral acquiescence of the people must be secured, or there will arise such a sense of injury as ought to be fatal to the permanence of a Government.

7. But who is to educate the Conscience? The State needs the approval of the greatest possible number; and the Church is willing to "comprehend" all whose consciences she can reach; and thus, from different points of view, the same question is approached. But a wise State, knowing its own ethical and religious incompetency, and a real Church bringing a Divine Revelation to conscience must learn to work together, if the fruit of all our past Christian civilisation is not to be lost. The necessity of such co-operation is even enhanced on the Church's side by the fact, that Christianity recognises in Government no mere organisation for mutual convenience, but an "ordinance of God." It is a sacred feeling, on both sides, which has so steadily expressed itself in history.

8. It was thus that the first Christian Emperors attempted to adopt the Church as *one* Religion, that it might be to the Empire what the old Pagan Religion had been, and in a more perfect way. Their first thought and even duty was "comprehension"; perhaps it was no less, from her own point of view, the Church's first thought also. Christianity therefore was dealt with at once as a living and historical whole, having a hierarchy of its own of a very uniform character, and pervaded in all its ranks, lay or clerical, by a strong public opinion which was called "Catholic," in contradistinction from all mere specialities of teaching found under the Christian name. The State, in the interest of "comprehension," naturally desired to suppress those specialities, or sects. The Imperial Government needed at least a large majority for

its support, if it could not have all. The State idea of the first General Council was, that it was simply a means of ascertaining the conscience of Christianity as a whole, for political and social ends.

9. But how could such a theory *work* for either Church or State? Evidently the first result was that it set up a false standard for the State,—the "religion of the majority" was immediately and naturally defended by tyranny, *i.e.*, the opinions of the minority were to be put down, and the spiritual system of the majority incorporated into the laws of the Empire. And it had another effect, of even a more fatal kind, it injured, and tended to destroy, the spirituality which it wished in its own way to patronize.

10. Real Religion, of course, refuses to be propagated except according to the laws of the spiritual and moral life. No doubt, for the time being, the Imperial Church thus "comprehended the masses," but to a fearful extent at the cost of her true life. Religious men soon began to feel, that in order to retain the sanctifying rules and heavenly life of ancient days, they must flee to the solitudes of Egypt and Palestine. But the Christianity of the Empire was then the Christianity of the cities; and what could that be when its more spiritual element was gone?

11. In every kingdom of Europe, since the Empire was broken up, the same course has been taken, and with the same results. The State has used the Church, but without understanding it; has found itself in the presence of a moral power which it has tried to wield, and found to recoil on itself. The Church, finding herself moved not from within but led by the strong secular arm,—the Church always doubting such leading, and losing her own grace while practically acquiescing in its suspension,—has too often been made to misjudge her own duties. Compromises and jealousies and disappointments have been everywhere the results. She thus proved powerless to arrest the moral ruin of the old Empire; and she has not been able, with her faded Discipline and injured Sacraments (notwithstanding her Divine Creeds remain to her), to keep Germany and Italy and Spain and France from being what they now are.

12. But England, it may probably be said, having long since withdrawn from the European vortex, has a destiny peculiarly her own. Let us see. We can scarcely find a more acceptable representative of the position assumed by us 300 years ago, than the immortal Hooker. He endeavoured to reduce to a philosophical statement the actual position of our Christian Church and State, as he then saw it. How little his theory differed from the old continental "comprehensiveness" of Emperors and Kings and their hierarchies, may be judged by the admiration bestowed by Pope Clement VIII. on first reading the grand introductory book of the "Ecclesiastical Polity." Hooker steadily identifies membership of the Church and membership of the State. It is on this account he has been appealed to, even in our own time, by those who (while they reject what Hooker says of the Church as a supernatural society), would willingly take shelter under the name of his philosophy, and maintain oneness of the Church and State from an Erastian point of view.

13. The position of England, then, in this matter is not so ex-

ceptional as it seems, if Hooker is to speak for us. Other theories of what some have called the "union," others the "alliance" of Church and State have found defenders both among us, and in neighbouring lands. But whether it be Hobbes, or Bossuet, or Warburton, a vision of "comprehensiveness," which is both national and ecclesiastical, haunts them all. *De facto* settlements there have been, suspending all theory, —"Acts of Uniformity" or of "Toleration" with us, and "Pragmatic Sanctions" and "Concordats" abroad—mere arrangements for the time with no element of permanence in them. It is well that the "comprehensionism" which has pervaded all the West should thus be worked out *ad absurdum* in nation after nation. All along we see the Church imperfectly struggling for the divinity of the spiritual life and truth, and the rights of conscience; and the State, at the same time, in default of spiritual gifts of its own, wrestling manfully for some social direction of the Church's subtler power.

14. The point now arrived at is this,—the State has better ascertained that its duty is to *tolerate* every conscience; and the Church finds that her true claim is practically limited to the *instruction* of conscience.

15. It looks, to certain reactionary speculators, as if at this crisis the necessities of society might bring about a return to some undefined *status quo ante.* Strangely they do not see, that if in some of the modern States this were yet possible, it would only imply a postponement and could be no real solution of the great social question which is everywhere raised. Others dream of an eclectic and attenuated "Christianity," as the common result of impending changes; wholly miscalculating the demands of conscience, and we may add, the demands of Christ. We shall be more real if we look at the shape facts have taken, for good or ill, among ourselves. If we will read them with fearless common sense, we may find the evolution of the social paradox to be not very remote.

16. At this moment we are recognising Episcopal Christianity as the Religion of the State in England and Wales; taking Presbyterianism as State-Christianity in Scotland; and owning even Roman Catholicism very practically in Ireland, in the Army, and in some of our workhouses, prisons, and schools. It is evident indeed that any denominational subsidies to Schoolmasters or Chaplains, are State-recognitions of the religions so assisted. Even the protection given by law to the endowments of any religions shows that the State regards them as lawful. In theory these *licitæ religiones* retain in their own hands their creed and their organisation; so far at least that it would be a very exceptional case that would provoke interference. To none of them would it be tolerable that the State should ask them to change doctrine or ritual in order to get new members. Each community, of course, believes that it has fixed already, or is willing to fix, the just limits of its own comprehensiveness; and would retain those limits, until its conscience were better informed.

17. So then, as far as the State is concerned, the question of "comprehension" is solved *de facto*, or very nearly so, by its admitting to all State privileges certain distinct bodies of professing Christians. And if we watch closely how this has been worked, we shall see that the *de facto* policy of the State has always been to take, for its social sanctions, the historical Christianity, however modified, which had obtained and held possession of the national conscience. The State,

aiming necessarily at moral continuity, is committed to the historical. It would never be ready to hand over society to a new religion. Without needing to enter into minutiæ, the State has known how to recognise as Christianity all that lay within our broad historic boundaries, the Scriptures, the Sacraments, the Creeds, of 1,500 years.

18. The plain test by which the politician decides whether his recognition can be definitely given to a religious body, is its proved capacity of harmonising with the ethical traditions of the community. The State proceeds in no haste. There needs no statute to exclude the prairie tribes from the higher ranks of civilisation : they will not mingle. *Illicitæ religiones*, then, will prove themselves such. Mormonism, for instance, with its theories of polygamy, would show itself incompatible with those wholly different instincts cherished for us, to speak truly, by the Christian tradition more than philosophy. So too in India, Brahmanism cannot ultimately coalesce with our social civilisation : its laws of *caste* are inconsistent with it. Politicians must look to facts. If it be true that they are often content to work on without a theory, they may, and it seems do, come upon the theory at last. *Solvitur ambulando.* What they have now really reached is, the comprehensive recognition of bodies of men, representing what we may call departments of conscientious life ; taking no public account of individual idiosyncrasies, even though conscience may have to do with them.

19. Whether any fusion of some of these bodies, and extinction of others, may be the practical result at a future time ; whether, as in other cases so here, civilisation may absorb the less educated tribes—cannot concern our present position. All that we have here to affirm is, that there exists no external power with authority to promote any such fusion ; nor could any honourable mind consent to manipulate rites or creeds with a view to any such end. For our own part we are quite content to say,—let our Church, and the Presbyterians, and the Roman Catholics, and others, be only suffered to work quite freely, side by side, under the protection of equal laws, and then let the strongest and the worthiest prevail, and "comprehend" the rest as soon as it can. And "God defend the right."

20. To conclude this part of our subject ; let it be observed that the practical method which we have adopted for the treatment of this, the problem of ages, avoids that alternative which has at all times seemed so distressing to thoughtful minds—either the abandonment of Religion on the part of the State, or an avowed indifference. The State is perfectly able to remain in the historical and ethical groove of 1,500 years, dealing practically, from time to time, with any larger developments of the conscientious life as they may arise ; always leaving every aggregate of consciences, *i.e.*, every Religious body, internally free, and every individual conscience (even in its aberrations), as free as possible without jarring with the ethical basis of the community.

21. But this statement of the subject now brought before us, will scarcely be thought complete without an application of the principles we have endeavoured to elicit, to the object proposed for the consideration of this Church Congress, viz., some ascertainment of the just principle of the Church of England's own internal comprehensiveness at this crisis in her history, whether as to matters of Doctrine or Ritual.

22. The Church of England, then, is one of those "aggregates of conscience," which have the co-operation of the State among us. If it be not, it is not a Religion at all. But it has been suggested, both from within and without her pale, that the present epoch is one when the terms of her churchmanship might be amended, not (we would hope) with a mere view of enticing into her pale those who on various grounds belong to other bodies of Christians, in order to present herself politically as a larger party, but with the intention of exhibiting more fully the Christian conscience among us. Putting it thus in the best light which its sincere advocates would desire, it might be a sort of change, equivalent, in some sense, to that which is asked by those who would have a new Translation of the Bible—*i.e.*, a change of form and not of realities.

23. None will question that such a change is quite conceivable, and, separated from mere State policy, in theory admissible; for no one, probably, supposes that the "Thirty-nine Articles," for instance, were intended, as such, to last for ever (any more than the "Assembly's Catechism," or the "Solemn League and Covenant," or the "Augsburg Confession," or the "Creed of Pope Pius IV.") Who would wish, for a moment, that all the sad expressions of modern controversies should remain, and never be recalled for consideration? But, on the principles which happly are recognised in our present civilisation, the State cannot again, with any honesty or hope, reconstruct religious formularies. In the most recent judgment on ecclesiastical affairs the Privy Council finally declared the religious incompetency of the State. It has no power that conscience can submit to; and any attempt at State interference with the Church's conscience, even if successful for a time, could but recoil on those who abetted it. It could solve no real question, and would wound the self respect of all who took part in it. Her religion is known to be a matter that the Church alone can deal with.

24. If it be supposed by any that the position of the Church of England, on account of its longer connection with the State, is so different from that of other religious bodies that the State may mould anew its formularies, they are thus denying that the Church is a real religion—they should say so honestly—and they are mistaking the times we live in, by imagining either that conscience will bear such State dictation, or that a "religion" apart from conscience will long be of the least use to the State. The Church, in this matter, must act for herself as a Church; the asserted autocracy of conscience in her is not less than in other Religious bodies. She cannot act, however, until she has a free Synod; and a true Convention perhaps of her lay-communicants. Even if—to speculate for ourselves a moment—if some desired changes were to result in a large "comprehension" of pious Nonconformists on the one hand, and pious Roman Catholics on the other, they would really be changes for the worse, if made by the State; changes, *i.e.*, dictating latitude in doctrine, and indifference to objective truth at last.

25. In supposing it possible that changes might be made by the Church so as to include both Nonconformists and Roman Catholics, we are mindful that that was the intention of the Reformation; for "recusant Papists" were even required to communicate, and as a fact they did, for the first ten years of Elizabeth, worship with Churchmen; since

our sacraments and offices had root in the past, as they then knew. The Prayer Book, then, as it has been for 300 years, is even for the future a broader basis of "comprehension" than any other that has been found: and Churchmen have at present no choice but to cleave to that. Grant, perhaps, that, as in the begining of Elizabeth's reign, the Thirty-nine Articles now bound up with the Prayer Book were not in popular circulation, and have never been imposed on the laity, we might again take the Prayer Book without them (supposing it were thought conciliatory), *i.e.*, if the Convocations would now concede it, as they more easily might do perhaps than wait entirely for a General Synod. We could unite with many on both sides surely, without the Thirty-nine Articles, on the basis of the "Prayer Book only,"—its Lessons, Creeds, Prayers, Catechism, and Offices;—leaving, at the same time, entire religious freedom in all matters of taste and feeling, controlled morally by the Ordinary.

26. It is certain we cannot afford to lose our members on account of their not thinking in everything as we do; if only they will also take our Prayer Book as it is,—for, after all, the Prayer Book is our Religion. To suggest examples. Suppose, on the one hand, the Nonconformists wished to give prominence to the sacred truth, that self-dedication to God is specially needed for us all—(*i.e.*, as he calls it, perhaps, "conversion"), is there anything to hinder him in the Prayer Book? Or, on the other hand, if a Roman Catholic personally desired liberty to pray for those dear to him who had departed in the faith of Christ, ought we to cast him out, or persecute, or call names, if he will still accept our Prayer Book just as it is? Surely it is our wisdom and duty to keep as our members all who are willing to use our public Offices and submit to our Discipline.

27. Our Prayer Book, as it is, is a great Providential gift to us. The nation inherits it. It has attracted, it is attracting, the best hearts of the country. Re-shape that sacred magnet, and you may surely mar its power. Evangelicals of many shades all love it now; and can we afford to lose their piety? High Churchmen love it; and we cannot assuredly part, in these times, with their zeal and learning. Ritualists are willing to use it; and we should not be more attractive, if we expelled (were it even possible) their taste and refinement. Of each we may say perhaps with some truth, "Except these abide in the ship, we cannot be saved."

28. In our present position, and in the abeyance of a great Synod of both Provinces, our pre-eminent danger lies in the disquieting presentiment of some of our bishops, "that they must do something." Would that they could see that we should do nothing, till we can do it rightly! Would that they would mark how our enemies are full of fear and anger, lest we may prove to have the wisdom to leave our Prayer Book as it is,—the bond of ever growing union in all reformed Christendom; and (if we be faithful to our trust) a source of sacred blessing to the unreformed, in the certain distractions of the age to come.

The Rev. Professor Plumptre, Rector of Pluckley, read the following paper:—

The history of the Reformed Church of England has from the very first been one of controversy ending in compromise. The pendulum of thought has oscillated, more or less violently, between opposite extremes, and then the organism of her life has subsided, for a time at least, into something like composure. This has, of course, exposed her to the taunts of those who would have nailed the pendulum to one extreme, or fixed it in the middle of its arc, and whose ideal of a Church included, as its main element, completeness in dogmatic teaching. She has been represented, as in the memorable passage in Tract XC.,* as speaking "with the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies, and inconsistent precedents, and principles but partially developed." The older epigram, which speaks of her as having "a Popish liturgy, Calvinistic articles, and an Arminian clergy," represents roughly the same general fact. It is true that the three tendencies thus described have been, and still are at work within her; that none of them has been able to expel the others; that every attempt to narrow the limits of comprehensiveness (with the one disastrous exception of the Act of Uniformity) has ended in a greater latitude. The questions now before us are, What are, in law and fact, the present limits of that latitude? What are the grounds on which these limits rest? Have we gone too far, and need to retrace our steps? May we go on yet further with good heart and hope?

It is one of the strange instances of the irony of history that the first great manifesto of comprehensiveness on the part of the Church of England should have been due to the influence of Archbishop Laud:

> Via prima salutis,
> Quod minimè reris, Graiâ pandetur ab urbe.

To translate freely:—

> "There, where you least would look for aid,
> There where a Charles the sceptre swayed,
> Your path of safety lies."

Yet so it was. Harsh, oppressive, narrow as he was, it is no less true that he helped to rescue the Church of England from a yoke more oppressive than his own; that if he chastised with whips, the party that had been dominant under Whitgift and Abbot had chastised with scorpions. The controversies of that time tell of a dogmatic tyranny more intolerable than had been known before, or has been witnessed since. The Lambeth Articles were all but accepted as a standard of dogma. The decrees of Dort had been signed by English divines as representing their Church. The name Arminian, as opprobrious then as Rationalist or Ritualist is now, was hurled at any one who spoke of the love of the Father, or the universality of Redemption. Oxford and Cambridge were under the power of the straitest sect of our religion, and preachers who could not frame their lips to speak the Shibboleth of the day were condemned, expelled, or worried into a cowardly retractation.†

* Tract XC., p. 4.

† Compare the cases of Baro, deprived of his professorship after twenty-five years (Neal, *History of the Puritans*; vol. i., p. 37), and of Barrett, forced to recant (Hardwick, *History of the Articles*, c. vii.)

The earlier life of Laud was a struggle against this thraldom. He was drawn by the sympathies of a student to think with reverence of the Eastern Church, to think without despair even of the corrupted West, to sigh for a return of the time when East and West were one. He felt how largely the questions which divided men were either mere strifes of words, or belonged to a region of thought beyond the limits of the knowable. He had been led to see, on the one hand, that the Articles of the Church of England, though the offspring of an uncatholic age, were themselves not uncatholic; and, on the other, that though the product of an age when Calvinism was dominant, they were themselves not Calvinistic. And the result of these convictions was seen in the declaration which, under the Act of Uniformity, is still to be read in every Prayer Book, as a guide to the right interpretation of those Articles:—"For the present, though some differences have been ill-raised, yet we take comfort in this, that all clergymen within our realm have always most willingly subscribed to the Articles established, which is an argument to us that they all agree in the true, usual, literal meaning of the said Articles; and that, even in those curious points in which the present differences lie, men of all sorts take the Articles to be for them, which is an argument, again, that none of them intend any desertion of the Articles established."

I am not concerned to vindicate the logic of this remarkable sentence. What I note is, that in a controversy which goes deeper down than any other into our belief as to the will and character of God, in those "curious and unhappy differences," which, not for a single generation only, but "for many hundred years," in different times and places have exercised the Church of Christ—in which, above all others, antagonism seemed most intent, and reconciliation most hopeless—it proclaims the doctrine of open questions, and implies that to speak "with the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies," is a gain rather than a loss. It declares that the question is not what the Church of England teaches, but what it excludes; that it is a matter for congratulation rather than regret that men of the most opposite convictions on the most vital points, should read their own meaning into Articles of Faith, so long as they do not attempt to enforce it upon others.

The subsequent history of the Church of England has been but a development of the principle thus asserted. For a time we trace that development in the utterances of individual thinkers, in the movements of thought that affected a whole generation. Cosin, the noblest pupil of the school of Laud, held out the right hand of fellowship to the Protestant and Reformed Churches of the Continent, officiated in their Churches (as bishops and deans have done of late in those of our Scotch brethren),* and acknowledged the validity of their orders.†

* The allusion in the text referred, I need hardly say, to the service in which the Archbishop of York took part, and to one which the Bishop of Winchester held in 1871, and to the sermon preached by the Dean of Westminster in the Greyfriars Church in Edinburgh in the present year. The Bishop of Winchester, however, who was present when the paper was read, desires that it may be distinctly understood that though he conducted divine service and preached within the four walls of a Presbyterian church, he took no part (whatever may have been done by others) in a Presbyterian service, nor was one Presbyterian minister present when he officiated.

† Cosin's Works (Anglo-Catholic Library), I. p. xvii. xxx. and xxxii.

The abortive attempts at union made by the Commission of 1689, though they were thwarted by the impracticable temper of the Lower House of Convocation, showed that Tillotson and others were working in the same direction. Butler, in the next generation, the great Apostle of reverential freedom, admitted that there might be difficulties, imperfections, inaccuracies in the written Word, thought it not incredible that it contained many truths as yet undiscovered,* expressed his scepticism not as to received theories of the atonement, but as to the possibility of any theory.†

Newton (the bishop, not the astronomer) asserted the doctrine which we knew as Universalism with a boldness unparalleled since the days of Gregory of Nyssa.‡ The Church was wide enough to include Sherlock and Clark, Wesley and Whitfield, Bishop Marsh and Simeon, Paley and Toplady, as it has been wide enough in our own day to include Bishop Hamilton, Bishop Waldegrave, Dean Milman, and Frederick Maurice, and is wide enough now to take in the honoured names of Dr. Pusey, the Dean of Ripon, and Dean Stanley.

It was reserved for the nineteenth century to witness a series of attempts, now from this side, now from that, to rob men of the freedom thus inherited. We may rejoice and give thanks that in all important points they have altogether failed. It has been ruled, as you all know, that a clergyman may hold and teach that the language of the Baptismal Service is only hypothetical and contingent; § that prayers for the dead are not forbidden; ‖ that all questions as to the extent and nature of the inspiration of Scripture as a whole, and the authorship and accuracy of any part of it are absolutely open; ¶ that to hold a belief in the possible restoration of those who pass from this world with souls ignorant, stunted, impenitent, does not involve the forfeiture of a right to minister in our Church.** Lastly, that there might be even-handed justice all round, the Bennett judgment has affirmed that, in those other "curious and unhappy differences" of the Eucharistic Controversy, the Church of England does not "exclude" doctrine which most certainly it does not "teach." Here also the most opposite schools of thought use the same formularies, and "take the Articles to be for them."††

The exceptions to this ever-widening latitude are noticeable enough. Forced by the necessities of the language they had to interpret, or swayed, as some have charitably suggested, by the exigencies of expediency, the Supreme Court of Appeal has shown itself less liberal in dealing with vestments and gestures, than with the weightier matters of the law. I, for one, regret those decisions, and look on the

* Analogy II., 3.

† "How and in what particular way it (the death of Christ) had this efficacy, there are not wanting persons who have endeavoured to explain, but I do not find that Scripture has explained it. If the Scripture has, as surely it has left this matter of the satisfaction of Christ mysterious, left something in it unrevealed, all conjectures about it are, if not evidently absurd, yet at least uncertain."—Analogy II., 5.

‡ Works III., pp. 717-725.

§ In the Gorham case. See Brooke's Six Privy Council Judgments, p. 35.

‖ In the case of Breeks *v.* Woolfrey.

¶ In the case of Fendall *v.* Wilson, Brooke p. 99.

** Fendall *v.* Wilson, Brooke p. 101. †† Shepherd *v.* Bennett, Brooke. p. 234.

prosecutions that have called them forth as immoral and unwise,* not because I think them wrong, but because the questions at issue belong to the region of the "infinitely little" that lies below the care of law. All that one can say is, that those who suffer have only themselves to thank for it. Forgetting, or only too well remembering, the old maxim of the "Segnius irritant," and, not content with full liberty of teaching, they chose to stir up the no-Popery panic of English middle-class religionism with the "gilt gingerbread" of copes and chasubles, and we must leave them, without much pity, to their fate.

The principle which underlies all these decisions seems simply this, that in most matters of religious controversy we have to be content with probabilities. The primary beliefs that lie at the root of both Natural and Revealed religion, the central facts of the Incarnation, Atonement, Resurrection, which differentiate Revealed from Natural, may possess the character of moral certainties. But when we get beyond these, the probabilities at every stage become weaker. We disclaim an infallible authority, propounding dogmas in the plenitude of its power. Even those who claim infallibility for every word of Scripture, have no infallible *organon* to guide them in their inferences from it; and the form of Scriptural teaching, emotional, poetical, historical, little careful to balance, or limit, or prove its statement, does not readily lend itself to logical deductions, or leads, with equal facility, to opposite conclusions. No "Grammar of Assent" can make the superstructure stronger than the foundation, or lead to more than a subjective certainty. That conclusion may be disappointing to those who crave, above all things, for positive answers to every question which the speculative intellect can ask. They may say, in their impatience, that they would rather have error taught as dogma, than truth received as probable. But the conditions of knowledge remain as they were, and we must content ourselves, in Butler's words, with accepting probability as the very guide of our life. And this affects the question before us in many ways. It may be, and is our duty, in the search after truth, to use all efforts to find out what is most probable. Agreement, even in probable conclusions, may be necessary as the condition of membership, or of teaching functions in a society like a Christian Church. But it is obvious that, just in proportion as we recognise the element of uncertainty which is involved in the very idea of probability, we shall endeavour to reduce those conditions to a minimum, and state the propositions on which they rest with humility and tolerance. Reason and conscience shrink, when their eyes are opened, from attaching penalties and anathemas to articles of faith which are neither axiomatic nor demonstrated, nor, in express terms, revealed, only the probable inferences of human reason, "groping its way in worlds unrealised."

And, in any case, we must remember that if we wish for existing ambiguities to be removed, that removal involves the revival of old controversies, the triumph of one party, the exclusion of another. We

* I do not recall the words as applied to the *policy* of an organised system of persecutions on such matters as those referred to. But it is right to say, after what passed at the Congress, and has been said since, that I do not impute to the *persons* concerned in the persecutions any other motive than an earnest desire to vindicate what they look on as the true principles of the Church of England.

must have either a more pronounced sacerdotalism, or a sharper and narrower Puritanism. The elements of those controversies, in spite of Charles's edict, that "all further curious search be laid aside," have not been lulled to rest. If we look, for a time, on the questions which gave rise to them as extinct volcanoes, we soon discover that—

"E'en in their ashes live their wonted fires."

We have learnt that neither articles nor formularies, nor elaborate treatises—no, nor even episcopal charges and the leaders of religious newspapers—avail to settle them. Unless we are blind and deaf to the teaching of experience, we ought both to learn and forget something, as we turn from the past and look forward to the future; to learn caution and freedom, and acquiescence in the conditions of knowledge under which we find ourselves; to forget the bitterness of old controversies, the craving for completeness in dogma, the demand for uniformity in ritual. If one were left to picture an ideal Church, the outlines of that plan would, perhaps, seem free and bold. Articles which have shown themselves unequal to the work for which they were intended, might well be subject to revision. We might hope that, after that process, they would be fewer in number, would leave many questions untouched, would leave others open. And I, for one, cannot take part with those who would leave thought, and even utterance, free, and yet repress the liturgic acts, in which thought finds expression, within a rigid uniformity. Rubrics, which have been nothing from the first but a cause of heart-burning and hair-splitting, might well be cancelled. There might be greater freedom, subject to some control from bishop and congregation, for a more æsthetic ritual on the one side, and for the use of prayer, not limited by forms, on the other. The recognition of Christian communities other than episcopal, as members of the great brotherhood in Christ, and entitled, under certain conditions, to intercommunion and interchange of functions, would follow as a natural consequence of the changes in dogma and in worship.

I know too well that this is but an ideal polity, possible only in the Church of a new Atlantis; and I turn to the more practical question, how we are to deal with the elements, progressive, conservative, reactionary, in the midst of which we find ourselves. And here I would fain be a preacher of peace, contentment, acquiescence in the existing order, even to the extent of respecting the authority of bishops, and not agitating against the Final Court of Appeal. We may, and ought to rise, as Christians and as men, above our periodical panics, and our wretched prosecutions, our ceaseless circulars, and unnumbered memorials. We may, and ought to feel more confidence in each other; more respect for each other's work; more desirous to co-operate with it, wherever it is traceably and visibly a work for God. We may, and ought to aim, not at re-sharpening the blunted weapons of the past, or forging new ones for the warfare of the present, but at removing stumbling-blocks from our brother's way, and drawing into one fold all whom we can recognise, even as wandering sheep of the one great flock.

The removal of even one such stumbling-block is, however, no easy task, and the preacher of peace and calmness seems to speak

unto the winds. Men are impatient, on the one side, at seeing their hopes of freedom deferred by what looks almost like a policy of procrastination. They are alarmed, jealous, angry on the other, at the thought of losing what they look on as a necessary safeguard of the truth. They alarm us with the terror of the unknown. They will reconsider their position, they will join the Liberation Society, they will take a leap in the dark into a year of sects and schisms. I deplore that issue, but I do not dread it. I grieve that men, with so many claims to reverence, should take up a position sure to be as feeble and fruitless as that of the Montanists and Non-Jurors; but I believe that the leaders in that half-ludicrous, half-disastrous course will have but few followers. And even should it be otherwise, if the battle has to be fought between truth, as it has been revealed, proclaimed in the spirit of love and freedom on the one side, and on the other, human anathemas attached to human inferences, we may make our appeal, without misgiving, to the heart and judgment of the English people, to Christendom as it is, with yet more hope and confidence to the Christendom of the future.

ADDRESSES.

The Marquis of Salisbury made the following address:—

A layman may perhaps be permitted to pass from the abstract and speculative to the practical, especially a layman under fear of the discipline of the bell. I never had the honour of addressing a meeting of this kind before, and I confess I come with some trepidation to the task of dealing with a subject in which the most solemn reflections are crossed and mingled with the feeling entertained by a traveller who is drinking his cup of tea at a railway station. Now, what are the facts? We have had some very eloquent, and to some extent, at least, in their motive, attractive speculations as to what the liberty of the Church of England might be. We have had learned theories as to the mode in which her present condition, and the comprehensiveness which she possesses, have arisen: but the facts will not be altered by any such speculations or any such anticipations. We have a set of formulas which, for all practical purposes, we may take as unchangeable. There they are. The State cannot change them without the consent of the Church. The Church, you may depend upon it, is much too divided ever to consent to change them. Those ideas which are sometimes ventilated, of some new Act of Uniformity with a new creed and a new set of articles in the schedule, may be dismissed as the most utter chimeras that ever crossed the human brain. Well, then, we have the fact that these formulas are there, and we have the further fact that—and it is useless to conceal it—the interpretations attached to them by various parties within the Church differ as widely as the differences which separate many communions that are nominally independent of each other. The practical question that arises to all of us is, not whether we will change this state of things, for we cannot change it, but how we will practically bear ourselves under it. There are two points of view in respect to which this question presents itself to the mind. There is the first question, how shall you deal with it in discussion? I avow my entire agreement with Dr. Irons that the more we have freedom of speech, the more we state our opinions frankly and discuss them openly without fear or favour, the more likely we are ultimately to arrive at agreement on the truth. I do not believe in polite reticence on matters of religion. But a much more difficult and

practically, as it seems to me, a more important question is, how shall we deal with those religious differences as they are presented to us under the law of the State? It is one thing to discuss a matter of difference with your neighbour; it is quite another thing to go to law with him about it. It is one thing to say, "Such a man is preaching what I cannot agree with, and I will do my best to answer him and to convert him." It is quite another thing to say, "He is preaching an interpretation of the Articles which is not my interpretation, and therefore I will call in the secular arm to shut his mouth." Now, this is a practical question—practical even for the laity, intensely practical for the clergy and the bishops who have to decide it every day. What is our duty in respect to what I may call the question of ecclesiastical litigation? Little as I can agree with some of the speculative views put forward by the last speaker—little as I can hold with him the unimportance of dogma in many of the deepest questions that have ever agitated the human mind—I am thoroughly at one with him in the practical course that he proposes to pursue with regard to litigation. I believe that these ecclesiastical litigations, as directed against large bodies of persons within the Church, have done and can do nothing but harm. In uttering this opinion I am uttering no party opinion, for, unhappily, during the last five-and-twenty years, every party in the Church has been equally responsible for promoting this unhappy civil war. The late Bishop of Exeter—of whom I should certainly not speak with anything but veneration—was the person to begin this warfare, and the other side have taken it up since. And we are now, after having fought for a quarter of a century, in a condition to look back and see what fruit this policy has yielded to us. I do not speak of the promotion of Christian charity—I do not speak of the respect which it is likely to produce in other bodies for the Church of England—but I ask those who are inclined to pursue this policy still further to tell me what single point, from their own point of view, has been gained; whether, from the point of view of the most bitter plaintiff in any one of those suits, any appreciable object has been gained by the policy that has thus been pursued. In the majority of cases the courts of law—acting with that fear of ecclesiastical controversy which politicians and lawyers invariably show—have cast the plaintiff and refused to interfere. Well, it hardly requires to be proved that in these cases the plaintiff has gained nothing by his motion. All he has done, besides spending his own money, has been to show that what was doubtfully legal before, is unquestionably legal now. But in one or two cases he has succeeded. What good has it done even in those cases, and what has been gained from the point of view of the plaintiff? The idea that such litigation can answer the purpose to which in days past the secular arm was applied,—that it can arrest the course and close the mouth of those against whom it is directed,—is again an unhappy chimera. The people who are the defendants in these suits either are highly religious men or they act with a spice of worldly motive. If they are highly religious men, and believe that what they do is right, it is needless to say that such suits will never have the slightest effect upon their conduct. They must be of very poor spiritual stamina who are alarmed at such means of repression as the Privy Council possesses. On the other hand, they may be persons in whom a spice of worldly motives mix with their spiritual ideas, and what have you done with them? You may have deprived some of them of that minute income which the euphemism of the English language calls a "living," but you will have provided them with a popularity which, even in pounds, shillings, and pence, is worth a great deal more. You will have given them what perhaps they never possessed—namely, a pedestal from which to speak, and a notoriety which to their minds is fame. Even suppose you stop one man in the practices or doctrines to which you object, if he belongs to a party that sympathises with him, and is excited by the attacks that are made upon him—the moment one is down another will come up—and the evil will only spread instead of being repressed. I ask any candid man, who can separate himself from the passions of the moment whether that has not been the experience of the last twenty-five years. The effect of dividing our Church is lamentable indeed. So long as we are confined to the war of words and writing, comparatively little harm is done. On the various questions which are at issue,

men are so variously divided, and hold such various opinions, that the whole intermediate ground between two parties is covered by eclectic writers, who on one point or another differ from the school to which they otherwise belong. Consequently there is no sharp line of demarcation established. But once set up a litigation, and you must of necessity put one point or another in the foreground. You set up a standard; you establish a shibboleth; you force men to take a side. As each litigation proceeds, the moderate men are compelled to suppress their moderation. All are compelled to fall into rank, to take part in battle array, and the gulf that separates the various schools is deepened and widened until at last all hope of bridging it has disappeared. Don't imagine me to say that ecclesiastical discipline, even if applied by law, is a thing wholly out of place; but it should be directed, not against parties, but against eccentricities. Where a man, not in connection with one of the great divisions of the Church, but from his own eccentricity, worries his congregation by special peculiarities of his own devising, I don't want to stand between him and his Bishop. But it is to my mind conclusive that if a particular interpretation of the Articles or rubrics is held by a large body of persons within the Church, it is wrong, it is unwise—I won't say it is immoral as well as unwise—but it certainly is most unwise, to treat that as a subject for litigation. I will not pursue this subject further now, but I will only exhort you to remember that all these ecclesiastical litigations, though worthless for their own object, are effective for this—that they drive all sympathy from us. I will conclude with this one phrase. The policy of persecution cannot be pursued piecemeal. Either you must take the line of Alva, or you must take the line of Gamaliel. It is for you to reflect, from the evidence of the history of your own Church and of other churches, which of these two policies best reflects the mind of Scripture, which best accords with the permanent interests of the Church of God.

The Rev. F. F. Goe, M.A., made the following address:—

I WISH first to state plainly my own view of the Church's doctrine as to the just principle of comprehensiveness; and, secondly, to make a remark or two upon some observations made by preceding speakers.

In the first place, the position of the Church of England with respect to the true principle of comprehensiveness is sufficiently plain. She clearly lays down the grounds upon which she bases her doctrines. Those grounds are the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments, a list of which she gives in the sixth Article. She teaches that those books are (to use an expression of Dr. Newman's) the foundation of fundamentals, so that even the three Creeds, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, and the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed, because "they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture." The three Creeds are set forth as a summary of what the Church believes to be true and fundamental; and in the Thirty-nine Articles she draws out the whole body of her theology, as opposed to the errors both of earlier and later times. In accordance with this, she lays down the notes of a true Church: "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance." And so essential are these notes believed to be, that, in the second part of the Homily for Whit-Sunday, grave doubts are raised whether the Church of Rome is a Church at all, by reason of her defectiveness in these respects.

With respect to matters of ritual, I hold fully with the reader of the first paper that ritual must follow doctrine. I rejoice in the variety of ceremonial in the Church of England. I rejoice that she is comprehensive enough to embrace the simple service of the village church, and the glorious and noble services of cathedrals and large parish churches. But if it be a true note of the Church that "the pure word of God is preached," then it

necessarily follows that if a ritual be adopted, which involves doctrinal teaching expressly repudiated by the Church, in that case the Church forbids such ritual.

And now I wish to comment upon some of the observations that have been made. The most curious things said during the session have been said about the relation of the State to the Church. We have heard it said—and if I had not occupied a seat very near to the speaker, I should not have believed that I heard him correctly—that the State has found it to be her duty to tolerate every conscience. I only wish that Mr. Voysey had been present with us to hear such a marvellous statement. Then we have heard that the State has by the recent judgments declared its own religious incompetency. Its incompetency to do what? I always thought that the business of the Privy Council in these disputed matters of doctrine and ritual was simply to ascertain whether or not the opinions and practices of the defendants in the various cases were in accordance with the formularies articles, and rubrics of the Church of England: and I do not see why the State should be said to have declared its incompetency to do this. On the whole I do not believe that if the Church were separated from the State to-morrow, we should find a better tribunal to decide points of this kind than we have at present. You must have a supreme Court of Appeal somewhere, and I am not aware that any other conditions are necessary to qualify a man to be a member of such a court, than that, as regards moral character, he should be honest and impartial, and that, as regards his antecedents, he should bring to his decisions a mind legally trained and versed in the interpretation of difficult documents. The noble marquis has encouraged us not to be alarmed by the Privy Council. I trust that none of you are in danger of being alarmed. I am not, and I will tell you why: "Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil . . . . . But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the sword in vain." We have heard a statement made as to the probable duration of the Thirty-nine Articles. The duration of the Articles depends only upon one condition, and that is the duration of error. So long as error remains the Articles must remain. As soon as the Church of Rome was prepared to give up the creed of Pius IV., it will be time enough to think of surrendering the Articles. One of the speakers told us that Churchmen have no option but to cleave to the Prayer Book; and he proceeded to say that the Ritualists are *willing* to use it! As if they were not morally bound by a solemn promise to do so! Let me remind you of the promises required in the Ordination Service, as they have a direct bearing upon the question of the Church's comprehensiveness in doctrine and ritual. First, she requires a positive pledge: "Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ?" But, secondly, a question is put negatively, which partakes more of the character of limitation than of comprehension: "Are you determined, out of the said Scriptures, to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing, as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which you shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Scriptures?" To this we replied: "I am so persuaded, and have so determined, by God's grace." But we are further told that we may do very well with the Prayer Book without the Articles. Now what is the testimony which the Prayer Book bears to the Articles? "Will you, then, give your faithful diligence always so to minister the doctrine and sacraments, and the discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church and Realm hath received the same?" And we answered: "I will do so by the help of the Lord." I wish to know how it can be ascertained in what manner "this Church and Realm hath received the same," except by reference to the Articles?

Remarks have been made with respect to the recent prosecutions, and I will conclude by asking the following question. In the first place, have or have not these prosecutions arisen out of a want of Church discipline? In the second place, I would ask the demonstrative minority who cheered the statement made by one of the speakers, that these prosecutions were "immoral and unwise," because they belonged to "the region of the infinitely little," whether it is indeed your view that Mr. Bennett and others who have been prominent in these questions, would have submitted to the privations to which they

have suffered, because of points "infinitely little?" I do not believe you think that these matters are "infinitely little." When Mr. Bennett and Mr. Nugée were examined upon the disputed ceremonies, they said that their significance arose from the fact that ritual was symbolical of doctrine. Lastly, if you speak with such vehemence against these prosecutions, what language can be strong enough to express the indignation with which you ought to regard those practices of ritual which rendered the prosecutions a necessity?

Mr. Robert Brett, Stoke Newington, made the following address:—

As a layman I am not restricted by any of those bonds which bind the clergy to the Thirty-nine Articles alluded to by the last speaker, when they promise to teach all the doctrines of the Church, "as this Church and realm hath received the same,"—but in order to ascertain what are the doctrines received by the Church, and the just principles of her comprehensiveness in doctrine and ritual, we must go back and ascertain upon what principles the Reformation was based. The English Church I hold is essentially and truly the Catholic Church of this realm. "It is a true and apostolic Church, maintaining and teaching the doctrines of the Apostles." It is identical in doctrine and principle with the ancient Catholic Church of this realm. No new church was established at the time of the Reformation, but the Church sought to deliver herself from the intolerable usurpations of the Papacy, and from those corruptions and excrescences which had accumulated in the course of ages. The principle on which she did this was by continual reference and appeal to the Primitive Catholic Church as her model and guide. The 30th Canon of A.D. 1603, says:—"So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held or practised, that, as the 'Apology of the Church of England' confesseth, it doth with *reverence retain* those ceremonies which do neither endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men; and ONLY DEPARTED from them in those particular points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches, which were their first founders." That being the case we cannot mistake what is the true principle of the Church's comprehensiveness; but at the Reformation a large body of men dissented from this principle, and it became the desire and aim of the Church, without compromising or committing herself to any unfaithfulness in doctrine, to embrace in her fold all persons willing to accept the principles on which the Reformation was founded; and thus the Church of England came to include not only the extreme Puritan section of those times, but a vast body who would have been well content to have gone on without any Reformation. The Communion office of the first Book of Edward VI., being identical in doctrine with the old Catholic Liturgies, introduced no new ornaments or usages, but continued those used in the old Service Book (such as Lights and Vestments), which were suited to the altered services, and with which the people were familiar. The uniform appeal of the Church from the Reformation down to the Lambeth Conference, in her Prayer Book, Homilies, Canons, and in Episcopal Memorials, such as that of the twenty-one Bishops in 1851, and at the great Pan-Anglican Conference was to the Primitive Catholic Church. The civil power also coincided with the Church in acts of Uniformity, Royal Proclamations, &c., which referred to primitive doctrines and usages. Nothing was to be taught which was contrary to the decisions of the four first General Councils. Taking this broad ground, the Church of England embraces in her fold all who hold the positive teaching of the primitive Church, and those also who accept the teaching of her formularies. In the various changes which have been effected in the Prayer Book the same principle has ever been kept in view. At the last revision in 1662 the Ornaments Rubric was

but a repetition of what existed in the days of Edward. Then, if we want to know what is the true principle of comprehensiveness of doctrine, I maintain that all those who hold the positive teaching of the primitive Church, and those who hold doctrines which are not contradictory of that teaching, or to her own formularies, are included in the national Church of England. With respect to ritual, the Ornaments Rubric (which the Privy Council, in Liddell and Westerton, ruled was equivalent to the Act of Uniformity of Elizabeth, and the Prayer Books of 1559, 1603, and 1662, all mean that the same dresses and utensils, or articles which were used under the first Prayer Book of Edward VI., may still be used) is the law of the Church's ritual. That being so, covers the position occupied by all high churchmen. The Ornaments Rubric, therefore, is the mind and law of the Church, and as expressed in Royal Proclamations and other documents, it is the mind and law of this Realm. But I hold that this and the other Rubrics were never intended to be precise or exhaustive, but illustrative of the principle to be followed, exhibiting the leading features of a ritual, capable of expressing and setting forth the doctrines of the Church. The lowest minimum of allowable ritual was that contained in the Canons of 1603, which was received by men of the Grindal school. Why, then, should there be in these days so many attempts to drive out those who hold to catholic doctrines and primitive usages. All such tyrannical and unjust attempts will fail, for the great objects we have at heart are as dear to us as any object entertained by any man, or set of men within the bosom of the English Church. The reason why the decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and Episcopal utterances have not been respected and obeyed by churchmen, arises from the fact that they have been at variance with the principles of the English Church, and of primitive and catholic usage. And more, they have been contradictory of the statements of the twenty-one archbishops and bishops in 1851, in which they declared the identity of the English Church with the Church before the Reformation—and inconsistent with the appeal of the Lambeth Conference, in which the whole Anglican Episcopate declared their resolution to adhere to the doctrines of the primitive Catholic Church. We have, then, a distinct and defined basis, on which that union might exist, which our Divine Lord prayed His Father to give the Church; and I appeal to those present, why in days like these, when the enemy of God is going forth throughout the length and breadth of the land, and when as we were told a short time ago by the Archbishop of Canterbury, that if we did not convert the heathen, the heathen would convert us; when infidelity is rearing its monstrous head, and when the father of lies is disseminating errors, and leading thousands of souls to deny the Godhead, the Incarnation, Death, and Passion of our Blessed Saviour. Why should those who love and serve Him carry on an internecine war about the minor matters of forms and ceremonies when the great principles of the faith are at stake. It is certain we cannot adjust all our differences, but let us treat each other in a spirit of toleration and forbearance, and try to bring one another by conciliatory means to be, if possible, of one mind, and God will give His blessing to our efforts, and overrule all to His own purposes of love and mercy. There is room for High Church and Low Church: there is room for Ritualists, and for others, and no power on earth, no Privy Council, no Parliament, no Tribunal, shall ever drive me out of the bosom of the old Catholic Church of England.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. Malcolm Maccoll.

My Lord Bishop,—I apprehend that we are here this morning to discuss, not the comprehensiveness in doctrine and ritual of "the Church of the New Atlantis," but the comprehensiveness of the old Church of England to which it is our happiness to belong. And I, for one, cannot heartily respond to the eloquent aspiration of the learned Professor

(Plumptre), in hoping that the time will ever come when the old Church of England will be superseded by any visionary Church to be evolved hereafter out of the inner consciousness of any rhetorician, however brilliant. It seems to me, my Lord, not at all difficult to ascertain the limits which the Church of England herself has laid down, especially in regard to doctrine. She has told us, in words which have been already referred to, but not quite accurately quoted, that nothing is to be adjudged as heresy but that which has passed under the condemnation of one or other of the first six General Councils. (Cries of the "first four.") Pardon me. I know what I am saying. I said the first six General Councils, and I meant it. The gentlemen who have cried "four" are, no doubt, thinking of the Elizabethan Act, which appeals, as decisive authorities, to the first four General Councils. (Hear, hear.) Yes; but the sentence does not end there. It goes on to say, "or some other General Council." Now what the Act means by "some other General Council" is made clear in the Second Book of Homilies, which refers English churchmen to "those six General Councils which were allowed and received of all men," and from whose decrees accordingly the Church of England holds that there can be no appeal. There is much confusion in the minds of some on this subject, and I shall, therefore, take the liberty of making one or two remarks upon it. It is commonly supposed that the Twenty-first Article denies the infallibility of all General Councils. But that is an error. The fact is, "General Council" is an equivocal phrase. It covers the orthodox Council of Nicæa; but it also covers the heretical Council of Ariminum. There is an important distinction between a General Council and an Œcumenical Council. The former may err, even in matters of faith, as the Church of England has asserted. The latter expresses the mind of the Church Catholic throughout the world, and its decrees must therefore be considered as infallible and universally binding. Even Bellarmine, Ultramontane as he was, makes this distinction. He divides General Councils into three classes; and of these three only one class can claim the title of Œcumenical. He frankly admits that the assent of the whole Church dispersed throughout the world is necessary to make the decrees of every General Council infallible, and to confer upon it an Œcumenical character. The Twenty-first Article therefore does not touch the first six General Councils, and from their authority our Church holds that there is no appeal. But then I may be told that this is too elastic a rule, and that an appeal to the first six General Councils will fail to touch many of the modern errors which are rife among us. I believe that it meets nearly all of them. The primitive Church, after many a giddy reel, settled at last the faith of Christendom on a foundation, deep and stable, from which nothing short of a general cataclysm of religious belief is now likely to dethrone it; and, I believe that you can hardly conceive a vital inroad on the Christian faith which does not come under the condemnation of one or other of the first six General Councils. Let me take one or two examples. Suppose you accept the theory of men who arrogate to themselves exclusively, but most unjustly, the title of scientific, that miracles are absolutely and in all cases impossible because the order of nature has never been innovated on, and never can be. I say "innovated upon," because I hold that miracles are no violation of the order of nature. When I fling a stone into the air I do not break the law of gravitation. It goes on all the same in its silent majesty and might. But I counteract its influence in a specific case and for a special purpose by the introduction of the higher law of intelligent volition, energising through the medium of muscular action. If, then, the order of nature is absolutely invariable, and has never been innovated upon in any case, it is clear that the miraculous Conception and Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord must be regarded as amiable fictions and delusive dreams. But such a proposition would be in direct conflict with several articles of the Nicene Creed, and would therefore come under the condemnation of the Council of Nicæa. On the other hand, even a superficial acquaintance with ecclesiastical history must convince any one that the doctrine of the Eucharist assailed in Mr Bennett's case can be amply established by an appeal to the era of the first six General Councils—the era of Chrysostom, of Cyprian, of Augustine. So much as to the comprehensiveness of the Church of England in matters

of doctrine. As regards ritual the case is somewhat different, for any national Church is at liberty to lay down laws of ceremonial for itself. Yet even here our Church has been careful not to divorce herself from the early undivided Church; for she has laid down the broad principle that it was her desire not to separate herself from other churches, except in so far as they had separated themselves from the primitive Church. I contend, therefore, that if you find any mode of conducting divine service which is in conformity with the main aspects of the ritual embraced by the era of the first six General Councils, the Church of England may be said certainly to throw the mantle of her protection over it. And to maintain the opposite view would be as suicidal as it would be unhistorical. For if you condemn a certain kind of ritual as Popish, and it can be clearly proved that the ritual in question is at least as old as the ritual of the fourth century, you are simply giving to Popery an antiquity which will force you polemically to surrender at discretion to its claims. I am not prepared to do so, and therefore I reject the cry of Popery when raised against Catholic ritual. Let us be charitable, then, and try to bear with each other. We all break the rubrics of the Prayer-book. (Loud cries of "No, no," from Mr. Kean, the vicar of Whitby, who was sitting in a bath-chair below the orchestra.) I will just ask the reverend gentleman who interrupts me with his monosyllabic reasoning one question, on which he may find it profitable to meditate, while I proceed with my observations. The Prayer-book of the Church of England commands, not merely permits, her parish priests in certain cases to move penitents to make a special confession of their sins, and to pronounce a certain form of absolution. Has the reverend gentleman ever obeyed that rubric? The warning bell has sounded, and I will employ the two minutes still at my disposal in giving a practical turn to my remarks. It may sound a paradox, but I believe it to be true, that the Church of England, as an establishment, was never stronger than it is at present, and yet that, as an establishment, never has it been in more imminent peril of being overthrown. No assault from without can shake it. Let us keep the peace among ourselves, and the assaults of the Liberation Society will beat against the establishment as harmlessly as the ripples of the summer sea against a granite rock. Our danger is from within. If the children of the Church engage in an internecine conflict with each other, there is no need of the hostile forces of Mr Miall; the establishment will dissolve from within. And now, in conclusion, let me propose one test in this matter of ritual. I do not know much about ritual myself, but I say this. If you do not find that in those parishes where such worship prevails the parishioners are made better husbands and wives, better parents and children, better citizens, and, in a word, better Christians, then I have not a word to say in favour of ritualism. But if, on the other hand, you find that these things do follow in its wake, then I pray you to ask yourselves seriously the question whether the agencies which have produced such results are likely to come from the inspiration of the Evil One; and I call upon you, in the name of reason, of justice, and of charity, to leave these men alone.

Mr. James Inskip, Clifton.

I feel that the subject before us is one involving delicacy and difficulty, but I agree with Dr. Irons that it should be discussed freely. I experience less difficulty in dealing with some of the points arising out of this question, because very strong opinions have been already expressed upon them in the discussion. None of us are so young but that we must remember the Archbishop of Canterbury, I believe, but certainly bishop after bishop, when parishioners were making complaints to them, saying that there were uncertainties and ambiguities in the law which the parishioners must have settled before there could be a satisfactory appeal to the bishop to exercise his authority. When, therefore, a body of Protestants—men who were not ashamed to call themselves Protestants—came forward and offered to contribute towards the expense of obtaining that definite

decision which the bishops considered necessary, we ought not to be told that those members of the Church were pursuing an immoral course. It has been suggested by the reader of the first paper that comprehension implies limits, and surely if there is to be a limit between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, between the Thirty-nine Articles and the Creed of Pius IV., the time has arrived when it is necessary to ascertain the exact position of that limit. Are we to be told that that man is persecuted who seeks to justify, not old usages, but innovations recently introduced into the Church of England? Are we to be told, on the other hand, that the parishioner, who is driven by these innovations from his parish church and into the ranks of dissent, is a schismatic? The parishioner, who is ready to abide by the law and by the decisions of those who have authority in Church and State, deserves not censure, but praise. It is in no spirit of narrowness that I say this, nor with any desire to limit mere shades of opinion, or to restrict mere shades of ceremonial, all intended to express the same doctrine and the same idea, but when we come to two kinds of ceremonial, one intended to express one doctrine, and the other the very opposite, it seems necessary to ask some authority to step in and settle the difference. And I do not see why any of us should be ashamed to stand up and confess that we sympathise with those prosecutions which have been instituted. It seems also an equal answer in respect to the question of expediency and policy which has been introduced this morning. If we take the working classes and middle classes of the country, and profess any desire to embrace them within the fold of the Church—putting on one side for a moment the question of right—we shall find indisputably that they are not prepared to accept sacerdotal professions. If we look at the members who were returned, in the Church interest, in those counties which have notoriously changed of recent years—the counties of Yorkshire and Lancashire—we are forced to the conclusion that whenever a candidate for Parliament went forth to support the cause of the Church, in those counties with enlarged constituencies, he had been invariably compelled to declare himself a supporter of Protestant truth. But aside from the question of expediency, no one will venture to deny that if some of the practices and doctrines now being reintroduced into the Church of England were justifiable, then, in that case, the Reformation was a sin and a sham. We have heard a great deal of Catholic antiquity and Primitive usage. Will any one be kind enough to point out the book which contains the mythical thing called Catholic usage? I rejoice in that usage—which believes in the Lord Jesus Christ, which recognises Him as our only priest—which takes Him as our only sacrifice, and which accepts Him as the final teacher, whose word is supreme to override all the fanciful statements of Catholic usage.

Rev. E. H. Hillyard, M.A., Norwich.

The question is one of *maximum* and *minimum* within the bounds of the Church of England as to doctrine and as to ritual. There seems to have hitherto been a consent amongst us that the *minimum* of doctrine for the laity is belief in the Articles and the three Creeds; but that with regard to the clergy more is imposed upon them by their obligation to recite daily the offices in the Book of Common Prayer, and that on them, therefore, lies a greater obligation before God and the Church. There has been very little difference as to these points; but as to the question of ritual there has been a very great deal of difference indeed. I stand here rather as a representative of those who believe that the Church of England, in the matter of ritual, has no desire to depart from the usages of the Catholic Church, and, therefore, as it seems to me, there is given in the Creeds themselves some sort of criterion as to ritual, under the very notes of the Church itself, when it is described as One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic. That I should consider to be Catholic usage which prevailed throughout the whole of the Church before its division into East and West. I should consider that that was Catholic ritual which promoted the devotion and edification of the people. I should consider that to be legitimate ritual within the fold of the Catho-

lic Church of England which has apostolic example in the liturgies of apostolic times. It is, therefore, with great pain that I perceive men falling into this absurdity of conduct —they allow one doctrine, the doctrine of the Sacrament of Holy Communion, which was ancient and Catholic, to be taught in the Church of England by word of mouth; but say that the same doctrine may not be expressed by gesture, dress, or ritual. The bounds of just comprehensiveness seems, at least, to dictate that, if by the Bennett judgment we may hold the doctrine of the Real Presence, we might say so in the manner which most appeals to the poor, the uneducated, the simple, or the child. Moreover, believing, as many of us do, that the speaking to the eye and to the heart of the simple by externalism and symbolism has been the practice of the Church of old, there are many of us who would sooner die than surrender those lawful and Catholic rites. Yielding to none in faithfulness and love to the Church of England, I, nevertheless, have no intention of being persecuted out of it by means of secular and civil courts. Persecuted in one place and in one city, most of us are in one mind on this, that we will flee to another. Moreover, as long as there is enshrined in living hearts faith in the grace of the order of the priesthood in which we believe, so long will we work, God helping us, to leaven the Church of England with that which we believe to be the heritage of God; so long will we work, God helping us, believing the Church of England and its people to be the Church of our fathers, but more the Church of God in this land. I would address a few words to those rulers in Church and State who are gathered here together. Of all policies the most fatal is that which has been adopted towards those who are called extreme men. Is it not a fact that in the body physical, if the extremities are allowed to grow cold the life of the man is endangered? The policy of coldness, persecution, and unkindness is equally prejudicial to the body spiritual. If you chill enthusiasm and warmth in others, depend upon it the result will be injurious even to yourselves.

Earl Nelson.

The question that is before us is one of much greater importance than even our petty divisions, and ought to be looked upon in a much larger spirit than has been done. Now, if we are to decide on the principle of comprehensiveness in ritual and doctrine, we must not forget the first principle upon which our Church is founded—founded by those Reformers who did a great work for her purification and deliverance from the bondage of the Pope. They appealed in all that they did to a General Council, so soon as such General Council could be had. They did not omit from their canons and public declarations, reference and appeal to an Œcumenical Council of the Church; and it is a fact we must not lose sight of—it is our real security and strength in our combat with Ultramontanism—that we did not cut ourselves off from the Catholic Church of Christ, but we took our stand on the fact that we were a true branch, to this nation, of the one undivided Catholic Church. If I am right in these first principles, what comes next? We cannot get out of it that every true, earnest member of the Church of Christ, whatever section he belongs to, and however, in his own ignorance, or from our fault, he may have separated himself from her, is really and truly, by this assumption of ours, a member of the Church of England, and we are bound, in considering the comprehensiveness of our ritual, to see that we turn no one away who may be inclined to holiness according to the style of mind and thought which God has given to him. I remember the time when the Church of Rome made a fresh start in this country, and tried to teach the people that we were a spurious and she a real branch of the Catholic Church requiring their allegiance. She began by meeting the case of those who did not at that time find in our Church what they wanted. I remember the time well—thank God it has passed—when numbers of people flocked to the new Roman Catholic churches, and there met with the ornate services which they desired. And I maintain and firmly believe that we have done a great deal to keep people from joining the Church of Rome, by satisfying the

inmost desires of their hearts in our own communion. Well, now, I will say a few words about our limit as to doctrine. I maintain that, as members of the Catholic Church, we have no right to put upon our people as compulsory more than the three Creeds, the doctrines of the Church which have been handed down to us from those councils accepted by the Church. And here we must be very careful what we are about, for we, as a true branch of the Catholic Church, are concerned not only with the Christians of this country, but with Christians elsewhere. What is going on upon the Continent? You know that many are being, as it were, called out of the Roman Catholic Church, and that a great reformation seems to be beginning. Now, if we limit in any way those opportunities that our Church has allowed for embracing all sorts of minds, we may cast off that influence which we may now exercise for good. On the other hand, by taking a contrary course, we may prevent those men from being driven to infidelity, and enable them by our example to get on that foundation upon which, by God's providence, the Church of England has been established. Don't misunderstand me. I said that the essentials of the Church were the Catholic creeds. There are other truths equally essential held by both parties of the Church, apparently in contradiction one of another. I am thankful for both. I believe myself that there are great truths which it is impossible for our finite minds thoroughly to fathom. I believe that the Catholic Church has been overruled by God's Holy Spirit not to limit minds and bind them down to one side of these great truths or the other. I firmly believe that the views about the sacraments, for instance, which are held by those, the two great parties of the Church, are essential for the maintenance of those great, those incomprehensible truths. The day will come when we shall know all things, and when we shall thank those to whom we have been opposed upon those points, and whom we may have sought to thrust out one way or the other—when we shall thank them for having enabled the Church of England, as a branch of the Catholic Church of Christ, to maintain unimpaired those great and mysterious truths which He has delivered into her keeping.

Rev. Chas. Overton, Vicar of Cottingham.

It has been said that, in this great emporium of the best woollen stuffs in the world, sometimes when the demand for the best article is very slack there is a brisk trade going on in shoddy. We have had a good deal of the best article brought before us this morning, and there has been not a little admixture of shoddy. Shoddy is very good in its place, when it does not pass itself off as the other and better material. We all know that the man who speaks the English language with the greatest purity is he who is the most free from provincialisms, and from whose speech it cannot be told whether he came from the east, the west, the north, or the south; and, I believe, that man is the greatest Christian, and truest member of the Church of England who passes over the minor things upon which good men agree to differ, and dwells prominently, if not exclusively, upon those grand truths on which all alike agree, so that it can hardly be distinguished to what section of the Church he belongs. The Prayer Book, used reverently, is the great bond of union amongst churchmen, and attracts those who are outside the Church. It seems to me, as we enter into the true spirit of the Prayer Book, while we hold with the most tenacious grasp the essential verities of the Christian faith, we shall be moderate and charitable as to all secondary and circumstantial matters. My Lord, and reverend brethren, in all our expositions of the liturgy, let us ever keep these three vital truths prominently before us: Christ is the way; *true faith* brings us into that way; and loving obedience is the undoubted *proof* of being in that way. As we do this, we shall hold the faith, the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life. "He that in these things serveth Christ is acceptable to God, and approved of men."—(Rom. xiv. 18.)

Rev. Robt. W. Kennion, M.A.

Having been accused of an immoral action, I cannot rest satisfied without explaining the motives which have induced me to become a member of the Church Association. (Cries of "Oh, oh," and confusion.)

The President.—As our time is very limited, I beg of you to allow each speaker fair play. The rev. gentleman has a perfect right to address you, even although he has the moral courage to avow himself a member of the Church Association.

The Rev. Robt. Kennion.—I thought that the opinions of Mr. Bennett neither agreed with the Bible, nor with the opinions of primitive antiquity. I had been taunted by some of my dissenting parishioners with the reproach that my Church held doctrines —viz., those expressed by Mr. Bennett—contrary to the doctrines of Holy Scripture. Believing that to be an untrue accusation I joined the Church Association, in order to ascertain whether the Church to which I belonged did or did not hold the doctrines expressed by Mr. Bennett. The highest court of the realm has declared in the clearest and most positive terms that the doctrines which the Church Association repudiated, and which Mr. Bennett was commonly believed to hold, are not the doctrines of the Church of England. That was the judgment of the Privy Council. With regard to the interpretation put on Mr. Bennett's words I have nothing at all to say.

Mr. Chas. B. Cooper.

I have the honour of belonging to the Protestant Reformed Church of England, and as such I protest—(loud cheers and interruption)—

The Bishop of Winchester here rose to order, but the President rising also, he resumed his seat amidst loud cries of "Chair, chair."

The President.—The Bishop of Winchester desires to ask a question.

The Bishop of Winchester.—I ask the right Rev. Chairman whether it is or is not the rule of the Church Congress that every speaker is to be a member of the Church of England?

The President.—There can be no doubt whatever about the rule which has always prevailed at meetings of the Church Congress, that no one is allowed to address the Congress who is not a member of the Church of England, or of some Church with which the Church of England is in communion. I have asked the question of the present speaker, and he tells me he was born in the Church of England, that he was baptised in the Church of England, that he was confirmed in the Church of England, that he is a communicant of the Church of England, that he is a member of the Church of England, and I rule that he has a right to address the meeting.

Mr. Cooper.—Not only am I a member of the Reformed Church of England, but I happen, at the present moment, to hold the office of lay secretary for the Midland Counties of the Church Association. (Laughter and cheers.) The question before us is the comprehensiveness of the Church of England, and I have a right to express my opinions. I say that, at the present moment, the Church of England is far too comprehensive. ("No, no.") I don't wish to impose my opinions upon you, but I have a right to express them, and when I heard this morning some Rev. gentlemen speak more as if they were Roman Catholics than Protestants,——(Loud cries of "No, no," "Yes, yes," "Name," "Order!" and "Chair.")

The President.—You can't judge of what this gentleman has to say—— (Interruptions, and cries of "Chair, chair!") You can't judge of what this gentleman has to say unless you will hear him. (Renewed cries of "Name, name!" "Chair, chair!")

Mr. Cooper.—Mr. Hillyard.

DR. IRONS.—We are charged with being Roman Catholics. I am one who has spoken, and I protest that I am not a Roman Catholic. (Cheers, more cries of "Name, name!" "Chair, chair!" and "Order!")

The PRESIDENT.—The speaker withdraws his expression. In all our discussions hitherto we have had no personalities, and I trust we shall have none.

MR. COOPER.—Yesterday afternoon I attended a meeting which was called for the purpose, as it was stated in the bill, of promoting the re-union of Christendom. (Cries of "Question.") I am on the question. I say that the Church of England is too comprehensive. Some of our Christian brethren held a meeting in this large town, for the purpose of promoting the re-union of Christendom; and the last resolution agreed to, was as follows:—

"That it is a duty imperative upon all Anglicans, who value the integrity of the Christian belief, to work and pray to the utmost for the corporate re-union of Christendom."

The corporate re-union of Christendom, they will not deny, means re-union with the Western and Eastern Churches. I believe in union with all my heart and soul, but I believe only in union with those Churches which are reformed and orthodox; and I maintain that the Churches of Rome and Greece are neither. I therefore repeat that the Church of England is, in my opinion, already too comprehensive, inasmuch as she contains within her pale those who seek to bring her into union with these corrupt Churches.

ARCHDEACON EMERY.

I AM what has been called by some persons a "moderate." From my birth I have been a member of the Church of England, and I hope to die a member of that Church. From my youth up I have seen all kinds of diversities within the Church of England, and have been a companion and friend of extreme men on both sides. I have always been earnestly desirous that they should not burst the bounds, and have found that, by a little patience, a little prayer, a little self-denial, and a little exercise of the spirit of love and charity, the great majority have been kept from doing so. And why should we desire a breach? High and Low and Broad alike agree that the Church of England holds all the fundamental verities of the Christian faith, and is at the present moment the very centre about which it seems to be possible for the churches of the earth to unite themselves. By all means, as honest, straightforward churchmen and Englishmen, let us meet in public, as well as in private, and boldly express our opinions; but let us be kind one to another. Let us remember that most of the differences of our belief within the Church of England are due mainly to our mental constitutions, and in a great part to the nature of our education. We often find that men who at one time of life were extreme in one direction, become at another time extreme in the other direction. What is wanted is that, according to the mind and spirit of the Reformation, according to the mind and spirit of our Lord and Saviour, we should hold to Him as the Head, and try, within that Catholic and Apostolic branch of the Church of Christ in which we are placed, to work together for the salvation of our brethren and for the good of the world.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, 10th OCTOBER.

The Right Reverend the PRESIDENT took the Chair at Two o'clock.

DAUGHTER CHURCHES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, —THEIR RELATIONS TOWARDS THE MOTHER CHURCH, AND THEIR WORK.

ARCHDEACON BICKERSTETH read the following paper:—

THE general subject upon which I am invited to address you is that of "the Daughter Churches of the Church of England, their relations towards the Mother Church, and their work."

As I shall be followed by those who are far more competent than I am to speak of the actual work of the Daughter Churches, I shall confine myself altogether to the first part of my subject, namely, the relations of these Churches to the Mother Church. Now, in considering these relations, it is essential that we should first of all turn our eyes to ancient principles and precedents, and then see how far they can be applied in the present day to a great branch of the Church Catholic, such as the Anglican Communion.

We find, then, that from the first each Church was settled apart under its own Bishop. Each Bishop acted freely according to his own will and discretion, with the advice of his Presbyters, and the consent of the people; his duty being to feed the flock committed to him, to maintain the unity of the faith, and to promote brotherly intercourse with neighbouring Churches.

With reference indeed to the defence and confirmation of the faith, each Bishop was regarded as a Bishop of the whole Church; and in this respect there was but one Bishopric throughout Christendom.* Thus confederacy and independency were principles of the Church from the beginning.

But as the Church grew and multiplied, it became necessary, for the due advancement of the one faith, and for the maintenance of its integrity, and more especially for dealing with unfaithful Chief Pastors, that the relations of these elementary centres, the one to the other, should be more clearly defined, and that, while still preserving their independence, they should be held together by some bonds of discipline. It was natural that neighbouring Bishops should meet together for conference and counsel, and no less natural and necessary, for the sake of order, that,

* "Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur."—*Cyprian. de Unitate Ecclesiæ.*

Nam etsi pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus, et oves universas quas Christus sanguine suo et passione quæsivit, colligere et fovere debemus.—*Cyprian. Ep.* 68.

when they so met, some one amongst them should preside over the rest. Such an arrangement grew out of the necessities of the case. Traces of it may be seen in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the Apostolic Constitutions. The Churches of a country or district formed groups, their Bishops meeting together for counsel, with one of their number as president.* And as the Church was further developed, it was an obvious thing that these Ecclesiastical divisions should follow the Civil divisions of the Roman Empire. Each province had its Metropolis; and since the Metropolis was generally of convenient access, the Bishop residing there became naturally the presiding Bishop or Metropolitan over the Bishops of that province. Not, indeed, that this was a universal rule. In Africa the custom was for the senior Bishop to preside as Metropolitan.† Sometimes Civil changes led to corresponding Ecclesiastical changes. But, as a rule, the Bishop residing in the Metropolis was a kind of head or chief amongst his brethren; and it became the custom, confirmed afterwards by a Canon of the Nicene Council, that no Bishop was to be elected or ordained without the consent and ratification (κῦρος) of the Metropolitan.‡ It was thus that the single elementary Dioceses came to be grouped together in Provinces, the Metropolitans, in their turn, becoming independent (αὐτοκέφαλοι), though holding brotherly intercourse with the Metropolitans of other Provinces.

It may be noticed that while the Dioceses were thus associated together in Provinces, and while the substance of Christian worship throughout remained the same, every Bishop was at liberty to frame his own Liturgy. By degrees some of the Liturgies thus composed took precedence, and were generally adopted; and these form the basis and material of the Liturgies of Catholic Christendom down to the present day. The early Creeds were the same. There was but one rule of faith.§ Still even the Creeds were sometimes expanded, so as to meet some heresies of the time or country. There is a difference, for example, between the Roman or Apostles' Creed, and the Creed of Aquileia, the words "invisible and impassible" having been introduced into the latter Creed to oppose the Patripassian or Sabellian heresy.

Such were the conditions of the development of the Church, and such the relations of its various branches, at the time when the Nicene Council was summoned; and at that Council these Metropolitan arrangements were confirmed.||

Soon afterwards, when the Emperor Constantine introduced a new division of the Empire, by which divers Civil Provinces were thrown together and combined in one large territory, or Diocese, as it was called, the Ecclesiastical divisions followed this new Civil arrangement; and so

* Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλήν, καὶ μηδέν τι πράττειν περιττὸν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης.—*Can. Apost.* xxxiii. (xxxv.) *Bruns*, p. 5.

† It should be observed, however, that at Carthage the Bishop was a fixed and standing Metropolitan for the province of Africa, properly so called.—*See Bingham.*

‡ Τὸ δέ κῦρος τῶν γινομένων δίδοσθαι καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ.—*Concil. Nic.*, can. iv.

§ Regula fidei una omnium est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis.—*Tertullian.*

|| Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω . . . . Καθόλου δὲ πρόδηλον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι εἴ τις χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ μητροπολίτου γένοιτο ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἡ μεγάλη σύνοδος ὥρισε μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον.—*Concil. Nic.*, canon vi.

there sprung up a new order of spiritual heads, called Exarchs or Patriarchs. Thus the Ecclesiastical Provinces, with their Metropolitans, were gathered up into Patriarchates, the Patriarchs having the same headship over the Metropolitans that the Metropolitans had over the Bishops. It was their privilege, for example, to ordain all the Metropolitans of the Diocese or Patriarchate, to call their Metropolitans and the Bishops of their provinces to a Synod of the Patriarchate; and to receive appeals from the Metropolitans and the Provincial Synods.*

This larger arrangement of Patriarchates was not established at the Council of Nicæa; for it was only about that time that Constantine created the new Civil divisions out of which they grew. But the custom was abundantly recognized and confirmed by later Councils, as that of Constantinople and Ephesus, and particularly that of Chalcedon.†

These Patriarchates were originally of co-ordinate and independent authority; although some order of rank and precedence seems to have been granted or conceded to some of them.‡

It should further be noted that some Ecclesiastical Provinces were, by ancient custom, exempted from any dependency of this kind upon any Primacy or Patriarchate. Amongst these may be mentioned the Cyprian Church, and particularly the ancient British Church before the arrival of Augustine.

It may also be stated, that while the Patriarchates of the East were developed freely, preserving at the same time their independence as co-ordinate branches of the Universal Church, the growing influence and claim to supremacy of the Patriarchate of Rome restrained and crippled this extension in the West, as, indeed, it has hindered its natural development down to the present day.

I now proceed to apply these principles to our National Church, the Church of England.

The 16th century found in this island an ancient Church, which had been intimately connected from the remotest times with the State. But it also found this Church oppressed by a foreign usurpation, not independent, as of old, not in healthy union with a Patriarchate, not in the enjoyment of the freedom of self-government, but in bondage to the Bishop of Rome, himself claiming an irresponsible power over the whole country, by means of which he had succeeded in introducing great corruptions of doctrine, and in seriously compromising the liberty both of Sovereigns and of people. From all this we were liberated by the

* The Metropolitans, indeed, were then to be ordained by the Patriarchs, though before they were ordained by their own Provincial Synod. But still the right of ordaining their own Suffragans was always reserved to the Metropolitans.—*Concil. Chalcedon.*

† The General Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, fixes the limits of the several Patriarchates or Dioceses, and restrains the Patriarchs from interference with other Patriarchates.—*Canon* II.

In the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, the Bishop or Patriarch of Antioch claimed to include the province of Cyprus in his Patriarchate. But the claim was disallowed, although his other claims as Patriarch were readily conceded to him.—See *Bingham*, book II., chap. xvii. 9.

For further evidence see Canons IX. and XVII., of the Council of Chalcedon.

‡ Hæc antiquitus et divisio et regimen in Ecclesiis instituta. Nec certe vel ad pacem in Ecclesiâ conservandam, vel ad jurisdictionem cuique Episcopo suam sartam tectam tuendam, aut facilior aut commodior ulla Paræciarum (*Dioceses*) Provinciarum (*Provinces*) et Diœcesium (*Patriarchates*) distributio fieri potuit aut inveniri.—*Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.—Dr. R. Crakanthorpe*, London, 1625; p. 144, &c.

Reformation; and our National Church again reappeared, holding a close union with the State, made yet closer than ever (almost to the abatement of some of her inherent privileges), in order to protect us from any future similar attempts of any foreign Power upon our liberties. At all events, this great event of the Reformation replaced the English Church in her ancient position of independence of other branches of the Catholic Church; our casting off of the Papal supremacy, and, with that supremacy, the peculiar errors of the Church of Rome, separating us from that communion, and our retention of Episcopacy isolating us, at least in some measure, from the reformed Continental Churches. I mean this, that the Reformation left us separate, in a manner, from the whole of the rest of Christendom. It restored our independence; but it left us without any confederation. Since that time, and more especially within the last 200 years, the British dominions have extended on every side; our Colonies now occupy a large portion of the earth's surface, and commercial enterprise has given us the means of intercourse with almost every part of the world. And, with this wide extension of the British empire and of British interests, efforts have been made, we all know with what signal success, to develope and extend our National Church. I might recall the names of illustrious labourers in this cause, still alive, and present with us to-day. But I cannot refrain from mentioning that of Patteson, of whom we can hardly fail to think when we say, "The noble army of Martyrs, praise Thee," and that of Gray, the noble-hearted and devoted Gray, whose loss the whole Anglican Communion at this moment deplores, and around whose grave the people of South Africa, of whatever creed, have just been meeting with one deep expression of respect and regret. The result is, that in every part of the world, under widely different conditions of race, of climate, and of civil government, offshoots from our own Church have sprung up, many of them flourishing with great vigour,—Christian communities, including a vast number of people, under more than 150 bishops, deriving their orders from the Church of this country.

Now it was natural that, in the first efforts of the reformed English Church to extend her faith and discipline, she should try to reproduce the very counterpart of the Church at home. The Colonist, sincerely attached to the Church of his forefathers, wished to see himself surrounded with all the imagery of that to which he had been accustomed here, and consequently, with all the disadvantages, as well as the advantages, of the State connection.

Nor, it must be admitted, did our legislators of the last century adequately perceive, as we now understand, that the Church is one thing, and the Established Church another thing. They did not mark the difference between the essence of the Church as a Divine institution, and its accidents as an Establishment. Sometimes the Parliament of England interfered to establish the Church abroad; sometimes the local legislature assisted; sometimes the Royal prerogative was invoked for the purpose. But further knowledge of the subject, forced upon us by the difficulties and complications that have arisen in different quarters, has shown how impossible it is, whether by these or other means, to secure for the various branches of the Anglican Communion the same relative Civil status as that of the Mother Church, amid all the varieties

of law, customs, mode of government, and the like, which exist in our various Colonies.

The creation of Missionary Bishoprics beyond the limits of British rule, and the disestablishment of some of the Colonial Churches, alike teach us that we must dismiss altogether the notion of Establishment as a means by which to secure satisfactory relations between the Mother and her Daughter Churches. Such a mode can only hamper their action, and impede their natural and legitimate development.

Where, then, are we to look for the grounds of secure and satisfactory relations between a Church, like our own, intimately connected with the State, and the Daughter Churches, with all their variety of condition, some unestablished, some disestablished, some acknowledging the same Sovereign, some under independent Civil government?

1. There must be, as in the Primitive Church, "one rule of faith." The Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, these must be our first great bond of union. The standards of faith and doctrine must be maintained without alteration. The circumstances of different Dioceses, in different parts of the world, may require new adaptations of the principles of the Prayer Book. But the principles themselves must remain unaltered; and any changes that may be required must be consistent with those principles. It would be easy to mention necessary adaptations, such as prayers for the Civil government of the Colony, or the ruling power of the country, whatever that country might be; a form for the admission of catechumens, and the like. But they should be *bona fide* adaptations, not modifications of the standard of doctrine. It might be competent, for example, to any branch of our Communion to make new regulations with regard to the public use of the Athanasian Creed, or the frequency of the public use; but it does not appear to me that it is competent to any single branch to alter the text of the Creed, which is the common inheritance of Christendom. This, if done at all, would more properly be the work of a Synod of the whole Anglican Communion.

2. Another most important condition of union, founded like the former upon primitive and Catholic usage, is that of the due and canonical subordination of the inferior Synods to the higher. In the development of the Anglican Communion, the necessities of the case have already led to the establishment of Provinces, with their presiding Metropolitans, as in Canada, the East Indies, New Zealand, South Africa, and Australia. The existence of these Provinces implies, as its necessary correlative, that the ancient precedents should be followed, and that the Bishops of the various Provinces should owe allegiance respectively each to his own Metropolitan; the Metropolitan, on his part being subordinate to any higher authority that, by voluntary agreement, may be established.

And then arises the important question whether the Provinces of the Anglican Communion can be linked together in some wider and more comprehensive combination. It is evident that if we are to be held together in years to come in the unity of faith and doctrine, of ritual and discipline, there must be some ligature which shall bind the Provinces in one. Otherwise, in the course of time, one and another may cease to revolve harmoniously in the system, and stray away, like a melancholy planet which has lost its centre of attraction, through the

realms of unknown theological space. Questions are continually arising in the Colonial Church, some of them of an intricate and difficult nature, for the final solution of which, churchmen are wont to look earnestly to the Mother Church. In some of the Colonial Dioceses, the plan has been tried of submitting the acts and resolutions of their Synods to the Archbishop of Canterbury for confirmation. But, one obvious objection to this arrangement is that it throws too much responsibility upon a single prelate, to say nothing of its traversing the rights of the Metropolitan. Moreover, the questions thus submitted often require a practical knowledge of Colonial life and habits and circumstances. But that which could be objectionable as an appeal to the Archbishop in his individual character, would be most desirable as an appeal to him in the capacity of head or president of a large Synod, in which the Provinces of the Anglican Communion are duly represented.* The evil would thus be avoided of leaving the decision of questions entirely in the breast of a single judge. And our Church would become, as indeed, in the Providence of God it seems destined to be, a great Patriarchate of the West, with its Metropolitans and its Bishops, and representatives of its Clergy and Laity meeting together in Synod, as occasion may require, under the presidency of its natural head, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

3. There is one other bond of union growing out of this, and having, like the others, its foundation in the ancient Canons of the Church. I mean the establishment of a Voluntary Spiritual Tribunal, to which questions of doctrine may be carried by the various Provincial Tribunals of the Colonial Church. The constitution of such a Tribunal is not without its difficulties, as has been well shown in the report of the committee appointed by the Lambeth Conference to consider the subject. But, with the safeguards there suggested, these difficulties are not insurmountable; and, a Tribunal so constituted, would be one of the most important instruments for preserving unity in the faith and in doctrine.

I cannot dismiss this subject without saying that I include in it the interests of our Sister Churches, the unestablished Church in Scotland and the disestablished Church in Ireland. These Churches, more especially the latter, greatly need the help of the counsel and moral support that they would gain by the collective wisdom (guided, as we feel assured it would be, by the Holy Spirit) of a Synod of the whole Anglican Communion. And I think I express the earnest desire and longing of this wide-spread Communion, when I give utterance to the hope that his Grace the Primate of all England, in brotherly co-operation with his Grace the Primate of England, and Metropolitan of this Province in which we are now assembled, may soon see fit to convene such a Synod, in which the work so auspiciously begun under the presidency of Archbishop Longley in 1867, may be advanced yet further, and the relations of which I have been speaking may be placed upon a firm and permanent basis.

The principles thus briefly shadowed forth are principles entirely independent of Acts of Parliament and Statute Law, and can of course be

* If it shall so happen that the bishops of any province cannot rectify those things which are laid to the charge of a bishop, they shall then go to a greater Synod of the bishops of that Diocese (Patriarchate), met together for that purpose.—*Concil. Constant. Canon* VI.

only applied so far as they are voluntarily accepted. They belong to that Kingdom which is not of this world. They rest, not upon the shifting sands of human opinion, or the mutable foundations of earthly government, but upon the custom and Canons of the Primitive Church. And surely the view thus presented to us is one which is worthy of this great country and of this ancient Church, which was once a Patriarchate, with York as its centre. The Anglican Communion has proved itself capable of assimilation with all countries to which it has reached, however diverse in manners, laws, and institutions. And it only needs, God helping us, more recognized relations to the Church at home, in accordance with ancient principles, in order that it may become a powerful instrument for preserving the integrity of the British empire. But it may become far more than this. It may do much to promote the unity of Christendom. It may help onwards the Redeemer's Advent. Who shall assign limits to the influence which may be exercised by a great Patriarchate like this, following strictly the ancient footsteps, and bound together in the unity of the Spirit? The eye kindles as it ranges over the ever widening, ever brightening prospect. It sees in the Eastern horizon the glow in the sky which betokens the speedy coming of the Everlasting King.

I will conclude what I have to say, in the words of St. Augustine, "Let those who think I have said too little, or those who think I have said too much, forgive me; and let those who think I have said just enough, join me in giving thanks to God." AMEN.

The DEAN OF CHESTER read the following paper:—

THE managers of this Congress, in doing me the honour to ask me to read this paper, have paid me the further compliment of leaving me free in my choice of topics and my manner of dealing with them. It is understood, indeed, that in that general glance which we are taking to-day over those "Daughter Churches" of England which encircle the globe, I am to fix my attention upon North America. In doing this, I shall omit all mention of the Dominion of Canada, which in fact has imperative claims of its own to be considered separately. I shall limit myself to that Church, some features and operations of which I have had an opportunity of seeing personally, and which is officially termed the "Protestant Episcopal Church" of the United States: and in dealing with this subject I will not quote the authority of any books, or give any careful and elaborate statistics: but I will simply make known some of the impressions, which, after the interval of nearly a year, are still fresh and warm in my mind and heart; and I will further restrict myself to one aspect of this subject, viz., that presented by the General Convention which met last year at Baltimore.

The "Protestant Episcopal Church" of the United States is a very well organized body, acting over a vast region, in the midst of a great number of other religious communions, some of them larger than itself, and in perfect freedom as regards the State. If I might make more definite use of the image which is contained in the word "body," I would

say that the General Convention, which meets every third year in one of the more important cities of the Union, is the backbone of this Church, while the Diocesan Conventions furnish its larger limbs, and the smaller parts of its articulation are found in the parishes—these parishes being not strictly territorial in the English sense, but still being systematic agencies acting locally in connection with fixed religious centres.

In 1871 the General Convention met at Baltimore; and this circumstance invested it with peculiar interest; because in Maryland and near the Potomac the strong antagonistic feelings of the recent Civil War were especially condensed and concentrated. For another reason, too, the fact of the meeting being held in this place was instructive. The last Convention held in Baltimore was in 1808. I visited the small parochial parlour, which then was large enough for the upper House, consisting, I believe, of two Bishops out of a total number of six. Last year there met in this City fifty Bishops in one house, while in the other house were the Delegates, lay and clerical, four and four from each of the corresponding Dioceses, making a total, theoretically, of 400,—practically of about 300. This is one indication of the large growth of this Church. I may present another indication of the same fact in passing. The Bishop of an Eastern Diocese told me that on a recent confirmation tour forty per cent. of his candidates were adults from other communions. The Bishop of a Central Diocese told me that his experience, tested in the same way, gave about twenty per cent.

A stranger commonly learns much from first impressions, especially if he comes to the subject in hand with keen interest, if the scene is very new, and the occasion remarkable. I will briefly describe some of my impressions of the General Convention.

The Church in which the opening service was held, was also the Church in which the Lay and Clerical Deputies met throughout the Convention. This building had no claim to be admired for its architecture: but it was broad and spacious; the galleries round were commodious for the ladies, who were usually present in crowds; the pews on the floor were convenient for the Delegates, who were arranged according to Dioceses; and I confess I have seldom felt a deeper emotion than when, from the raised platform of the shallow apsidal chancel, in which I was placed, I looked over this body of Delegates. In the place where the representatives of each Diocese sat, its name was conspicuously put up in large letters. I ought here to say that each State in the Union is a Diocese, except where subdivision has been found necessary. In this case the Dioceses were set before the eye in their Chronological order, Maryland only, in the modesty of her hospitality, retiring into the background. Thus we had Connecticut in the forefront, then Pennsylvania, Virginia, Massachusetts, in order, and so on to the names of regions which, in 1785 or 1790, were utterly unknown. In looking, again and again, over this array of names, when I called to mind the vast extent of territory here represented, from the St. Lawrence to Texas, from the Atlantic to California—the varied products and industries with which those who speak our language are occupied in the manufactories of the Eastern States, in the mines of the West, over the prairies of the central region, and in the cotton fields and among the sugar-canes of the South—the rapid, almost fabulous,

growth of population in certain districts and cities—the contact of our own race with other races, not simply the Indians, but more particularly the Negroes and the Chinese, and the facility with which it seems to absorb other nationalities, German, Norwegian, and the like—when I reflected further how this Church is related at once to ancient European history and to all the modern communities hurrying and circling around it on the American Continent—how this Church is Protestant, and thus inheriting all the blessings of the Reformation, and yet claiming (and, as I think, justly) to be Catholic, and thus appropriating to itself all the Christian heritage of the past,—when all these things came together into my mind, I could not help being deeply moved. There was borne in upon me the thought of a vast responsibility, of an ever-enlarging hope, of a trust held ready for unknown conditions of society, with the strong conviction that this Church is, more than any other in the world, the Church of the future.

The opening service was in this building, and the sermon preached was worthy of the occasion, very affecting, because it was the utterance of a Bishop whose long and hard work in a Southern diocese had evidently told upon his frame, yet very eloquent, and very religious, and very free from that merely ecclesiastical tinge, to which there is always a temptation in Church assemblies. This sermon had probably no inconsiderable influence in giving a good tone to all the subsequent proceedings of the Convention. I spoke above of a shallow apsidal chancel. In this chancel were closely seated, in three semicircles, round and behind the Holy Table, the fifty Bishops, in the same costume as that which is seen in the English House of Lords. I had the honour of being seated close to them: and when the earlier part of the service was over, I looked round upon their faces. The impression immediately communicated to my mind by that look was this, that our Sister Church in America has for its Bishops a body of strong and able men; and this impression was confirmed by what I learnt afterwards in detail. The American Bishops are for the most men of experience, men of forcible character, and men of action. This result I attribute in a great measure to the fact that in their election, the Laity have an equal voice with the Clergy. But I must turn to the Communion Service at the close. It is the practice in this Church always to have a Hymn from the authorised selection, before the act of communicating, and always to chant the *Gloria in excelsis*, the rest of the service being read in the natural voice. These two slight changes seem to me to give that eucharistic character to the service which with us is sometimes wanting; and to my mind this reading, with the addition of hymns, is more satisfactory than bad intoning throughout. But the *Gloria in excelsis*, as chanted in America, deserves a separate mention. As I heard it on this day, and several times afterwards (once in an immense congregation at the largest church in Brooklyn, on the evening before I sailed for England), it made a deep impression upon me. The use of this Canticle is in America by no means restricted to the Communion Office. It is sung on various occasions, and indeed on almost all occasions of peculiar solemnity and interest, and commonly sung to a chant of great simplicity and beauty, with which every one is familiar;

so that the *Gloria in excelsis* might be called the characteristic Hymn or Creed of the American Episcopal Church. I must be allowed to allude to one of these occasions. The reuniting of the Northern and Southern sections of this Communion, at the close of the war, is one of the most pathetic, one of the most instructive passages of Church History. It is to be hoped that the whole of this story will some time be told in full detail, for it is highly honourable to the Christian feeling of hearts that had been deeply wounded on both sides of a terrible and complicated struggle. Other religious communities, the Methodists, the Presbyterians, the Baptists, which broke into two sections during that war, have not been reunited; and at Baltimore, last year, there were opportunities of observing how sharp and sore the line of division still remains: but in our own Sister Church (or, as I am directed to-day to call it, our Daughter Church) the two parts, through mutual forbearance, and by the triumph of love over distrust, coalesced into one, and at the moment when the union was complete, those who were present broke out instinctively into the chanting of the Hymn *Gloria in excelsis.*

The opening services being over, the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies was duly constituted, by the observance of forms which are very exact, and which it would be tedious to enumerate: the Bishops proceeding to a large vestry (very much larger than any such room in England) attached to a Church in another street. The Bishops meet with closed doors. I cannot help expressing my regret that this rule has not been adopted by our Sister Church in Ireland. In America I am sure it is a rule of great importance.

Though these doors are closed, I was allowed to have the privilege of passing through them, for I was the bearer of a respectful message from the Cathedral body at Chester: and of course I must not divulge the secrets of this Episcopal Chamber, especially as I was told that no other Presbyter had ever been similarly present. I may just say this, that each Bishop is seated there with his own separate writing-desk before him. It was evident to me that opinions were expressed by them very frankly and freely. I was credibly informed that debates among the Bishops had at many Conventions been warm and even hot. This present Convention opened with very anxious feelings in their minds. It ended not only with a sense of relief, but with deep thankfulness, and with a conviction that the internal peace and strength of the Church had been largely increased. This was said to me again and again by Bishops of various habits of thought.

At the debates in the Lower House I was frequently present, during the three weeks through which the Convention lasted. In these debates there were the usual features. There was good speaking, and there was bad speaking. There was weighty argument, and there was noisy declamation. In such a scene much, of course, depends upon the Chairman. The rules of the House are very precise. I thought them almost too numerous and minute; but the criticisms of a stranger are often only marks of ignorance. One part of the proceedings struck me very forcibly, viz., the immediate cessation of business, and the respectful pause which took place, when a message came (and such messages came very frequently) from the House of Bishops. Speaking of the matter theolo-

gically and ecclesiastically, it was easy to see that in that assembly the same parties were present which exist among ourselves; but I must add, that these parties seemed to me less pronounced and extreme in America than with us, and that, on the whole, an excellent spirit of of moderation appeared to be widely diffused through this representative assembly, a fact which (if it is a fact) I account for by the official presence of carefully chosen Laymen, who have had previous experience in Diocesan Conventions, and who speak on every subject on equal terms with the Clergy. I may make here this further remark, that the General Convention has, so far as I can judge, a very important effect in diminishing theological diversities, and equalising religious sentiment, among the various Dioceses of the country. It would be easy to point out differences of ecclesiastical complexion between New York and Pennsylvania for instance, or between Maryland and Virginia; but these differences are much assuaged by the great fact of this triennial gathering, to which all the Dioceses owe allegiance. There has been a disposition lately to discuss the propriety of forming Provincial Conventions, to include local groups of Dioceses. That there would be advantages in such an arrangement, I do not doubt; but the planning of it in detail would require very great prudence. It would certainly be a serious evil if anything were to detract from the commanding and unifying influence of the General Convention.

I may turn now just to touch some of the subjects discussed at Baltimore. There has been, as we know, a curious tendency in modern English controversy, during the last thirty years, to revolve round the two Sacraments, so that they might almost be called the two foci of a theological ellipse: and that with which we are so familiar in our own country finds its counterpart in America.

For some time before the meeting of the General Convention, there had been much uneasiness in certain quarters regarding the fair limits of interprctation of one part of the Baptismal Office, so that there was danger to the Church of losing the services of some excellent Clergymen, unless their consciences could be relieved. It is understood that the Bishops began their conference with three days of very anxious debate on this subject. At length, the matter was brought to a conclusion by the following declaration:—"We, the subscribers, Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, in council assembled, being asked, in order to the quieting of the consciences of sundry members of the said Church, to declare our convictions as to the meaning of the word 'regenerate' in the Offices for the Ministration of Baptism for Infants, do declare that, in our opinion, the word 'regenerate' is not there so used as to determine that a moral change in the subject of Baptism is wrought in the Sacrament." This declaration was signed by forty-eight Bishops, and duly entered on the minutes of the Upper House, and the fact was formally notified to the Lower House. Now, it is no part of my business here to enter into any doctrinal question. But I may make two remarks on the practical bearings of this occurrence. Careful attention should be given to the word "determine." The Bishop who suggested this word told me that it suddenly occurred to him after a sleepless night, and that, on the word being suggested

when the Bishops met again, it was at once accepted, and settled the difficulty. Next, it should be observed that the declaration, so worded, while it gives relief to one class of minds, imposes no restraint on another class. Those who believe that a moral change is wrought in the infant by the act of Baptism are still at liberty to believe this: but the language of the Office does not "determine" this. The declaration has had an excellent effect, and, while fettering none, has delivered some from serious disquietude: the result has been in the direction of liberty; and I am not sure that the words thus agreed on at Baltimore may not, sooner or later, be found helpful to some in the Mother Church at home.

No one will be surprised to hear that by far the largest amount, both of time and excitement, was spent in the Lower House, in discussing the limits of Ritual which are allowable in connection with the other Sacrament. A somewhat stringent canon, in reference to this subject, was agreed on in the House of Bishops—and communicated in a message to the Lower House; but in the end, after long debate, was not accepted. The manner and result of the voting in this case are instructive. If the Clerical and Lay Delegates had voted simply as individuals, there would have been a decisive majority for this stringent canon. But the voting was taken by Dioceses, just as the separate States of the Union will vote as States in the coming Presidential Election. The result was that in some Dioceses both the Lay votes and the Clerical votes neutralised one another, and the canon failed for want of a sufficient coalescence of the two orders. The Lay votes, however, were in a good majority for the canon; the Clerical votes were almost equally divided. On this the following resolutions were proposed by one of the Clerical delegates from California, and adopted with scarcely a dissentient voice, "that while this Convention deems it inexpedient to make any additional enactments in the matter of Ritual, it hereby expresses its decided condemnation of all ceremonies, observances, and practice which are fitted to express a doctrine foreign to that set forth in the authorised standards of this Church," and "that, in the judgment of this House, the paternal counsel and advice of our Right Reverend Fathers, the Bishops of the Church, is deemed sufficient at this time to secure the suppression of all that is irregular and unseemly, and to promote greater uniformity in conducting the public worship of the Church, and in the administration of the Holy Eucharist." The practical result of this debate is not doubtful. There is a great deal of deep feeling on both sides—and indeed on all sides; but a strong hope exists that the spirit of moderation will prevail; and there is, upon the whole, throughout the Church, and especially among the Bishops and the Laity, a firm determination that the Reformation settlement of this grave question shall be maintained.

From the doctrinal points which were conspicuous in the debates of this Assembly I will turn to the practical; and here, again, I may select two subjects, the final adoption of an improved Hymnal for public use in the Church, and certain definite results attained in regard to the official Ministry of Women in the Church.

From an early date, the importance of using Hymns in Public Worship, and the wisdom of using authorised Hymns have been accepted

in this Church as settled principles. I am not aware that Brady and Tate, or Sternhold and Hopkins, were ever bound up by authority with the American Prayer Book. Moreover, there has been a full disposition to recognise the fact that, during the present century, many new Hymns of great value, both in England and America, have come into existence. I may allude to two such. There are some stanzas of most hearty Christian devotion, composed by the author of the "Star-Spangled Banner;" and when I heard them sung in a church in Washington, where once he was an office-bearer, I could not but feel how worthy they are to be so employed; while it is a high gratification to me to be able to state that a Hymn, which at the last moment was introduced at Baltimore into the New Collection, was one of great beauty, composed very recently by a Cheshire Clergyman. For a few years before this collection was completed and adopted, the option had been allowed, within defined limits, of more collections than one, and a committee had been appointed for the careful and deliberate preparation of the new book. Now all is settled, and printers and musical composers are busy in preparing editions of the book in the requisite variety. As to the new Hymnal itself the important points are these, not that it is the best possible Hymnal, but that it is a very good one, that its use is imperative upon all congregations, and that no other is allowed. I believe that the course which the American Episcopal Church has followed in this matter has saved it from a great deal of discord and extravagance.

As regards the official and authorised Church Ministry of Women, in like manner, a definite result was reached at Baltimore, after a period of discussion and experiment. The two features of the case were these, that a clear conviction seems to have been attained that a Church, in order to accomplish its work fully, ought to have an authorised ministry of women, and that in a Church like this in America, such a ministry ought to be not independent of the Bishops, but Diocesan and Parochial; not conventual, but acting freely in combination with all the rest of Church work. It is a significant fact, that a paper of principles and rules for a system of Deaconesses in the Church of England, published rather more than a year ago, with the approving signatures of several of our own Bishops, was publicly brought forward at Baltimore, and apparently accepted without reserve. Another remarkable fact is this, that, while other questions, as we have seen, were anxiously debated without any conspicuous agreement of votes at the close, a resolution relating to the expediency of reviving in the Church "The Primitive order of Deaconesses," was, on the motion of a Delegate from Massachusetts, unanimously carried. It is perhaps still more important to quote that Pastoral Letter of the Bishops, the reading of which closes, with great solemnity, the business of the Convention. This pastoral letter, signed by all the Bishops, and read afterwards, I believe, in every Church in every Diocese, is a very weighty and serious document; and in this document it is prominently remarked that "the organisation of woman's work had been a special feature" of the recent Convention, while "the revival of the Scriptural Diaconate of women" is earnestly commended to the sympathy and the prudence of the Church at large. When I add that already, in the Diocese of Long Island, seven Deaconesses—four for parish work, three for work in insti-

tutions—have, during the last Spring, been formally and publicly set apart by the Bishop, who, in his Annual Letter, says that "there has been a remarkable and unlooked for advance in the feeling and opinions of the whole Church in this matter"—that "evidently the time is come to translate feeling into practice, and opinion into fact"—that he has taken this step "with the active sympathy and the full endorsement of every member of the Diocesan Council"—that, in his opinion, "there can be no doubt, that in this matter of organising the services of godly women, we are on the eve of great and salutary changes"—and that further, in answer, as he believes, to prayer, a spacious residence has been recently given for a Deaconess-house by one who has passed through much sorrow,—I think I can hardly be rash in expecting that the experience in this matter of the Daughter Church in America may, in the end, be found of some service to the anxious Mother Church in England.

If the salutary law which limits the time of readers and speakers in this Congress were not inexorable, I should have wished to state other important facts connected with the Baltimore Convention, especially the meetings of the Board of Missions, night by night, throughout those busy three weeks—not to disturb those who come to the Convention, and draw them away from its proper business—but meetings officially connected with it, and relieving the dryness and heat of discussion by presenting Christianity on its devotional, practical, and missionary side. And I should be glad also to dwell on the far-reaching sympathies which are evident in this Transatlantic Church, as regards, for instance, those internal movements for reform in the Roman Catholic world, which have been most intelligently and carefully watched for some years by Americans, and have now found means for expressing themselves in the Old Catholic Congress; and, again, as regards that warm interest in the Greek Church, which showed itself immediately after the battle of Navarino in earnest efforts for the religious and useful education of Greek-speaking women, efforts which are continued to the present day, and which seem almost to have been a prophecy of that singular and most amicable meeting of Anglican and Byzantine Christianity, which has now taken place at Behring's Straits.

Having said this, I will conclude with a remark which will, I hope, have the concurrence of all here present. We seem to be living in a time of the world, when our attention ought to be given very carefully to the details of what might be called International Christianity. The public press is always reminding us of what the French term the solidarity of nations. I trust nothing will ever disturb the solidarity of the Churches of the Anglican Communion. We have much to learn from the Churchmen of the United States; and they are very willing to learn from us. A slight incident impressed me one day very much, when I was with the poet Longfellow in his private study. He shewed me Coleridge's own copy of the first edition of the "Sibylline Leaves." In that first edition are some lines (they are omitted in later editions) by the American artist, Washington Allston, on the feeling which ought to subsist between his country and ours. As to Allston himself there was a manuscript note in Coleridge's own

handwriting, saying that he was "an artist born in the nineteenth century to renew the glories of the sixteenth." But it is the lines themselves which recur to my memory. We may surely apply to the two churches what is said there of the two countries, that though the waters of the ocean roll between us,

> Our joint-communion breaking with the sun,
> Yet still from either beach,
> More audible than speech,
> The voice of blood shall reach,
> "We are one."

ADDRESSES.

Bishop Ryan made the following address:—

Before I proceed to speak on the subject entrusted to me, I wish to repeat the words of grateful and affectionate respect which have already been uttered of the Bishop of Capetown. When I was working in one of the daughter Churches, not very far from his see, I was very much refreshed and strengthened by the help he offered to give, and did give to me, coming as a stranger to those parts. Especially I desire to mention our intense gratitude to him for the relief he afforded to us who were working in the Colonies, when he took that noble, faithful, vigorous stand against those false notions that were circulated from the Diocese of Natal. Perhaps you may think it strange (it was a matter of very amicable conversation between us) that I always deprecated the union of Mauritius with Capetown, as its Metropolitan see. Anyone, looking at a map of the world, would suppose that the other Dioceses of South Africa were correctly joined to that see; but when you came to the Mauritius you would find it was very alien in many respects to the Diocese of Capetown. An important part of the Diocese of Mauritius is only twenty-one days from Lambeth, but we had no regular communication with Capetown. Our population was partly African, and representatives of all parts of India; and the chief language spoken amongst the principal inhabitants was French. We had French laws with reference to the tenure of land, and method of bequeathing property. And when we come to look into the elements of our population, and circumstances of our work, we find that we, in Mauritius, are more naturally allied to India than Capetown, and there are many other reasons why it was important for us to retain our connection with Canterbury. With reference to the English-speaking people, what were the circumstances? Instead of English people remaining as they did in the temperate zone of Capetown or New Zealand, it is the almost universal rule to remain but for a short time. In the first place, as I once stated to the Secretary of State, in a letter on the subject, "the English element of our population is continually shifting. The governor and the heads of departments in the Civil Service, the generals and the officers of the different Corps of Engineers, Royal Artillery, and Line Regiments, Ordnance and Commissariat, and the members of our mercantile firms, are only here for comparatively short periods of time; and, as a rule, they come to us with a wish to join the Church of England while here, and with the intention of returning to her ministrations at home when they leave the Colony. Now, I am quite sure that there would be a strong tendency on the part of many, rather to join congregations which should profess to keep up the relationship to the Church of the mother country. Any exercise of necessary discipline would be likely to lead to the establishment of such congregations because they reside here only for a few years; and they wish to be joined to a Church exactly like that they have left, and will return

to. For that reason we keep in close connection with the see of Canterbury." With reference to the relations of these daughter Churches to the mother Church, there is one point upon which I wish to say a few words, although it may appear rather familiar to an audience like this. But I think you will bear with me when you hear the circumstances. What the daughter Churches look for very anxiously is, that they may have real and earnest sympathy from home in the various trials—and some of them are very severe indeed—through which they pass. The introduction of this topic will lead me at once to mention the very honoured name of Archbishop Longley. He wrote to me twice, and asked me to come to the Pan-Anglican Synod at Lambeth. My reply was, that we had a fearful pestilence in our midst, by which 33,000 people were swept away, in some cases whole families. I then gave him one or two instances of the terrible trial. And now I will read to you the beautiful and paternal letter he sent back to me—a letter which did incalculable good to our people.

Addington Park, Sept. 18, 1867.

"My Dear Lord,—Although I am almost overwhelmed with business connected with the approaching Conference, and this my Ordination week, I cannot refrain from expressing to you, in a few lines, my deep and cordial sympathy with you in your great trial. May it please God to stay this plague by His word of power, and to support you under all that He has pleased to lay upon you. It is, however, a most noble call to be commissioned to minister to such distress as you describe; and my heart bleeds to think of all the sorrow and suffering your poor people have been undergoing. I do trust that the dread calamity is by this time mitigated, and that you are permitted to have some rest from your toil. May it please God to bless and comfort you in your tribulation, and to make all this distress work together for the good of yourself and your people."

That was the address of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and when he died, one of the leading merchants in Mauritius wrote to me, telling me they were all grieved to hear of the death of that good Archbishop of Canterbury, who had felt so much for them in their time of bitter trial. To take a wider instance. In that deeply interesting account of the presentation of the address, sent by the American Church, we see again that deep sympathy which makes the strength of the Church of Christ. And when there is this kind of interchange of offices of love, what have we to fear? Will you bear with me a single moment when I tell you that when we, who have been labouring to the utmost of our strength, are compelled to come home—sent home imperatively often—we do feel most deeply the unkind remarks made by those who perhaps have never left the shores of England. I feel constrained to say that, and I am thankful you have accepted it as you have. Now, with reference to the working of those daughter Churches, the primitive Church has often been referred to this morning. I would now direct your attention to a page in its history which bears upon the subject of the daughter Churches of the Church of England. We read of the peculiar situation of Alexandria. "The whole East was at her eastern gate, Africa expanded her unbounded continent from the western and southern, her northern opened upon a sea which washed the shores of the greatest part of the known world. Thus she was the mart of all nations, and her Church had a field of labour wide beyond that of any other, Rome itself not excepted. The conversion of the heathen thus continually occupied her attention." (Evans's Biography of the Early Church; first series, page 291.) Much more comprehensive in its position with reference to the heathen is the Church of England, with her daughter Churches in Africa, Asia, Australia, and America. The words of old apply to us: "Behold, I have set before thee an open door." It is very wide open indeed, and if we only take those daughter Churches we shall find there is opportunity for us in every one of them to try and fulfil the obligation we contract when we ask God to be pleased "to make His way known upon earth, His saving health among all nations." Let me speak for a moment of the diocese with which I am best acquainted. In Mauritius you have an island forty miles by thirty. Three-fourths of the population are Indian, and from all parts of India—Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. Ten languages of India are spoken there. Supposing a bishop of the daughter Church

looked upon that mass, his feeling would be one of despondency and despair, unless he had the mother Church to rely upon; unless he had those noble Missionary Societies to which he could appeal, and ask for help when it was required. That help was very earnestly and persistently asked, and nobly and constantly given; and I am thankful to be able also to record my gratitude to them for the way in which they acknowledge the daughter Churches. To those who have to do with the diocese of Mauritius tidings have been brought continually that the most frightful slavery was going on on the eastern coast of Africa. The circumstances were thoroughly investigated, and it was proved from the evidence of Bishop Mackenzie, one of those noble spirits who have gone before—and the testimony of Dr, Livingstone and Mr. Stanley, and of your naval officers, that some of the fairest and most fertile regions of the earth are being depopulated by that abominable slave-trade. It is shown that from one port 20,000 at least are exported every year, and Dr. Livingstone's conclusion is the same as that I myself had arrived at, namely, that for every one that becomes a slave, there are at least five other victims whose lives are sacrificed. This has been brought before the English people from the Isle of Mauritius ever since the year 1866; it has been spoken of to large assemblies in London, and it was spoken of in the Congress at Nottingham; and, in going out to Mauritius the other day, I found out this was going on as badly as ever; but on coming to England I found that the Bishop of Winchester had been pleading the cause of the poor slaves in the House of Lords. I found, too, that there was a great meeting in the Mansion House, and then that the matter was introduced into the Queen's Speech. And I hope the result of the thing being mentioned here to-day will be to give more help to the daughter Church of Mauritius, and others interested in the abolition of the abominable slave-trade.

The Rev. J. H. Iles made the following address:—

In obedience to the committee, I rise to speak side by side with three bishops, who have a practical experience of the subject before us of which I cannot boast, and I therefore owe the explanation, that I have been asked to speak because I had the happiness of being allowed to travel last year with Bishop Selwyn in America and Canada, and thus personally saw something of Church work in those countries. I shall limit my remarks to Canada, and endeavour to express opinions which I have gathered from its residents. As to the work of the Church in Canada, it is sufficient to quote one remark from a report made to Bishop Oxenden, after he was in 1869 elected Metropolitan. "The present Dean of Montreal was ordained by the first Anglican Bishop of Canada, Dr. Jacob Mountain. That Bishop commenced his work in 1793 with five clergy in the whole province, with which his diocese was co-extensive. Now there is a metropolitical see embracing five separate dioceses, with 430 clergy." In 1871 there were 450 clergy, and this is quite sufficient to tell us of the greatness and increase of the work of the Church in Canada. In 1857 the power of self-government and the right of electing bishops was conferred upon the Church. Two new dioceses were at once formed; and the taste of independence only created the desire of a real union with the mother Church. Accordingly, the Provincial Synod resolved to petition the Archbishop of Canterbury to convene a Synod of the Bishops of the whole Anglican Communion. The result is well known; but it is not so generally known that to Canada we owe the first suggestion of the Lambeth Conference of 1867. The love for the mother country, which causes children born in Canada to speak of England as their home, is very strong; but there is the same feeling elsewhere; and equally in America and the colonies does there exist a strong desire for a closer union with the mother Church. The present relations between the mother and her daughter are very indefinite. Certainly the money relation is a very important one; and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel alone expends £10,000 a year on mission work in Canada. But, however great may be the work done by our Missionary Societies,

the time has come when it ought no longer to be left to committees, or it may be to secretaries, sitting in London, and irresponsible to the Church at large. There is the new district of Manitoba, stretching away 1000 miles from the Red River to the Rocky Mountains. The Dominion of Canada is sparing no pains or expense to develope it: railways are being made, the climate is free from extremes of cold, and already numbers of people are settling there, with the prospect of their being followed by thousands when the railways are opened. Can it be right that the Church should be content to leave their spiritual welfare to the efforts of the Bishop of Rupert's Land, and to the chance support which he may obtain from home societies and through deputations to our great towns, receiving only a niggardly response for an overwhelming necessity? In Canada, similar Church societies are fast being merged in the Diocesan Synods; for, as the report above referred to well says, "the Church Society is only a voluntary association within the Church: the Synod is the proper representative body of the Church itself." To meet such needs as the above, there ought to be a General Board of Missions for the Anglican Communion; there ought to be no clashing on the mission field of the agents of different branches of the Church: they should have their distinct fields, or rather they should work together on the same field. Where there has been a failure, let the missionaries of another branch take up the work. Stanley the American, not Dawson the Englishman, relieved Livingstone. Here is a matter not of envy, but of happy omen for our missions, which require the dash of St. Paul—what the American can so well supply—just as much as the caution of St. Peter—in which the Englishman seldom fails. Surely the highest aim of the Anglican Communion should be to attach conjointly such fields as those of India and China; and when, on December 20th next, we shall so many of us unite in asking God's special blessing on our mission work, may we not expect that His answer will be, not to England only, but to the whole Communion, as it was in days of old, when He said unto Moses, in answer to his prayer, "Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward." The impossibility of the Red Sea was as great as any that besets us now: unity of action alone could overcome it. But such a Board of Missions can only be originated in one way, and that is by the action of a Pan-Anglican Synod or Patriarchal Council, assembled from time to time as occasion requires. And it is such a Synod that the Church in America and in our Colonies desires. The daughter Churches know more of Synods than the mother does. Already they have their Diocesan and Provincial Synods; and when, with their experience, they ask for the supreme Synod as the crown of their system, it can only be right that the mother Church should carefully weigh their petition. That such is largely the desire in Canada I know well, through correspondence and other means. Two quotations will be sufficient. A Bishop writes thus: "You have no idea how that Conference tended to unite the Anglican Church, and we cannot rest till it be repeated. The lesson taught was greater than could be taught by a century of writing and preaching. Men have unlearned their insularity of ideas. They feel that such great questions as the Revision of the Authorised Version, the Reunion of Christendom, the "Filioque," and the Athanasian Creed, could be dealt with by such a Synod in a way adequate to their importance." And a presbyter writes: "Nothing can well be more important than that the due subordination of the various parts and members of the whole body should be definite, and practically settled without delay. The Irish Church is proceeding as if she had no one to care about but herself. The same disposition is manifest in other quarters. Events follow each other so rapidly, that unless the mother Church gathers her children round her speedily, and induces them to know each other and all to look to her, and regard each other in all that they do, some one or other of the daughter Churches may take some serious step, and forfeit her legitimate position among the rest. The sooner there is another Lambeth Conference, with such improvements as time and experience have indicated, the better." In the constituting and assembling of such a Synod there must be difficulties; we have no right to expect otherwise: our Master bids us to expect difficulties. Let the Anglican Communion only become conscious of, and show her strength, and many an obstacle will at once disappear. This present is

a time when God is expecting much from our Church in return for all His blessings. Those who ascend the spiritual heights are declaring that the mission fields are whiter and whiter for harvest. And it may be also that the Anglican Communion shall be the instrument chosen by God to restore unity to Christendom. But first we must draw closer the bonds that unite the mother and her daughter; and may God grant that we do so, before, like Jacob in olden days, we have to lament over a child and say, "One is not."

The Bishop of Lichfield made the following address:—

The late Bishop of Mauritius has said I shall probably take you to New Zealand. That may possibly be the case. If my charity begins at New Zealand, it is not likely it will end there, because I have come before you to-day chiefly in the character of the secretary for the Bishops of the Anglican communion, appointed at the Lambeth Conference in December, 1867. That is, I believe, at present almost the only result of that Conference in the way of practical organisation. But, feeling as I do the responsibility of bringing before a meeting like this, the wise counsels and proposals that are embodied in the very carefully worded reports of that meeting, I must endeavour to impress upon you a portion at least of my own firm conviction, that there has not been since the time of the Reformation a more important event for the whole Anglican communion than that Conference. I believe, if you will take the pains to read carefully through the reports presented to that Conference in December, 1867, you will agree with me in thinking that there is contained in them an almost complete answer to the question put before us this evening. You may easily suppose that one's remarks on a subject like this might be expanded into an hour or more, and therefore I must confine myself to one practical point. The Prolocutor of the Lower House of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury left one subject almost untouched. A special committee was appointed by the Lambeth Conference, to consider the question of the constitution of a voluntary spiritual tribunal, to which questions of doctrine might be carried by appeal from tribunals for the exercise of discipline in each province of the Colonial Church. I happen to be able to illustrate this matter by a rather widely gathered expression of opinion, from eminent men, in various portions of our sister Churches, and the object of that voluntary spiritual tribunal will, I think, appear to you all when you consider the relation between the mother Church and the daughter Churches and their work. I put the two things together, because I know of no work which can be effectual which is not a united work. Nothing is more possible at any moment than that this great body of ours, for want of some mode of arbitration, should resolve itself into a number of petty sects and divisions which would lose altogether in its disruptions the very character of a Christian Church. We have that danger staring us in the face in England. The great branch of the Church in America is subjected to the same danger at any moment. We pray against it perpetually in that prayer which is to be found in the Accession Service, where we take to heart our unhappy differences. The object of that spiritual voluntary tribunal to which I have referred, is to provide a mode by which, in agreement with Apostolic precedent, these unhappy divisions can be removed. When divisions began in the primitive Church they were settled on the same plan, whether they related to the distribution of alms amongst the congregation, or to ceremonial, or to discipline. On the subject of Circumcision, when disputation arose, threatening to ruin the peace of the Church, they went up to the Apostles at Jerusalem and took counsel with them on the matter. I say we are beset with these difficulties; they meet us continually; they are magnified and distorted in every possible way; they array themselves even in a garment as angels of light. They are put forward under the plea of conscience. Every man has a conscience of his own, and the conscience of one man is diametrically opposed to that of another. And thus our Church, instead of being united together in the unity of the spirit, and in the bond of peace, represents all those various shades of opinion which were let loose at the time of the Reformation by a mistaken notion of what was

meant by private judgment. Now, dear friends, none of us deny the right of private judgment. Most of us know what it is. But private judgment does not mean the use of uninstructed judgment—the very first thought as it comes to the surface of the mind. We know we have the right of private judgment in the interpretation of the Bible; but most of us accept the same Authorised Version. So in very many matters we are all bound up one with another, by the Providence of God, in one great system, in which our own judgment, however free in theory, is subordinated to the opinions of our fellow-creatures. But in the Church, that rule of common sense, which prevails elsewhere, is not sufficiently taken into account. In the army, it is perfectly understood that the soldier submits his private judgment to authority, and therefore he never disobeys orders. He always recognises the commander-in-chief, and he, like the whole army, feels the advantage of it. If he did not obey orders he knows he would probably risk his own life and that of others. Even in matters of dress every soldier knows how necessary it is to be subordinate. An officer of a Rifle Brigade does not put on a scarlet coat instead of a green one in order to show his superior courage; nor does a regiment assume the uniform of the enemy, because they know perfectly well if they did this they would very likely get fired upon by their own friends. Now, what do we do? One man puts on a black gown and says—"I am a better Protestant than you are." Another puts on a white gown and says—"I am a better Catholic than you are." And thus we look upon one another as enemies, and fire upon each other. It is against all this that the Lambeth Conference entered its protest—against any use of private judgment to the hindrance or injury of the public good. It was for this that that Conference proposed a plan applicable to all branches of the Anglican communion, whereby all disputes, whether of doctrine or discipline, should be submitted to a tribunal. The Lambeth Conference proposed there should be a spiritual tribunal simply to determine whether any kind of teaching or practice, which is called in question, is or is not permissible. The limitation of the right of private judgment can be defined only by the voice of the Church. It has pleased God that our Prayer Book, with a few exceptions, such as the omission of the Athanasian Creed, in the American Church, should have become the common inheritance of 150 Dioceses, scattered over various parts of the earth. That the Synod of the Church in New Zealand framed its Synodical organisation upon this principle of unity with the Mother Church, and submission to a tribunal of appeal, will be seen from the following extracts:—

"This branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand doth hold and maintain the Doctrine and Sacraments of Christ as the Lord hath commanded in His Holy Word, and as the United Church of England and Ireland hath received and explained the same in the Book of Common Prayer, &c., and in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. And the General Synod shall also hold and maintain the said Doctrine and Sacraments, and shall have no power to make any alteration in the Authorised Version of the Holy Scriptures, or in the above-named formularies of the Church. Provided, that nothing herein contained shall prevent the General Synod from accepting any alteration of the above-named formularies and version of the Bible, as may from time to time be adopted by the United Church of England and Ireland with the consent of the Crown and of Convocation. The General Synod shall establish a tribunal or tribunals in New Zealand, for the purpose of deciding all questions of doctrine and discipline; *and also may establish a Court or Courts of Appeal* from the decisions of any such tribunal."

The Bishop of Sydney is adopting a plan of the same kind. He is about to submit it to his own Convention, the plan of a voluntary tribunal of appeal, as the only way in which the Dioceses in Australia can be kept together, and retained in union with the Church at home. Questions of doctrine and ritual might arise which might be diversely decided in different diocesan synods, and as they could not get at the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council without going through the civil courts of the colony, after a good deal of deliberation and consultation with the Lord Chancellor and the Archbishop of Canterbury, a plan of a consensual tribunal for deciding appeals from the Church courts of Australia was

agreed upon, and the two Archbishops, the Bishop of London, and four lay members of the Judicial Committee, agreed to act as an appellate tribunal in matters of doctrine and ritual, if appointed by the General Synod of Australia. To carry you to a still wider field, Bishop Smith, the senior presiding Bishop of the American Church, who has been Bishop of Kentucky since 1832, proposes to divide the dioceses in the United States into provinces, and to hold a national council once in ten years, composed of the presiding Bishops of the provinces, with clerical and lay deputies. In the Bishop's words:—

"The national councils, held in the spring of the decennial years, would naturally elect their primates or presiding bishops to the patriarchal council, to be held either at Lambeth or Canterbury, in the autumn of the same year, together with a certain number of bishops, presbyters, and laymen from the several provinces. The legislative functions of this body would be exceedingly limited; mainly confined perhaps, to the Holy Scriptures, the ancient Creeds, and the Prayer-book. It is presumed that the more frequent friendly intercourse between the different branches of the Anglican Church now scattered over the world, and the rapidly increasing facilities for intercommunication must, at no very remote time lead to some such organisation as that here sketched. The sooner therefore it is brought under consideration the better."

The speech of the Bishop of Lichfield was here cut short. If time had been allowed he would have concluded with the following words:—

If the rules of this Congress admitted any resolutions to be proposed I should have desired to take the opinion of the meeting on these points.

1. Whether the time has not come when the Archbishop of Canterbury ought to be invited to undertake the office of Patriarch of the whole Anglican Communion?

2. Whether it is not necessary for the order and unity of the Anglican Communion that a Patriarchal Council should be convened, at stated times, by the Archbishop of Canterbury?

3. Whether it would not be most desirable that the Patriarchal Council should establish a voluntary spiritual tribunal, to which questions may be carried by appeal from the tribunals for the exercise of discipline in every province or Diocese of the Anglican Communion?

I commend these questions to the earnest consideration of the members of this Congress.

Bishop Piers Claughton made the following address:—

The expression introduced into the subject this afternoon, of Daughter Churches, is one which at this day we all thoroughly understand, and know what it means; but the idea was not well understood some forty years ago. When the great step was taken of increasing some tenfold the number of such Churches, by sending bishops to places which had hitherto been without them, it seemed at first a rash experiment. There were a great many in England who rejoiced in the step taken, but many looked upon it with misgiving. As one who has had some part in doing the work in two of those daughter Churches, I should like to bring before you a portion of my experience. The relation I should like to consider is not so much your duty and relation as a parent Church to the daughter Churches, as the effect that the creation of them has had upon you, and is likely to continue to have. The daughter Churches have not only been useful to you as a field for your Christian liberality, but they have been a kind of test of the truth and reality of your own Christian religion. Here in England you have, as it were, one kind of work; one type of men with whom to deal. You are ever amongst English people. I do not for a moment underrate the difficulties and hard work you have to do, and the wearying labour to be done in the towns and villages; but still there is no fair trial, as it were, of the expansiveness of or elasticity of the system, unless you see it tried amongst the various races of mankind.

The first benefit which arises to a man who finds himself at work in a distant land amongst races and places he had no idea of before, except from books, is to test and prove the power of the gospel which we are preaching here, in a manner you would little think of. He will become aware from actual experience that this Church of England is indeed true, because her form of worship, her creeds, her entire organisation are with the slightest alterations, just as apt, and fit, and convenient for all these new races as for the English people at home. I myself never, I confess, knew the value of our English Prayer Book, until I saw how much it fell in with the wants of every race. I never saw how Scriptural our Church was, in the main parts of her system, until I saw that her missionaries, faithfully working, found themselves not hampered and hindered, but simply helped and strengthened by all those laws and regulations, even to some of the most minute points, they brought with them from England. But more important than all, no man can stand in the face of heathen races, or find himself preaching the gospel to those who are yet heathen, by no fault of their own, but because by the Providence of God the gospel has not yet reached them, without the same convictions. And when he finds himself met by blank unbelief, or positive denial, at first, very often, by natural contempt, he is driven into his own soul to try and examine himself, and see whether it is true, after all, that he has a right to bring this faith of his to different races, and expect them to receive it from his lips. And this is a test of the truth of our Christianity—a test I, myself, never knew the importance of until I had passed through the experience. It is not as if I felt from the first there would be success. I declare there were moments, I will not say that doubt assailed me, but I did feel a dread of having to answer such questions, and finding what I had hitherto held sacred fail me. And when I tell an audience like this that I had to address assemblages to which I was a stranger, and that a great deal of what I said was likely to present itself to them as impossible, you will see the difficulties to contend against. But I found that the simple telling of the old gospel story, pointing them to the sky, and telling them God was their father, and I their brother, had come to them to bring them back to Him (and some of my hearers, Bhuddists, had not the least conception of what that God was), I saw by degrees that I gained some place in their understandings and feelings, and so I got them to listen, one by one, to the wondrous news that we had to bring out of the storehouse of truth—the Word of God. And when I had seen something of this with my own eyes, and felt with my own heart the power of the gospel I was sent to preach, and ordain others to teach and preach, I had an evidence of Christianity I have never felt anything equal to since, and nothing has made me so much feel my own unworthiness in not living up to the deep conviction of the power and truth of the gospel, which I was bringing before the minds of the heathen. I have put this into the first person, but every missionary who has gone out has felt the same; every one has tested Christianity in the same way as I have described, except some unhappy few who, in the very mission field, have found their faith fail them. Of them I will not speak, but they are not to be taken for a moment as a test of what our gospel is. Try it in every race you know of; take it to men in every possible circumstance; take it, as I have seen it taken, to the learned and civilised Bhuddist, to the easily wrought upon and easily converted Tamil, to the ignorant, untutored, and almost barbarous African,—take it to one and all, and you will find that the plain gospel story produces conviction, not fear, and that the love of God will cause them to turn to the Heavens, where they have never turned before, except to see with dread something they had been taught to deprecate—turning to them now no longer with fear, but with hope. I have seen not only our Church system, our Scriptures, but every part of what we, as Christians, value, tested in these different ways; and I say if our forming and framing these daughter Churches did nothing but bring us this conviction, it was a blessed day when, in the face of many difficulties, we doubled, and trebled, and quadrupled the number of our bishops; each bishop meaning so many more Christian men working at his side, and so many more ministers of the gospel ordained and sent forth to illumine the darkness of the heathen. Yet we are sometimes told it is a failure, and that the

success of missions is at least greatly exaggerated. I can tell you this:—I have seen through the instrumentality of the labours of the Church Missionary Society, and of the older, and equally faithful Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which did not at first begin as a missionary society—I have seen through these instrumentalities, in Colombo, simple facts of conversion which cannot be mistaken. I have seen heathen villages become Christian; I have seen the Christian Church take the place of the heathen temple; and I have gone into villages holding confirmations where a few short years before there was no such thing as a Christian to be seen. Is not that success? But there is not much time for me to occupy your attention further, and I must go back a little. It has been my lot to pass some ten very happy years working in this distant mission field. What took me to it? Whose was the voice that led me over the sea? The voice that first called upon me to go to those distant places and preach the gospel is a voice that now is silent; the one whose finger pointed over the sea is now cold in the grave, and that countenance may no longer be seen except in those many hearts on whom it is engraved, and will be as long as there is life. I speak of the Bishop of Capetown. He came to my parish, as he went to many parishes, giving the same simple recital of his honest, faithful labours, and wherever he went he planted a new idea in the hearts of those he addressed. It is said he took away a great deal of money, but he left something worth far more than money. Not one single penny he took from England but has been well spent in Africa, and abundantly returned to England. What was his work in Africa? He went there some quarter of a century ago. There was no daughter Church there then. There were a few isolated hopeless clergymen working, and I dare say working faithfully, but they were simple units, and had no heart and encouragement in their work. The Church of England was not so much as even a name in South Africa. He left it as you know a Province. I have sat myself in his synod, numbering some forty clergymen and an equal number of laity. There I saw that faithful and earnest man, surrounded by those whom he had called into being as fellow-workers. Almost every clergyman represented a parish work going on in some part of that quarter of the world. But I must hasten to a conclusion. He is gone. His memory is with us. Let us cherish it as long as we live. There never was a more earnest and faithful servant of his Lord: there never was one whose name will be a greater honour wheresoever His Gospel will be preached throughout the world, than the name of Robert Gray. He is gone. I know it was said he was impetuous—almost despotic. Well, there was impetuosity in his nature, and it needs something like impetuosity to labour against the difficulties he had to deal with. I will tell you what he was besides being impetuous: he was a very lion in his courage and impetuosity; he was as a lamb in his gentleness and kindness, and forgiving nature. Who were those opponents with whom he had long, heart-burning lawsuits, and opposition? Those very men who tell you that, to them afterwards he was personally as kind, nay, more kind than if such things had never happened. In his last great trial all of us must have sympathised with him. And now that he is gone I am sure there is not one in this great assembly who will ever think but with respect and affection of Bishop Gray.

DISCUSSION.

The Bishop of Winchester.

I am anxious to say one word upon this great subject. I will try to avoid as far as possible what has been said before, but I want to carry on in one respect the line of thought which you have just been listening to, so ably set before you by Bishop Claughton. Looking at the connection between the daughter Churches and the mother country, and the work of those daughter Churches, it seems to me that, over and above that verification of our own position, of which he spoke, there is even yet a greater blessing which

returns to us, the mother Church, from the daughter Churches. It is this, my Lord,—the peculiar dangers and temptations of such a Church as ours may be read at a glance by every one, viz., the tendency to spiritual selfishness from the abundance of our spiritual provision, and the tendency to narrowness, because as an insular Church we are so cut off from direct intercourse with other branches of the great Apostolic communion. There was a time, even in our memory, when these tendencies were marked but too plainly upon our community at home. And what is God's special mode of delivering the Church from these tendencies? It is the creating for it work in His great field abroad which links the sympathies of the home Church with the labours, sufferings, and interests of Churches at a distance. This has been pre-eminently so with us, and it is a matter of the deepest advantage to us at this moment as an Established Church—and I am most anxious to maintain the Established Church—that we should be connected in the closest possible way with unestablished Churches; that there should come back from those colonial Churches in their liberty, that blessed spirit of freedom which belongs especially to such Churches. Many such correlative advantages accrue to a Church like ours at home from this familiar intercourse with branches of the Church at a distance from us, and under circumstances different from our own. One of those undoubtedly is the power of sending out heroic spirits where they may find exercise for all those majestic graces which God gives to some of His servants. Does any man in this room believe that we should have the warmth of heart, and belief in dogma, and that rejoicing in worship which we have in the Church of England at home now, if we had not sent out such men as Reginald Heber to India, Henry Martin to India, Augustus Selwyn to New Zealand, Robert Gray to Cape Town, and the like? There does return to the Church that gives her sons to these heroic works something of the heroic spirit in the midst of the more matter-of-fact work to which she is called at home. At this moment surely every heart in this room is beating under that conviction. We have hardly room at home for true martyrdom. God gave us a true hero martyr in Bishop Patteson, and the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church, not only for the distant land, but for the Church that nourished and sent the martyr out. And I suppose at this moment there is not one true-hearted Churchman who has wept tears of sorrow for Bishop Gray being cut down in the midst of his usefulness, who has not this thought before him. It was given to me to know that sainted man with a degree of intimacy which few others attained to; to hear from him just at the end of his course; to have the first news from those who stood around of every expression of that death-bed; and I can only say I think a nobler example has never been seen of the union of Christian courage, untiring firmness, power of organisation, fearlessness in danger, self-sacrifice at every turn—money, life, time, family, health, all given up for the cause of Christ with a readiness of surrender which it is given to few men to achieve;—and all this, I venture to say, united to a humble tenderness of heart which a woman might envy. He is taken from us, but surely the Church of England, in sending out such a hero to find afar his bed of glory, is ennobling herself through the sacrifice of her son. And this is the connection between the daughter Churches and their work and the Church at home, as to which I ventured to ask you to allow me to say these few words.

The Bishop of Edinburgh.

It is impossible for me to say a word on the subject, which is under consideration, without referring, and I do no more than refer, to the subject which has been touched upon by several speakers, and especially by my friend the Bishop of Winchester. I refer to that noble hearted prelate of the South African Church, with whom I have been in intimate communion during fourteen years, having taken part with him in all his more important work during that period, and whom I have seen, I suppose, later than any one else here in this room, and whom probably I knew, through that period, better than any one present

except the Bishop of Winchester. I can only say I entirely agree with everything which fell from the last speaker. Of his work I will not speak, as I was so much identified with it myself; but I may say that as to his personal character, I never knew any one in whom strength and tenderness were so combined as in him; and I never met with any one who was so reasonable in argument. Of course there were many questions upon which we differed in opinion; but whatever infirmities people might imagine they saw at a distance, they entirely disappeared from the mind when you knew him better—when you came into the full sunshine of his love for Christ, of his spirituality of mind, of his single-hearted devotion to the work of God. I dare not trust myself to say more on this subject. With regard to the general question I should like to say a very few words. First of all, having had considerable colonial experience, I would express my entire concurrence with the general principles of the able paper which was read by the Prolocutor of Convocation. I trust it may please God to turn the hearts of the rulers of our Church, and to dispose them to accept such principles, as the ground of all relations between the Colonial Church and the Church of England. Those principles were generally sketched out in the reports of the Lambeth Conference, but there are one or two points upon which I should like to touch. I much wish we could have another Lambeth Conference, or something of the kind next year, to complete the work which was then begun. With regard to the term "Daughter Churches," there have been one or two expressions used by Bishops Ryan and Claughton, which reminded me of a truth which we did not perhaps sufficiently keep in mind in the Lambeth Conference. I mean that these daughter Churches are daughters of different ages, and require different treatment. There are daughters who are still in the nursery; there are daughters who, like the American Church, have settled; there are others in a transition state. The diocese of Mauritius is now getting out of the nursery, having just held its first Synod. But there are others, like St. Helena, apparently unsuited for self-government. I am satisfied that, with regard to the relation of the daughter Churches to the Church of England, the true principle, the one which I believe may be distinctly proved from Scripture, and the only one which can really and consistently be carried out, is, that the civil relations ought to determine the ecclesiastical relations to a very great extent. I believe this is not only a principle marked out by the Primitive Church, but it is a scriptural one. There are two points of view from which, in regard to the Church in the colonies, we ought to consider the general question. The first is that to which one of the speakers referred, the intense desire that there is, and properly is, in English colonies to retain the Church of England in its true integrity there. I mean by the Church of England, not the Church as an Establishment, but as the old national Church, with the experience she has learned through many centuries, from the time when the Church was first planted here, of struggles between Church and State, struggles for liberty of conscience, all of which have resulted in a comprehensiveness of both doctrine and ritual, which the daughter Churches would fain retain. Then there is the other aspect. What I find is, that persons who have not had practical experience of the colonial Churches are very apt to look exclusively on one side or the other. But, in fact, the precedents afforded by an Established Church cannot be sufficient, but in many respects are quite unsuitable, for the unestablished churches in the colonies; and in all such cases we must revert to the organisation of the Catholic Church. I would only, in conclusion, express my most earnest desire, that there may be, before long, for the benefit of the colonial Churches, for the benefit of our Church in Scotland, and—I am sure the Primate of all Ireland will agree with me—for the benefit of our sister Church in Ireland, that Synod of the Anglican Church to which many speakers have referred. I believe this would keep us in harmony, and prevent that danger which we all wish to avoid, of departing from fundamental principles either of the Church of of England or the Church Catholic.

The Rev. Lord Plunket.

My Lord Bishop,—I desire, as a member of the Irish Church, to make a few remarks upon the subject which is under the consideration of this meeting, and also upon the speeches that have been made by some of those who have preceded me. I come forward for two reasons: First of all, I do feel very jealous for the honour of my Church. It is a little Church, but it has great historic memories, and I feel that it is justified in having a sense of maternal interest and pride in those daughter Churches which are so nobly representing our common faith in distant lands. It will be remembered by the members of this Congress that one of the pleas brought forward for the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland was the assumption that it had failed in its duty, because the census returns showed a decrease rather than increase in the number of the Church population. I had the great privilege, some nine years ago, of reading a paper at the Manchester Congress on the subject, and I think I then showed conclusively that any person who wishes honestly to test the success or failure of our Church must not direct his attention simply to the numbers of the Church within the limits of Ireland, but must look to those distant lands whither the tide of emigration has been continually carrying away the fruits of our success. I have no time this afternoon to refer to the details I then brought forward, but I will quote one statement which was made to the Primate of Ireland by the Bishop of Ontario, who said that two-thirds of the congregations in his diocese were Irish Protestants: adding these words, "They are our best men, and our best Churchmen." I think I have shown, therefore, that our Church has a right to feel a maternal interest in the present welfare and future prospects of those daughter Churches to which allusion has been made. But I have another reason,—perhaps it is my principal reason—for coming forward to-day. When we are engaged at the present time in considering the position of our daughter Churches, and in expressing our hopes of the future union which will bind them indissolubly together, I think it is a suitable occasion upon which to express a similar hope with regard to the union which in the future will bind together the sister Churches, from which the daughter Churches have sprung. We must see that these sister Churches owe much to each other. Allow me to read what it would be presumption of me to state myself, but which I find in that able work of the Bishop of Lincoln on the history of the Irish Church. He says, "Truth requires us to declare that St. Austin, from Italy, ought not to be called the Apostle of England, and much less the Apostle of Scotland: but that title ought to be given to St. Columba and his followers from the Irish School of Iona." And then he adds these remarkable words, "We are bound to remember that in a great measure we owe our Christianity to Ireland." But if the English Church owes her Christianity to the Irish missionaries, what does not the Irish Church owe to the martyrs of the English Reformation. Therefore, what I ask is that the memory of these mutual obligations may tend to draw us closer together every day in the bonds of Christian love. One glance at the present. We have been living as sisters beneath one roof for many centuries, and the landlord has evicted the weaker and poorer sister, and some say there is a notice to quit against even the other sister also. I say nothing on that subject: but at any rate we have had to withdraw to the bleak mountain side and build up a new house for ourselves. The Church has continued to exist, but it has had to reconstruct as it were the roof over its head. What I would ask of my English brethren of this sister Church—and I do not ask it of them as a favour, but as a Christian duty—is, that they will look upon us in the moment of our trial and difficulty with sympathy and trust, even if, by the exigencies of our position, and the inequalities of the ground upon which we have to build, we may be compelled to rear a structure not exactly in conformity with that from which we have been driven in the past. We have had many difficulties to contend with. As I have been listening to the debates on Church Reform which have taken place in this room during the last two days, there have come back to my mind visions of the many obstacles which one by one stood in our way, and which seemed for the moment to threaten failure

and disaster, but from which our good God has mercifully preserved us. For instance, take the question of the admission of the laity into our synods. That importunately loving suitor, as Canon Trevor described the lay-element, has come and knocked not merely at the doors of our vestries, and of our diocesan, and general synods, but has found his way even into our Revision Committee. And allow me frankly to say that so far from finding any difficulty resulting from lay co-operation, even in this solemn question—the wonder to me and many others is how we were able to go on so long without it. I wish now to call attention to one fact which was not alluded to in the papers to-day, but of which we have all read—I mean that scene of thrilling interest when there was presented to the Bishop of Lichfield, as token of the union between the Churches of America and England, a copy of the American Revised Book of Prayer—a token, be it observed, of the union between those two churches. Now any person who will read the preface to the American Book of Prayer, will see the circumstances under which that Church, when placed in its new condition, was compelled to enter upon the work of Revision. Yet that work did not prevent the acceptance of that book as token of union between the two Churches; and I ask you now shall that which in the case of the American Church was thus considered to be a token of union ever be pointed to in the case of the Irish Church as a source of discord, and reason for distrust? There is no necessity why the glory of a Pan-Anglican Synod in the future should be interfered with merely by an absence of ritual uniformity. In the ancient councils the Bishops came from provinces where there were different Sacramentaries; and at the late Pan-Anglican Synod at Lambeth, the American Bishops were present, although they, as we have seen, had revised their Book of Common Prayer.

Rev. E. Cowley, New York.

I HAVE been kindly introduced to you as of New York. I may say of England also, for both my parents were English; and yet it is my privilege to represent in some humble way, the daughter Church in America, especially with regard to its work on behalf of the English emigrants who arrive in the City of New York. Glance for a single moment at the fact, that, at this present time, there are 800,000 people in the State of New York. Of these 200,000 are from Ireland; 50,000 from the other parts of Great Britain, England, Scotland, and Wales, to say nothing of 80,000 Germans; and then you can imagine that we have there a work to do with regard to these emigrants, which if neglected will recoil upon England, even England's Church, as well as prove a curse to America. I presume many here are aware that not all the English, baptised in the Church, when they get to America, 3000 miles distant, remember their baptismal obligations. Some of them are content to go to church three times a-year, when there is a baptism, marriage, or burial, and unless by way of returning the call of the clergyman, seldom at any other time. Therefore, it becomes a work of great labour to arouse the religious spirit in many emigrants, even from godly England. Some years ago, in the Providence of God, it became my special duty to provide, somehow, a scheme for reaching some of these; and, accordingly, a society was instituted, whose object should be to seek them out in their homes, in the public institutions at which many of them take shelter, and the result has been that we found thousands of children of British subjects in New York city that had very little idea even of the Christian religion. It has occurred to me, to take this opportunity of suggesting whether some means cannot be devised, whereby Protestant immigrants arriving at New York, may understand that there are those there who care for them and their children. Most of you probably are aware of the perils of the sea; and the fact that small-pox and fever break out even in the best regulated ships, and make many a child baptised in the Church of England an orphan in America. I am one of those, in all humility, believing that every baptised child of the Church should be brought up in the Church, in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Therefore, we have formed an

association, now of some five years' standing, whose special object it is to provide a home—a Christian home—for every Protestant emigrant's child that arrives in New York. It is a work of labour, and it is a work of vast expense. It is a new work, and I trust that in ages to come, so long as emigration shall continue, it will grow old, but not gray and worn in the service. My Lord Bishop, besides this, provision is made in the public institutions in New York city for the poor and sick, emigrant and communal, three-fourths of whom have been the subjects of Great Britain, costing that city £400,000 a year. But I am sorry to say there yet remain adrift in the streets of New York 60,000 or 70,000 children, many of them children of the subjects of Great Britain, on the downward road to ruin. Therefore, we need redoubled agency to rescue these stray waifs from imminent destruction, and lead them in paths where in due time they may be able to take care of themselves. I am happy to say that every State in the Union is abundantly able to take care of every native-born American, but when these emigrants come to our States as during the last summer, 10,000 landing there in a single day, I am free to confess that the labour is greater than we can perform, and much, in fact, is left undone. The only object of my speaking here at this time is, if possible, to elicit your sympathy—practical personal sympathy on behalf of those of your own flesh and blood in the streets of New York. We have there, in connection with this work, a Ladies' Association, who go in and out seeking these lost ones, and trying to save, help, support, and educate them. Most happy I shall be if my visit here shall result in the founding of some Ladies' Association, who will volunteer to go out to New York and help to rescue and educate English children there. I believe all the ships which sail from English ports sail under the British flag; and can there not be some instructions posted up in some proper place in every emigrant ship, that shall instruct the emigrant what he may do, or what his successor or family may do, when Providence takes away the head.

The Venerable Archdeacon Wood, New Columbia.

Having, as the Right Rev. President declares, just returned from British Columbia, the furthest and youngest of the daughter Churches, it gives me much pleasure to say a few words of the work in that diocese. I have been accustomed, during the last twelve years of my own work, to look upon the gathering of 100 or 200 people as a large assembly, and I am sure, in consequence of that, you will indulge me when I address you. I am quite certain that this difficulty is not a little increased when I remember that, as a missionary clergyman, I am following such missionary bishops as Bishops Ryan, Claughton, and the Bishop of Lichfield. I desire to speak, during the few minutes that remain, of the relations of the daughter and of the mother. First, with regard to the mother. One great duty which the mother Church of England has to perform towards her daughters is, to maintain in their strictest integrity the great principles of Christian truth. You, my Lord, who have never entered upon colonial or missonary life, can little understand with what anxiety the great Church questions are looked upon by men engaged in the toils and work of missionary labour there. I have heard it more than once said, since my return to England, that the missionary spirit is dying out. There is one evidence that seems to point in that direction, and that is that, although I am the last of many speakers, not one single layman has stood up to declare his opinion with regard to the relations between the mother Church and her daughters. If this were a missionary meeting, I could interest you, doubtless, in speaking of the work of the Church with which I have been connected. But let us remember that much of the work done by the daughter Churches, in the vast and distant dioceses to which these daughters have gone forth, must be divided amongst those who are already members of Christ's Church, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven, and amongst the heathen. These two, of course, must be held distinct in your consideration. Missionary work, to the heathen, can seldom be combined with distinct and direct teaching to the Christian

population; and the Christian population, as a rule, is very widely dispersed, especially in the Canadian churches, and, most especially so, in that most distant branch of Canada, British Columbia. I could carry you across the Rocky Mountains, to the Pacific coast of Canada, where the Christian members of the Church have the traditions of establishment and endowment, without their advantages. They accept our services thankfully, but our work is very scattered. It needs but a knowledge of the needs of the daughter Churches, to call forth the loving and heartfelt sympathy of those at home who can help in such a glorious work.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, 10th OCTOBER.

The Bishop of Carlisle took the Chair at Two o'clock.

OUR UNIVERSITIES,—THEIR FUTURE, AS PLACES OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION, AND PREPARATION FOR HOLY ORDERS.

The Rev. B. F. Westcott, Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, read the following paper:—

It is natural that all who are interested in religious education should look at present with some anxiety to the future of our ancient Universities. Important changes in the character and course of the studies for which the great academic prizes are offered have almost coincided in time with the general removal of the dogmatic restrictions which were formerly laid upon those who sought them. The anxiety is natural, and it is not groundless. There can be no doubt that the widening of the range of reading, and the abolition of tests in the Universities, have imposed new conditions of labour upon those of us to whom specific religious teaching within them is committed. We cannot realise these conditions too soon; and if I shall endeavour to show that the actual circumstances in which we are placed open to us fresh opportunities for apprehending the fulness of our charge, and fresh motives for fulfilling it, I shall do so, not because I underrate the magnitude of the crisis, but for the very reason that I believe that we are now brought to the real trial of our faith. I shall do so, because I feel that the truth which we have to interpret must, if interpreted rightly, combine, co-ordinate, harmonise all the varied elements of human thought and knowledge; and that, therefore, it is beneficent necessity which constrains us to take the wider range in our survey of the facts of life: because I feel, when I look back upon the history of religous progress, that it may be through such intellectual and social movements as have, at least, reached us, that we shall best learn the lessons which God in his Providence is waiting to teach our generation: because,

in a word, I feel that we are thus placed face to face with some of the greatest problems of the time, under circumstances which give a hope, at least, of their partial solution. This hope it is which I desire to bring prominently forward. And that it may have a substantial basis, we must be careful not to exaggerate the nature of the changes which have been made in the Universities. Regret is apt to make us blind; and the keen sense of what is lost dulls the power of seeing what remains. It has certainly been so with those who speak of the Universities as secularised. The fact is that henceforward the Universities and colleges present a twofold character. So far as they are regarded in their individual members, they have no standard of opinion; but as societies they retain exactly the same religious character as they have had since the Reformation. Difficulties may perhaps arise hereafter, in adjusting the claims of the individual with the claims of the society, but it is needless to dwell on these by anticipation. Experience has shown in other cases that a distinct religious character in the body can be reconciled with complete personal liberty. This, then, is the position which we have to make good. The changes in the constitution of the Universities might have been such as to render efficient religious action through their organisation impossible. If their religious character had been taken away from them; if restrictions had been imposed upon the freedom of religious teaching within their limits; if the prescribed religious teaching had been colourless, then I can well believe that those to whom the faith is justly more precious than all treasures besides, might have regarded them rather as fields, so to speak, of missionary enterprise, than as societies through whichthey could work. But as it is, the Act which abolishes religious tests, distinctly recognises and ratifies all that is essential to the true religious character of the Universities. The old epithets, hallowed by the memories of a thousand years, are solemnly rehearsed. Regular religious services are confirmed as a necessary part of the corporate life of all existing colleges. Provision is made that adequate religious instruction shall be furnished in them for students who belong to the Established Church. Offices which were restricted to persons in holy orders remain, so far as this Act is concerned, restricted as before. Special dogmatic tests are retained for those graduates who desire to enter the theological faculty. The preamble of the act describes its scope as being the extension of the benefits "of the Universities . . . . (and of the colleges and halls now subsisting therein) as places of religion and learning" to the whole nation . . . . "under proper safeguard for the maintenance of religious intruction and worship." . . . It is said, I know, that these reservations to which we point are temporary and provisional; that in a few years whatever yet remains to connect the national Church with the Universities will be swept away; that worship will cease to be a common act; that dogmatic instruction will become obsolete; that clerical fellowships will be abolished; that theology will sink into the position of a purely literary pursuit. I can only reply that I see no ground for such anticipations in the existent state of feeling at Cambridge. But there are prophecies which have a fatal tendency to fulfil themselves; and if churchmen now act as if their fears were realised; if they isolate themselves; if they make no demands upon college teaching; if they shrink from reinforcing the ranks of the theological faculty; it is hard to see on what plea provisions can be

retained which will become practically useless. For the present we have all that we require for successful activity; and successful activity will justify the position which we still hold. This being so, we are in no way concerned with the spirit in which some advocates of the late act pressed its adoption and interpret its scope. Nor, on the other hand, do we dwell despondingly upon lost opportunities, which were, most unhappily, in a great measure unused, and therefore lost. We loyally accept the legislation which regulates the mode of our future action. We confidently trust to the enactments which preserve inviolate the religious character of our society as a whole. If we recall the greater privileges which have been swept away, it is that we may profit by the Sibylline warning, and show that we rightly value, and desire to rightly use, those which are as yet assured to us.

This necessity will be forced upon us both by nobler obligations, and by the simple fact that we shall henceforward do our work more and more in the immediate presence of the most accomplished Nonconformist scholars. Perhaps we have needed the incentive; and it is not hard to see how the addition of a fresh body of students, who will naturally be for the most part laborious, grave, and simple in their habits, will be of the highest service to the Universities. This fresh element may in some degree counteract the growing luxury of our life, and bring back into due prominence the idea, which we have well nigh lost, that the Universities are not clubs for the rich and indolent, but, above all things, places for devout self-denial and labour. In this respect we have much to learn from the social organisation of some of the isolated Christian societies around us; and if the lessons are brought before us in the equal and candid intercourse of university life, there is good promise that they will be under such circumstances most happily mastered and appropriated. The season is, no doubt, one of trial, but the conditions of the trial are not likely to grow more favourable if we shrink from adapting ourselves to them. We must use what we wish to keep exactly in proportion as we value our vantage-ground,—we must employ it in the service of our faith. If it be lost, the responsibility of the loss rests with us. In the meantime, there is not, as far as my own experience goes, the least reason why, in consequence of recent changes, the atmosphere of the Universities should be less spiritual than it has been; why the beliefs which they gender and shape should be less firm or less distinct; why the life which they fashion and present should be less religious; but there is great reason why the ministers of Christ who find their work in them should fulfil their part with unwearied patience and with unfailing faith; there is great reason why all who love them, love them for the services they have rendered for long ages to God and to His truth, should encourage and inspire those who wish to preserve their ancient character by confidence and sympathy. Let it not be forgotten that the distrust of those to whom we look for help will paralyse even the strivings of faith. It follows from what has been said that recent legislation need not prejudice the character of the Universities as places of religious education in the widest sense, if only those who duly value religious education loyally and hopefully use what they still have. But our thoughts here are necessarily turned with chief interest to the particular office which the Universities have hitherto discharged as training places of candidates for holy orders. Is there, then,

any ground for fearing that they will hereafter be less fitted for this work than they have been? Must we, with however great sorrow, look forward to the time when the future clergy of our Church will no longer find in the studies which we pursue, in the discipline which we enforce, the true preparation to their ministry? I cannot, of course, venture to answer such questions, except so far as my own personal knowledge furnishes me with a reply; but when I compare the Cambridge of to-day with the Cambridge of five and twenty years ago, I do not scruple to say that the young theological student will find greater intellectual and spiritual advantages now than then; that he will find more efficient help, more personal sympathy, more watchful guidance.

But we must not in this respect unduly extend the office of the University. We must not be eager to anticipate there what belongs to a later period of ministerial preparation. That which the candidates for holy orders ought to look for at the University is intellectual training. His pastoral training belongs to another sphere. But it is of the gravest moment for his spiritual work, what his intellectual training is. It must, to be worthy of the name, be such as to furnish him with a solid foundation for his special studies: it must be such as to place him in vital and intelligent connection, not only with the past but with the present: it must be such as to encourage him in every detail to look for truth and to welcome it from every quarter: it must be such as to expand and deepen the healthy energy and power of his higher life.

It is, perhaps, most difficult to judge dispassionately of that in which our own affections are centered; but I do believe that the candidate for holy orders will find these requirements satisfied among us. I will not repeat remarks which I made on a former occasion as to what appears to me to be the necessary foundations of all theological science, the free, devout, untiring study of Holy Scripture and of history. These studies the Universities have rightly placed in the forefront of their theological course. They can never be exhausted: they can never be barren. Again and again the young scholar will return to them as to a resting-place for faith, which experience will only make more firm and more fruitful.

At the same time, the Universities place the candidates for holy orders in a living relationship with the whole present world of thought. Let me endeavour to explain my meaning as briefly as I can. The peculiar difficulties which beset faith now seem to spring from two sources—from supposed consequences of the study of Physics, and from supposed consequences of the study of Life. It is argued, on the one hand, to put the case in the broadest light, that we are placed under a system of inevitable sequences; and, on that other, the forms of religious belief are functions, so to speak, of particular stages of human progress, individual or national. The problems which arrange themselves under these two heads are unquestionably grave and urgent. They are problems which Christian students alone, as I believe, can solve, so far as it is given to man as yet to solve them; and they are problems which all Christian students who desire to see far into the depths of the Gospel ought to face.

For it is the especial glory of the Gospel that it deals, and deals necessarily, not only with the individual but also with the society, with

the race, with the world. The great conceptions of the solidarity of life and the continuity of life are not simply independent productions of modern speculation; they are plainly written in the words of St. Paul and St. John; they are inherent in the facts of the Gospel history. Later discoveries, wider generalisations, larger experience, have at length illuminated these old truths; and so the Christian teachers of the coming generation are called with a Divine voice, which cannot be mistaken, to bring their message to bear upon the social questions which rise out of them. They are called in other words to exercise again the privilege of a spiritual power in concentrating, guiding, fulfilling the latest desires and aspirations of men.

If this be so, the very conflict of opinions, the very rivalry of studies, the very boldness and enthusiasm which belong to our actual University life, will, by God's blessing, minister to the growth and armament of faith. Neither in morals nor theology is ignorance the surest safeguard of lasting purity. Faith (our Christian faith) can, I am sure, use the conscious or unconscious services of every labourer for truth. It can claim and consecrate tribute from every region of the universe. It can move inviolate through every element and leave a blessing behind it. Faith is blanched and impoverished not in light but in darkness. It gains strength in the air and sunshine. Then it is crippled, dishonoured, imperilled, when it is isolated, when its supremacy is circumscribed, when its fresh springs of knowledge are stopped up. The true Divine must be in sympathy with every science: the true son of faith is emphatically a son of light. I cannot, then, but believe that it is an inestimable advantage for students of theology that they should accomplish the first stages of their work in the closest intercourse with those who are engaged in other fields of labour, and guided by other methods of inquiry. By so doing, and hardly in any other way, will they become intelligently conversant with the adverse forces which they have to meet: they will find scattered treasures which fall under their own domain. There may be some shipwrecks of faith in this mental commerce: the great deeps of thought cannot, in our imperfect state, be traversed without peril; but, on the whole, faith will grow stronger, and the interpretation of faith will grow wider and richer as the manifold relations of Christianity with every fragment of life become more clearly seen. And this wider vision cannot but be best gained in the Universities, where every form of intellectual activity ought to be freshest and most energetic. In saying this, I do not wish to deny that some dangerous tendencies have spread rapidly in the Universities, as elsewhere, during the last few years. I do not wish to deny that there is much restlessness and impatience in speculation: that there is some thoughtful and some superficial scepticism at Cambridge; but these tendencies are not the special product of the Universities, though they first reveal themselves there. They belong to a peculiar crisis in human progress, to a peculiar phase of society, to a peculiar stage in individual development. No seminary walls can exclude their influence. Sooner or later, our clergy will have to contend with them; and it is better that they should be first met when they can be calmly interrogated than that they should come as a surprise, when their opponents will be forced into a position of blind antagonism. There is, then, I venture to repeat, nothing in the constitution of Uni-

versity society, nothing in the freedom and width of University studies as they are now organised, which is necessarily antagonistic to the healthy development of religious life, nothing which may not be made to conduce to the right disciplining of a Christian minister. This freedom and breadth will furnish our candidates for holy orders with abundant occasions for self-control, for patience, for effort; but not without the promise of victory. They will impose upon our teachers the duty of unwearied watchfulness and care, of open-eyed and open-hearted sympathy, of strong and tender love, but not without the promise of a rich harvest. For the present we must be content with the promise. It is premature to speak as yet of the results of the system of introductory reading which has been laid down for the new Theological Tripos at Cambridge; but it is not too much to believe that the close and thorough study of Holy Scripture, the familiar acquaintance with original records of Christian life and thought, the investigation of the gradual determination of doctrine which it enjoins, may be so guided as to prepare men to fulfil what I have indicated as the immediate work of our English Church: men who will hold fast all that they have received as the condition of fresh acquisitions: men who will know that growth is the sure sign of the vitality of faith: men who will have learnt by living experience that the Holy Spirit does not speak only at one time or in one way: men who will have the courage to assert and the wisdom to show that the Christian revelation reaches to and transfigures all that lies open to man in action or thought. These great hopes may not be fulfilled; but at least they are neither far-fetched nor unreasonable: they give strength for work which is often discouraging and always difficult: they carry with them, while they are still warm, some power of accomplishment: they fairly ask for support from all who remember with gratitude what they gained at the Universities of lofty and generous feeling, of wise and candid conviction; from all who have learnt by experience what the Universities can hereafter do for those who shall carry on with richer success what they have been able to begin for the Church of England and for the Church Catholic. It is quite possible that the view which I have endeavoured to give of the prospects of religious education at Cambridge may appear to some to be too bright; but I can only set down the impressions which I have myself received during the last two years. In the course of that time I have seen a large body of the younger men among us, including many of the highest University distinctions, unite themselves in a society upon the basis of communion with the Church of England, with the twofold object, to quote their own words, of "increasing the number of devoted and duly prepared workers in the cause of Christ, both clerical and lay, who go forth from the University," and "of promoting unity within the Church of England, to the extent of their opportunities."* I have seen the college tutors heartily

* The Cambridge University Church Society. The words are quoted from a paper by "One of the Promoters." In the rules of the society its objects are described as being "to foster a deep and earnest resolve to devote time and energy in after-life to Christian study and Christian work; to gain clearer views as to what are the special needs of the age, and as to the manner in which Christ's Gospel may be employed to supply them; to promote mutual charity and a sense of unity of purpose among all who have really at heart the furtherance of Christ's kingdom upon earth." The condition of membership is a written declaration that those who seek it are "regular communicants in the Church of England."

and unanimously combine to provide efficient public instruction in the subjects proposed for the Theological Tripos, while two colleges (Trinity and Emmanuel) have appointed distinguished scholars without their own bodies to Theological Prælectorships. I have seen residents of the highest standing and of the most varied shades of opinion generously support the endeavour to give a substantive reality to Theological degrees, and to facilitate common action on the part of the members of the Theological Faculty. It is then impossible not to set these facts against the causes for anxiety which I do not attempt to dissemble. And there is this important difference between them. The causes for anxiety spring rather from the general tone of modern thought than from anything characteristic of the Universities themselves as they are now constituted: our encouragements, on the other hand, are due to the personal feelings of those with whom we have to work. But, even if the circumstances under which we are called to act were far less favourable, it would still be our clear duty to recognise the Universities as the highest seats of religious education, till they abjure the title, and to work in the sure belief that they may, by God's help, be made to fulfil this, their noblest function, more and more perfectly. It would be a disastrous day for England, and for Christendom, if the candidates for the ministry of our Church were withdrawn in any large numbers from the chastening influences of wide and liberal discipline in a society as free and varied as that in which they will be called to exercise their ministry. No one can feel more deeply than I do the infinite importance of cultivating the spiritual life: no one can prize more highly the deposit of Christian doctrine which has been committed to our keeping; but I believe that our gravest religious dangers at the present time proceed, not from any prospective decay of personal devotion, not from any abandonment of the old landmarks of faith, but from the want of knowledge and the want of wisdom. We cannot shut our eyes to the speculative and social questions which day by day call more urgently for solution. We cannot doubt that a body which claims to be a spiritual power, and not merely a hierarchical caste, must accept the responsibility of meeting them. And they must be met not with answers which were shaped to meet other conditions, but with "new things" from the the treasury of God. They must be dealt with not simply from without, but on the basis of intelligent sympathy, as phenomena of that vaster social life in which we all share and by which we are all moved. They present, in a word, the field on which we can accept, in the name and in the strength of our faith, the challenge which is thrown down to us on many sides, and show that the facts of the Incarnation, the Passion, the Resurrection of Christ, contain that which will meet the wants of the latest age. This is our peculiar work as Christian teachers, and the work of those who come after us. That we and they may grow familiar with its requirements, and be prepared to fulfil them, the ancient and religious Universities—it is a joy to repeat words so full of promise—offer us all their resources, the stern methods of physical science, the precise and delicate refinements of philology, the broad lessons of history and philosophy, the priceless opportunity of free and unselfish intercourse. We cannot dispense with any one of these instruments of training in the study of theology; for theology is the science of all life, of all being. We cannot reproduce them at our

will under conditions equally favourable to their action. We cannot elsewhere than in the Universities learn the lessons which society has to teach us; we cannot elsewhere convey to society the lessons which we have to teach, as they may be learnt and taught, in the natural, unconstrained fellowship of a common life. We believe that our faith can assimilate every fragment of truth: let us openly show that we believe.

Rev. William Stubbs, M.A., Professor of Modern History, Oxford, read the following paper:—

The future of our Universities depends on the working of so many influences, influences amongst which their own internal development is far from being the most powerful, that a discussion of it in anything like completeness would involve an examination of half the social and political problems of the day. And he would be a very bold man who tried to prophesy in an age, in which no statesman has been far-sighted enough to calculate on the course of events that would place him or keep him in power without the deliberate surrender of what have been his professed convictions. What it may please the nation to do with the Universities, how it may settle the religious difficulty, or attempt to settle it, how it may determine to treat the Church of England, are matters on which the wisest man is content to say least, and he deceives himself least whe does not pretend to detect at any given moment the true current of public opinion. At the risk of saying truisms, I shall confine myself in this paper to a statement of what seem to me to be the circumstances on which our hypotheses must be constructed;—these things are thus, and if such and such things should happen, the result may not improbably be so and so. Humanly speaking, that is; for I desire to remember, first of all, in what I am saying, that there must be a deeper under-reference to Christ and His Church; and that, however wide of, or near the mark, any presaging of details may be, out of all changes and chances He will bring forth judgment unto victory.

First and foremost then, I will say, the future of the Universities and their relation to clerical education must be what it may please the nation to make them; and that not so much the nation as represented by Parliament, as the fathers and mothers of the coming generation. If you are content that your sons should have in the Universities a godless education, if you are content to see every safeguard of sound teaching swept away, you must not expect that, all at once, voluntary agencies will arise to supply the place of what your supineness has forfeited.

The change of relation between the Church and the Universities is now no longer in question; it has taken place, and we must make the best of it. We can see that the close and clerical character of University education, which existed thirty years ago, however much it was blessed to the Church and the country at the time, and however truly it was worth fighting for, was not a condition of things that could last. It was too clerical for the idea of Universities as places of general educa-

tion. It was not that only the future clergy came there, but that the character impressed on the general student was to a certain extent clerical; and that to a degree which cannot fail to strike any one who has watched the later lives of the public men whom he knew as undergraduates; it was, I am fain to think, even a providential guiding, in order that when the time came for the great religious problems to be worked out, they might be worked out by men who were not quite incapable of appreciating them. The education of Oxford thirty years ago, and the direction of religious thought was all in one direction. Nine out of ten of the men who took the highest honours, went into Holy Orders; a large number of resident Masters were engaged in real theological study; the advantages of the place were laid out for members of the Church of England, and the substantial rewards of application continued to belong, as they had been originally intended to belong, to clergymen.

Now, all this is altered; the admission to degrees is open to all the world; in all but a very few cases Fellowships and Professorships are open to men of any religion, or of none; clerical character, so far from being a legal qualification for office, is found to operate, to a certain extent, to the prejudice of its holder; and although the University does still retain the services of some eminent theological teachers who were educated under the older system, she possesses no certain guarantee that a succession of the same sort can be provided, or the tone of theological thought maintained permanently in the line of the Church of England. Will theology succeed, will the theology of the Church of England succeed in vindicating to herself the place of the queen of the sciences, in an arena in which she finds herself one among many jealous combatants, weakened by the loss of protection which she has hitherto enjoyed, and disorganised by the transference of much that she has been prone to look upon as part of her identity, into forms and ideas and purposes that are not her own?

Without having any fear as to the real issue of the struggle, I think we may look with some uncertainty and some anxiety for what is coming. Will theological study continue to maintain its hold on the minds of the strong thinkers of this and the next age? I see no reason why it should not; why the competition, the antagonism of other studies should not stimulate rather than extinguish it; or why the seat of that study should not be Oxford and Cambridge. Just at this moment (I speak of Oxford) theological study is under a disadvantage, arising from the reaction on the state of things which I have characterised as too clerical; but that reaction is transitional, it is now passing away. It lacks the stimulus, too, which endowments give to classic and scientific study, paying the penalty of a too long and easy possession, but it will not be the less hardy a plant because of the lack of adventitious nursing. I hope it will not be long before our theological school will attract its fair share of the abler students. I do not, indeed, see my way so clearly to a fair apportionment of the rewards of industry in the shape of Fellowships and Scholarships, because there the denominational question must, for a time at least, continue to add an extraneous difficulty; but without these, if the fathers and mothers of the coming generation are true to their own convictions, the inequality may easily be remedied; and if in time our jealousies shall allow us to bestow on theological

attainments, irrespective of dogmatic teaching, some portion of the revenues that are now lavished on other studies, I have no fear but that the theologians of the Church of England will keep the first place.

But the future of theology in and out of the Universities is one thing, and the future of clerical education is another, and the future connexion of the Universities with clerical education, may be regarded as a third.

The future of clerical education depends on two things; from what class are our future clergy likely to be drawn? and where are they to look for special professional training? At the present moment a very large proportion of the young men intended for clergymen are the sons of beneficed clergymen, and of laymen who see their way to obtain benefices for their sons, and who train them accordingly (and train them well, as a rule) with a view to the office; and both these classes are able, with a little self-sacrifice, to send these sons, at least, to Oxford or Cambridge. But in case of a large measure of disendowment, or even of a re-apportionment of ecclesiastical endowments, both these sources of supply would be stopped; the placed clergy would not be able, out of their professional incomes, to defray the expenses of University education, and the richer laity would no longer have in their church patronage the inducement to educate their sons for holy orders. And that being so, the supply of candidates would be restricted to those who, having other means of subsistence, would be moved solely by zeal and religious ardour to seek the office; and to those to whom the greatly reduced emoluments and contingent chances of preferment may still furnish inducements. Unfortunately, it cannot be said that any church or denomination can safely depend on the constant succession of the former: it must, in the main, humanly speaking, look to the latter; and then our question becomes this, is there any probability that University expenses can be so reduced as to place a good education in the reach of the class from which these men will spring? I confess that I do not see my way to it. Granted, that the outlay of £100 may in time provide for the maintenance of a student, who is a candidate for holy orders, during the years of a University course, I am not clear that that will be his best way of spending his money. The merest associations of Oxford and Cambridge are precious, but until a reformation of social relations within the Universities takes place, the mere residence and even the educational advantages are but a small part of the real training of the place; and a man may enjoy them to the full without obtaining a greater fitness for his place in society, where he will claim to be received as a teacher, and must know how to behave himself as a gentleman. There may come a time when, the doctrinal teaching of the Church remaining and retaining its hold on the classes of society that it now affects, it may still be so bad a speculation to bring up sons for the clerical office, that candidates must be sought in a lower grade; and that very large sphere and those many ways of usefulness which are now utilised by the clergy, as leaders of country society, and prominently interested in all social movements must be given up; their sole means of influence being the sacerdotal, their spiritual or ministerial influence. I do not think it desirable that such a time should be hastened. The usefulness of the Church of England clergyman of the existing type is far

greater in every way than that of the Dissenting minister, or of the Roman Catholic priest in the disestablished churches of the continent: and a very great part of the real social usefulness of the Dissenting minister is the result of the stimulus which would cease if the status of the clergyman were lowered. The time may come; I trust it may not be hastened: when it does come, it can be but a short time, and it must end in such a reconstitution of religious society as will task the faith, and overtask the hopes of the most sincere and ardent. Only *His strength* is made perfect in weakness.

When these things begin to work, and they are among the contingencies of disestablishment, it will be too late to ask where are the means of clerical training to be sought for. The Universities may be trusted, that, I think, may be regarded as clear, to supply, irrespective of endowments, a nucleus of learned clergy, a school of High Theology. But the Universities never have supplied clerical training. Owing to the union of the character of the clergyman with the social *status* of a gentleman, in fitting him for the latter they have in a manner fitted him for the former; the Bachelor's degree has, however, never been regarded as the sole qualification, though it might be a *sine quâ non* for Ordination. Long ago, before any changes in the Universities were contemplated, the need of theological colleges was felt, and had begun to be supplied; and, I take it, whatever may be the future of Oxford and Cambridge, and whatever the source of supply of our future clergy, there must be a constant and increasing demand for theological colleges. It is desirable, I have no hesitation in saying, that we should have the experiment of theological colleges within the Universities tried on a scale that may give a fair chance of success; because it is in the Universities only that it can be tried without the drawback of the strong seminarist and close professional restrictions of sympathies to which it would be liable elsewhere; and I trust it will be. But not there alone. I do think that one of the purposes for which, in the good providence of God, the endowments, buildings, and constitutions of our cathedrals have been preserved to us, is that they may become again centres of educational life to the churches of their dioceses. Let the Chapter of learned clergy in every cathedral become the theological professorate of the diocese; and let the clerical candidates learn their first lessons of practical work amongst those to whose countrymen and relations they are likely to be called on to minister; under the eye of the bishop, to whose sympathies in their later career they ought not to have to appeal in vain. Only in such local centres can the *maximum* of theological teaching and the *maximum* of practical training be found together. You may get the former in the Universities, and the latter in the East-end of London, but you will nowhere else get the two in any due proportion to each other. And if our thirty cathedrals were also thirty schools of the prophets, there would be no abnormal pressure on particular centres or particular schools; the supply would be fairly proportionate to the demand; no modification of the existing foundations, either in constitution or endowment, would be required, but simply the getting the right men into the right places.

If this could be done, what would be the remaining connexion between the Universities and clerical training? They must teach the

teachers; the teachers of theology must be learned theologians; men who have qualified themselves by study of their subject-matter under the greatest advantages and with the greatest success, amid the competition of rival sciences, and in preference to more inviting, more remunerative studies. They must be men to whom theology has shown herself, not only as the science of the most precious things, but in matter and in method alike the queen of sciences; to whom she has made herself known, not in isolation and exclusion, but in relation to the other subjects of human knowledge, material and mental science, history and language.

Nor only so; so long as the clergy are to continue a social power, the Universities must continue to furnish a large proportion of the ordinary number. It may seem to be arguing in a circle, but I began by saying that what I should say would seem a truism; the social position of the clergy and their University education must vary directly together, must stand and fall together; I think everywhere, but I am certain that it must be so in England. We cannot try the experiments that have been tried abroad, and by whose failure we ought to profit. We do not want a clerical caste such as France, Belgium, and Germany furnish. We do not want men who will altogether sink the citizen in the minister; still less do we want the hireling who preaches not as a teacher, but as a pupil of his congregation, learning from them first what it may please them to have him preach.

And thus the whole question merges in the great questions of establishment, organisation, church authority, which are at the root of the whole political energy of the day.

The Church of England, as it seems to me, is at this moment in a very critical condition. She is like a great army intent at once upon defence and conquest; encamped in a position from which she may at any moment be dislodged, and reforming her ranks for the maintenance of a new position in case of her being obliged to take one. She has at once to defend her existing ground as if it were utter destruction to abandon it, and she has to form new plans and create new organisations with as much energy and as much care as if she would at any moment be compelled to throw herself wholly upon them. And such a struggle there can be no hope of waging successfully, but that she has the strength of the Invincible to maintain her.

We may never be disestablished; we are bound to struggle to the utmost to avert it: but we are bound also to provide that, whatever the result of the struggle may be, it shall leave us, as it must leave us, if we do not betray the grace of God, stronger than it found us. This is the case in every department of the Church's work: it is so in an especial way in the department of education, and in a very peculiarly especial way in that of University and clerical training. We have nothing to lose by perfect freedom. We know that none of the forms of religious life now existing in this country—many of them existing mainly, primarily, nay, solely, by virtue of their rivalry to the Church of England—that none of them has so little to lose or so much to gain, from the perfect freedom, the widest extension, the deepest penetration of true culture.

We know, too, that it is on the Church of England that falls and rightly falls, and that in the contemplation of foreign Churches, and in

the secret consciousness of her enemies at home and abroad, the duty of upholding most determinedly the standard of salvation by Jesus Christ alone, and the responsibility, whether in the failing and waxing cold of the love of many, the Son of Man when He cometh shall find faith on the earth.

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. Canon Barry made the following address:—

My Lord Bishop,—I have undertaken to say a few words upon this important subject in obedience to the direction of the Subjects Committee, and rather in substitution for some other subjects with which I am more familiar. Under these circumstances, having desired to meet the convenience of their arrangements, I must, to a certain degree, throw myself on the indulgence of my audience. It is quite clear that a man who left the University more than twenty years ago cannot speak to you with that authority of intimate knowledge which has yielded those two remarkable papers that have hitherto occupied your attention. It sometimes happens, however, that those who look on from a distance see things which escape those who take a closer view, and it is possible that a man who has been engaged in educational work, and who has always looked to the Universities for direction and guidance, may have some suggestions to offer not wholly undeserving of attention. We are speaking of a time when a great change has passed over our Universities. The Abolition of Tests would in itself be enough to produce such a change; but, as Professor Westcott has reminded you, that political change is coincident with changes in habits of thought and study, which pervaded the whole of our educated community. Therefore we feel, of course, that the present time is necessarily a time of crises. The changes in the position of the Church in the University are to some degree, and perhaps in an exaggerated degree, those which she has sustained in relation to the country at large. There was a time, as we know, when Church and State were held to be absolutely identical—the same body of individuals, united, in one case under civil and in the other case under spiritual relations. Then, of course, it might be said that the Universities, being the Universities of the State, were necessarily also the Universities of the Church. When that state of things passed away, there succeeded another, in which the Church of England was the one religious body recognised by the State, and no other could be, in the first instance, tolerated; in the second instance, recognised and rewarded. In the time when I was at the University that was very much the position which the Church of England occupied there. At this present time the Church of England receives what I may call a primary, but not an exclusive, recognition by the State: that is her position in the country generally; and from what I have gathered from Professor Westcott, confirming my own impressions, that seems to be her position in the University. She has still a primary privilege and responsibility, a kind of spiritual leadership; and that is well worth while defending as a vantage ground of high spiritual usefulness. Under these circumstances the Church of England in the Universities has to change her front, to adapt herself to new conditions, and, above all things, I think one thing is to be desired, that those who direct her fortunes should not for one moment "despair of the Republic,' should not give up even one inch of that ground which they have so long held in the Universities in directing the education of the country—should not throw the Universities virtually into the hands of secularism in the hope of establishing a more distinctly religious vantage ground elsewhere. For if there is one thing for which we have been fighting, during the educational struggles of the last two years, it is this — that education must be considered as a single work, and that it is not possible to separate in it the religious from the secular

element. It is perfectly clear that the Universities will always be the places of the highest intellectual training or education in our country. If this be the case, and if it be true that religious truth itself is the highest of all the influences of intellectual training—if it be true that intellectual and moral education cannot be separated—if it be true that moral education, without a religious basis, has in the history of the world been found practically impossible, then it necessarily follows, that if we care for religious education in our elemental schools—if we care for it in the schools of the middle class and in the public schools of the country, still more ought we to care for it in the Universities which crown the educational system, and from which, directly or indirectly, that educational system must always be enforced. Let us, therefore, consider what are at present the real conditions of the question, glancing in the first instance at religious education in the broad sense of the word. The state of things is this—religious education in the Universities is in a very great degree deprived of the legal support which it has enjoyed for ages, and is thrown upon the public spirit and faith of the community. So long, therefore, as the English people are sincerely desirous of a religious education for their children—so long as they refuse to rob them of that which is the highest and most spiritual part of their birthright elsewhere, so long it will not only be possible, but it will be certainly within our grasp, to carry out true religious education in the Universities themselves; for there we shall reflect the tone of English public opinion, and upon that subject English public opinion is still most emphatically sound. Of course there can be no doubt that more burden will be thrown than in days past upon voluntary agency in carrying out this great work. More, especially, will be thrown upon the real Christian faith and individual Christian energy of those who teach. I have little doubt that the picture that has been drawn of Cambridge to-day is absolutely correct. I am quite sure, from my recollection of the past, and from what I know of the condition of Cambridge at the present, that there is not less but far more spiritual life and energy now, than at the time when the Church was supported with all the power of the law. But while I would not exaggerate, I do not undervalue, the loss which is sustained by the withdrawal of the protection of law. There are a few who are above it: to them it may be needless. There are some who sink below it, and they will make it worse than useless. But the large mass of men who lie between those two extremes are all the better for the support of rule and law; therefore, when the support is withdrawn, it always brings on such a time of crisis and difficulty as we are experiencing at this moment. But, besides doing all we can to maintain religious education in our Universities, I think there is another duty incumbent upon us Churchmen—that is, to claim and defend the position of what I have called primacy of recognition which is still conceded to us there. After all, religious equality, by the confession of our opponents, cannot be perfect while there is an Established Church; and, if we are still the National Church, let us not in a spirit of false humility refuse to claim that position in the Universities and elsewhere. Professor Westcott has told you that still there is a distinctive Church teaching. There are still distinctive Church teaching and worship; to that extent, at least, the priviledged position of the Church is recognised. I do most earnestly hope that we shall not be misled by any false liberalism into surrendering this, which is the most important ground which we can possibly hold. I say the most important ground,—I mean for the support of religious education itself. We have seen, in all the experience of the last two years, by the confession alike of our friends and foes, that the strength of religious education does really lie in the Church of England at this moment, and that, therefore, those who, in the interests of what is called secularism, would destroy religious education, have not only bent their energies against the Church of England, but have succeeded in enlisting against her the jealousy of a sectarian rivalry. This being the case, I say let us claim in the Universities all that we rightly can still claim for the National Church: not for the sake of our own dignity, not for the sake of our own power, still less for the sake of our own gain: but for the cause of religious education which we must emphatically believe to be, in a great degree, bound up with the reality and the recognition of the

National Church. Whatever may be the future of Theological colleges, I hope we shall still draw the great mass of our clergy from the University. When I addressed the Congress last year, I ventured, as one whose interests might seem to point the other way, to say what I would repeat now—that on the fact, that most of the clergy have come from the University depends the fact, that our clergy are not a mere caste separate from the laity, but in virtue of much mutual influence, the clergy acting on the laity and the laity acting upon the clergy, exercise a power which I believe belongs to no other clergy in the world. Feeling this very strongly, I earnestly hope that those who direct the Universities may do something to diminish the expense of University education, so that if our clergy are to be poorer, as perhaps they will be, they will still find a home in those Universities which were intended, in the first instance, to be the home of poor scholars. I am quite aware that, under the present circumstances, there will be a special need for Theological colleges, but I trust their office will always be to supplement, and not to supersede, the training of the University. As interested in such a college, I value very highly a certain shadow of the University advantage which we possess—that is, that our Theological college is only a branch of a very much larger system, and therefore those who follow its course are not exposed to what has been so well called the "seminary" influence, but are able to have the freer life of a large system. Still we can do nothing in this direction in comparison with that which is in the power of the Universities. Therefore, I hope the Universities will still retain—and I am sure whilst they are guided as they now are, they ought to retain—the primary education at least of the clergy of England. There is one suggestion which I might perhaps venture to throw out. It is that our Universities, in relation to these Theological colleges, might do a very important work. There are now many Theological colleges scattered over the face of the land; and I confess I do not wish to see one in every diocese in England, because to my mind there are already nearly, if not quite, as many as we need. But we have no independent test of the teaching there given. Now, if the Universities, who are receiving and accepting invitations from all quarters to examine, would step out in this direction, and, under the control of the Theological Faculty, institute independent inspection and examination of these Theological colleges, they would do an immense deal towards the advance of Theological education. They would improve those colleges which are worth improving, and those that are worthless they would improve off the face of the earth. My conclusion, in all respects of the question, is this. Let us recognise the time as a time of crisis; but let us remember that, that to those, who have truth on their side, a time of crisis is a time of opportunity.

The Rev. Professor Palmer made the following address:—

I will take the opportunity before I forget it, of saying at once a word in reply to the last sentence, which fell from the lips of Dr. Barry, more particularly as I am a working member of a University, suffering severely under the pressure of calls made from all parts of the country, that we will come and examine them. I beg most respectfully to decline the invitation which Dr. Barry has addressed to us; and I wish to defend myself from any possible charge of laziness in so declining it, by reminding him that some of us do a similar work in the capacity of Bishop's chaplains. We have the advantage of examining the pupils of the Theological colleges, and in that way a tolerably fair estimate can be obtained of the instruction given at one place or another. I must say that I have obtained a very decided impression of the instruction given (and very excellent instruction it is) in the diocese in which I examine, which is the diocese of Oxford. I must apologise for this digression, which was forced upon me by Dr. Barry, and address myself to the subject proposed upon this occasion. That subject is the future of the Universities as places, first, of religious education, and then, which is not quite the same thing,

of training for Holy Orders. I shall, of course, speak solely of the University to which I have the honour to belong, because the University of Cambridge is excellently represented on the present occasion, and my personal acquaintance with it is much smaller than I could wish. With regard to Oxford, I ask myself, Why do you propose this subject to-day? What makes this a question of interest? There must be, I take it, an impression prevailing either that we no longer give religious education, or that we do not enforce religious education, or that we have amongst us some sort of influence which counteracts the effect of our religious education. I have something to say upon all these points. First, as to the religious education we do give. About thirty years ago I entered Oxford as an undergraduate, and then the religious education given was of a very indefinite character. It was derived mainly from three sources: the first source (but I do not think the most significant) was the instruction actually given in the different colleges under the name of Divinity lectures, and ultimately tested by University examinations. I do not mean for a moment to undervalue this. I am conscious of the advantage I derived from such lectures myself, during the years I spent in my own college of Balliol. But they were not valued by the undergraduates at large. The college Divinity lectures were quite as much at a discount then as they are now, and they were rather in name, than in reality, an important part in the education of the place. The second source, and one about which there was a great diversity of opinion then, as now, was the item of sermons. University sermons were very much decried when I was an undergraduate, and yet they were largely attended, and so they are now decried, while they are less largely attended. But I do not hesitate to say, that a large amount of instruction and edification was, is, and will be derived from the University sermons. The third point in our religious education was what is called the influence of the place. That is, no doubt, an indefinite term. It is true there were things round us in Oxford, which had a tendency to impress a Church, or religious feeling upon us; but the most important thing was, perhaps, the presence of constant religious services. This was irksome to some of us. I do not say this of myself, for it was my privilege to have had a religious home, and to have been accustomed to daily services before I went to Oxford; but to some it was irksome. They spoke against it at Oxford, and some of them spoke against it afterwards in their places in Parliament as a religious form, or as an anti-religious form; and it was decried in many ways, but still I have no doubt that it produced a great impression on many. These were the most distinct influences that there were to give us a sort of religious education. There was a fourth—and in respect to that fourth influence, perhaps the greatest difference has arisen of late years. We were then always in contact with a body of teachers who were almost all clergymen, and who, if they were in earnest, were probably good clergymen. If they were not in earnest, their very position condemned them; they did not command our respect, and were not likely to leaven our opinions. I turn now to the present state of things, and I ask, What is the alteration with regard to all this? Ostensibly, the three first items stand as they were. The religious instruction—the lectures are still given; the religious services—the University sermons still exist, the religious services in the chapels are still maintained, and not only are they maintained as a matter of fact, but the religious services in the chapels, and the religious instruction to members of the Church of England in the colleges, have been put for the first time during the last year, under the sanction of an Act of Parliament, in a bill which I will not say was intended against the interest of religion, but which, at all events, some of its promoters urged on in a secular spirit; into that bill was introduced a clause enacting, for the first time by authority of Parliament, that religious instruction should be given in all the colleges to members of the Church of England, according to the Doctrine of the Church of England, and that Morning and Evening Prayer should be maintained in the College chapels. Well then, as far as the external appliances go—for I reserve my fourth item, the nature of the teachers, with whom we were thrown into contact, for some remarks by and by—things remain, externally at least, as they were. There are the opportunities; if men do not profit by them now, they would

not, perhaps, have profited by them in old time. Then, as now, a number of men would make use of them to advantage; and then, as now, a number of men would not. The next point is, Are these means of religious education in any sense brought home to the men now? Were they brought home then? By "brought home," I do not mean to their consciences, but actually brought to them, so that they could not get away from them; in fact enforced upon them. Here a great change has come in. Even in my days the enforcement of attendance upon University sermons was a name for the most part; it was really carried out only by two or three colleges, and by them with imperfect success. Attendance on Divinity lectures was enforced pretty strictly, and at chapel also. In both of these two last particulars the constraint has been taken off, and attendance at the chapel services is for the most part voluntary. Now is this a serious loss, or is it not? I think it is not. I think the constraint which is relaxed or abolished was not a very valuable thing. Mind, I say "very valuable" advisedly, because I think, on the whole, the constraint was the right thing. As long as I had the power I voted for it; but I think the preponderance of good was not very great. There was a certain amount of harm that it did; and, therefore, I see with no great sadness that constraint abolished. Well, then, I admit we constrain the students less in these days to use our means of religious education, than we did in old times; but I say we still present them in their integrity to those students, to use or abuse as they think fit; and I say with great happiness that many—and not only men drawn from the inferior ranks of intellect, but some of our ablest and best men—do use them for their own great profit, and I hope for the future advantage of the Church. Now I come to what, I believe, is the most serious aspect of the question. I mentioned, amongst the elements of religious education we had when I was an undergraduate, the elements of contact with older minds, with teachers, who were (I put it roughly) either faithful clergymen of the Church of England, and therefore respected by us, or unfaithful, careless, idle, and therefore not respected. That has been changed, and the change is very important. The change first of all began, I should say, before the Universities Tests Act was passed. Before that time there grew up amongst us, under the influence of the current which has been referred to as not peculiar to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, but traceable through the whole country at the present time and in other countries of Europe —there grew up, certainly, in Oxford and Cambridge a school of thought which I believe was more or less—I do not wish to use the word disrespectfully or unkindly—secular in its tone; a school of thought which concentrated its energies and intellect on secular problems of one sort or another, and turned very little of its attention to matters of religion. Now, all teachers who are in earnest, all teachers who try to teach and have the power of teaching, do inevitably influence their pupils. They may disclaim proselytism as much as they like; they may be as innocent as possible of intending to give any colour to the views of their pupils on controversial subjects, but they cannot help doing it. If one man sits at the feet of another, whether he is a teacher of natural philosophy or of metaphysical philosophy, or of any science whatever, and the pupil comes to think of the teacher as a great teacher, a great intellect, as the man to whom he looks for guidance in all the difficulties of the subject with which his own intellect is occupied; and if that man into the bargain, as is usually, almost universally, the case in Oxford (for I must claim for the teachers at Oxford generally a high rank as regards moral excellence) —if those intellectual teachers command the unlimited respect of their pupils by their unselfishness, their indefatigable labour, their disinterested kindness to their pupils—if they seem to be models, at least of heathen virtue, I do not see how it is possible that their pupils should do otherwise than allow their views and feelings to be coloured by the views and feelings of those whom they have come to regard as patterns of virtue and wisdom. I must add that, besides this, we have now the possibility of people sitting in the teacher's chair, whether professorial or tutorial, who not only hold doctrines professedly opposed to the doctrines of the Church of England, from Roman Catholics to Unitarians, but who hold no religious doctrines whatever. They

may be avowedly unchristian, and being such they will not in any kind of way have less right to the position of teachers, than any others in the place. Therefore, students who come to the Universities in future will be liable, no doubt, to be influenced by teachers of all religions, and teachers of none, whereas before they were liable only to the influence of teachers who belonged to the Church of England, and who by their profession, as clergymen, were tolerably well ascertained to be religious men. This is a very real danger and difficulty. But I must ask in conclusion—Is there any mode of education to which we can turn as a better alternative for our young men? I repeat the question, taking the state of things exactly as it is, and as it is going to be year after year, when we may have Dissenters and infidels in our professorial chairs, and as tutors in our colleges, can we still do better with our young men than by sending them to the University? To my mind the University of the present day is a better and more hopeful place for the training of our students, even if they are to be educated for clerical life, than any cloister or seminary in which they might be shut up by themselves.

DISCUSSION.

The Dean of Durham.

My Lord—I feel in common with the gentlemen who have already addressed you, that this is really one of those subjects, which almost more than any other touches the future importance, not to say the real life, of the English Church. It is a matter of the most vital importance to every one here present, in the first place, that the clergy should be highly educated men, as good and profound theologians; and, in the second place, that they should be educated as thorough gentlemen. Therefore, I entirely agree with the statement, that the greater part of the education of clergymen ought to be a general one; that nothing can supersede the advantage which has been hitherto, from the beginning I may say, characteristic of the clergy of the English Church—that they have been educated in common with the laity, that they have rubbed their minds together with the laity, on all those questions which from time to time emerge—social, philosophical, and political questions of every kind, and that, therefore, they are fully qualified to take their part, not merely as clergymen, but as citizens. Dismissing that point, upon which we are all agreed, I will come to two or three questions mooted by Professor Stubbs, and by Professor Palmer. I entirely agree with the general tone of what Professor Palmer has said, about the desirableness of not withdrawing our students from the general education of the University. At the same time, speaking with an intimate knowledge of Oxford during twenty-five of the best years of my life, and having retained my knowledge of it during the years in which I have been parted from it, I must say that, although I regard Professor Palmer as one of the mainstays of religion in that University, I think he has drawn far too favourable a picture of the existing state of things, as bearing upon the prospects of religion generally in the country, and what is indeed a subordinate but an important matter, the religious training of the clergy. I think he has extremely underrated what he was far too honest not to mention—the enormous difference that there is now, as to those influences, which thirty or forty years so powerfully dispesed the thinking and able men of that time to a religious, not to say a theological, view of affairs, and which entered so very much (I speak in the presence of statesmen who know the fact) into the character of eminent men in public life, so that now you can look round and point to many a man in public life, who would have been very different from what he is, if he had not been under the training of a most powerful religious influence in the University of Oxford. I say that it was a most momentous fact for the whole of England that, at that time, there should have been this influence on the most powerful minds whom, perhaps, our generation has known; an influence, devoted it may be exclusively to theology, but

still telling upon all of us at that time in a manner which, in point of fact, no one could withstand; so that I could point not merely to one or two, but to man after man, who went out from the University in those days, who, however much they have changed or modified their opinions since, have never lost the impress of those days. All that is gone. The picture of those days was certainly a striking one. We are now in a transition period, and we should not speak harshly of the future, but I believe those were days of immense importance to the moral tone of English society generally. You may look upon that picture, and then you may believe that the very opposite is the picture now. I am only stating what I really honestly believe. I am not speaking in tones of blame. I will not make too much of my excellent friend Professor Palmer's words, that you might look upon many of the teachers now as "admirable specimens of heathen morality."

The CHAIRMAN—Professor Palmer wishes to make an explanation.

PROFESSOR PALMER.—I must entirely disclaim having ever characterised the teachers of Oxford, either generally or the majority of them, as specimens of heathen morality. I say there might be found persons to whom those words would apply.

The DEAN OF DURHAM.—I only quote words which I took down at the time. I won't say whether the words apply to few or many; but I thought them indicative of what was the general tone. The words used were "models of heathen virtue," and I don't think I very much misrepresented that by what I said. At all events, bear in mind that this is really a matter of great importance, that Oxford, in regard to religious influence on the young men who go there now, is entirely changed from the Oxford of thirty years ago. Though I would still wish the clergy to be educated at Oxford in the earlier stages of their preparation, I think it becomes a very serious matter whether you should not give them something of a final education in places where they will at least be sure of not being brought into contact with, I hope, any "models of heathen virtue." I would humbly throw in my vote, in the first place, for such an experiment being made as I think Professor Stubbs suggested—that there should always be a good theological college at Oxford, where the men of the greatest ability would devote themselves in great measure to that study. I refuse to believe that Oxford will always continue to be sceptical, or merely secular, and that the greatest study that can engage the human mind will not enlist there some of the greatest minds in the country. I would therefore urge, in the first place, that there should be a theological school at Oxford; and, in the second place, I would adopt the suggestion of my friend Professor Westcott by attempting at least to plant schools about the country in which men may receive, not the early portion of their education (for that they should always receive in common with the laity at the Universities), but a definite and short theological education, which has been for long centuries the want of the English clergy, who of all clergymen in the world, are the best educated generally, and the worst educated theologically.

The MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

I HAVE no claim to the exact knowledge or experience of what takes place at the Universities, even at the University with which I have the honour to be connected, that could be advanced by the speakers who have preceded me; but I have the opportunity of hearing what passes, and so far as my knowledge goes, I am bound to say that of the two pictures that have been drawn, that of the Dean of Durham, dark as its colours are, is more true to the life than that of my friend Mr. Palmer's. But both of them very accurately stated what the effect of recent legislation has been. Positively, that is, as far as positive religious teaching goes, the Tests Act, strange as it may seem to some, has left Oxford better off than it was before. There is more security for religious teaching than before. The great effect of that movement of opinion, of which the Tests Act was really only the outcome, has been that all hindrances to the teaching of infidelity have been taken away; and

that is the great danger for the future. The great danger of the future is that there should be found inside our Universities—especially, I believe, inside Oxford—a nucleus and focus for secular and infidel teaching and influence—not infidel in any gross or offensive sense, but in that sense in which Mr. Palmer used the words, "heathen virtue." The danger we have to look to is, that some one or more of the colleges in Oxford may, in the future, play a part similar to that disastrous part which the German Universities have played in dechristianising the upper and middle classes of Germany. Oxford has an enormous prestige, an enormous influence. Its constitution gives it great power to influence those who will afterwards be in their several walks the governing and the commanding classes of the country; and if it is made the home in which infidel teaching establishes itself, there will go out from it emissaries of that teaching, not only to the bar and the press, not only into Parliament and into the Cabinet, but into the offices of the Church itself. It came out very clearly in the Parliamentary inquiry which was made into the matter that tests to some minds—even those tests which are exacted from persons assuming the sacred offices of the Church—failed to repel minds by which all such obligations are treated as antiquated and obsolete. In short, to use the expression which I heard used by a very able witness—the tests that are exacted, the subscription to formularies, are held to be so much out of relation to modern thought, that a man of the class of intellect and belief of which I speak does not hold himself bound by them in the least. Therefore the danger is very serious. The State used to protect the University from being used for the purpose of propagating this unbelief. That protection exists no longer: it you want it you must look elsewhere. What will happen, I suppose, will be that parents will exercise more careful supervision over the prospects of their children than they have hitherto done; that the quality of the teaching in our colleges will be more closely looked into, and that the character of those who preside over them will be inquired into by parents before they send their sons to them. And if the parents of England, of that class who send their sons to the Universities, would be alive to the heavy responsibility which the present state of things has laid upon them in that respect, then, perhaps, we may have a better security and guarantee than we had before, that Oxford shall not be the means of uprooting the Christian faith which they learnt in their homes. One word about the other question which has been mooted, what would be the effect of the new state of things upon the character of the clergy, especially will it be possible to maintain that which has been well called the citizen clergy of past times? Now, I entirely agree with those speakers who have spoken in favour of the citizen as opposed to the seminary type of clergy. There is no doubt that there is nothing more valuable to a nation than that its spiritual guides should belong to this class in sympathy and thought—should not stand outside, but should feel interests in common with those whom they may have to teach. But you must not conceal from yourselves that the tendency of modern legislation and modern thought is to deprive us of that advantage. To use a vulgar adage, you can't eat your cake and have it. You cannot get rid of State privileges, and then hope that your Church will remain as citizen as it was. One of the great advantages of the Establishment principle is the citizen character which it imparts to your clergy; and my fear is more of the effect these assaults upon the Church will have in causing the clergy to stand aside as a separate caste than of the injury they will do the Church itself. I do not believe that the power of the Church depends upon the privileges which the State can give it; but I do believe that if you force the clergy to fight their own way instead of giving them the protection the State has hitherto afforded to them, you will place them in a militant attitude, and they will become, as it were, drilled for fighting: they will alter their character and be assimilated more to the character which, if I may take an instance, is assumed by the clergy of such a country as Belgium. That is a very serious danger, but all you can do is to struggle against it to the best of your ability, and keep the teaching at the University in such a condition that the clergy can frequent it with safety. If it ever becomes that which the German Universities have become, it is needless to say that faith is of more importance than any

other thing, and the clergy must be thrown upon the theological colleges for their education. This would be one of the greatest evils we have to dread. Therefore, I heartily hope that the state of religious teaching in the University, if it does not now justify the picture which Professor Palmer has drawn of it, will justify his sanguine temper by speedily assuming that happy condition.

Mr. Beresford Hope, M.P.

In the few minutes which are mine, I think I can best fulfil my duty by treating the question from a point of view which I think I legitimately can assume—in the double character of a University officer, though not a teaching officer, and also as one of the public which feeds the Universities. I want to point out what seems a correlative duty of the University to the fathers and the young men of the land, and of the land to the University to which it commits its children. As Professor Palmer pointed out, though he did not dwell upon it as he might have done if time had allowed, in that Act which altered the relations of Church and University during the last session but one, those who fought the battle for the old state of things were able out of the burning to carry one or two brands. They were able to insert in the Act that clause which provides that the college chapels shall be maintained for the service of the Church of England. The clause did not provide that the whole daily service was to be carried out as the normal position, and I am glad it did not. The words were not well-drawn nor very clear words, but they have received an interpretation which I think ought to be sufficient to all honourable men in the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act which passed this year. Those words, I take it, imply that the services in the College Chapels shall be on the model of the Prayer Book, but with power to the College authorities to modify them in the way that every parish clergyman, with the aid of his Bishop, is by the more recent Act able to alter or modify his services. I look upon this as no unimportant thing. I trust I do not attach undue value to externals when I say I do attach a great value to the outward ordinances of religion. We are not disembodied spirits: we are men; and as long as we are in the flesh the outward ordinances of religion do have, and are meant by God to have, great religious influence over us. Our Universities are and ought to be alive to public opinion. They ought not to be the slaves of it, but as great corporations existing for the good of the people, any reasonable, and above all any religious, expression of feeling coming from their constituents—the fathers of the young men of England—ought to, and will, meet with a hearing from them. It is in your hands to retain and give vitality to that clause of the Act. If it is known through the Universities—if the colleges feel that the Church parents in England and the young Church students of England have read that clause as those who helped most to put it into the Bill did, viz., that the external worship of the College Chapel, the prayers, and above all the sacraments, shall be those of the Church of England, and shall as such be constantly presented, they at least will be safe; and they being safe, no one can say that the Universities and Colleges are divorced from the religion of the country. I will mention one thing as a bright feature in the University of Cambridge. Within the last two or three years, Trinity and St. John's, the two largest Colleges, have each of them, on the motion and request of the young men, introduced the weekly celebration of the Holy Communion. When I contrast that with the miserable Terminal Communion which was the rule in my time—that depressing secular ceremony that took place on a Thursday morning in place of lectures—I cannot be too thankful to God for the change. The College sermons, too, are a new institution at Cambridge. No doubt it has starved the University sermon. The large number of undergraduates who used to be there has dwindled down to a small thread. I remember a move which in our day my old friend Archdeacon Freeman made, in calling upon the young men to go to the morning as well as the afternoon sermon. That had a certain effect. Now the undergraduates go very little to either. But the College sermon

has taken the place, and the College sermon and the weekly communion are Cambridge features that did not exist in my time. But, as I say, it is in your hands, as the fathers and mothers of England, to hold that clause and stick to it. Let it be known that that is your demand, and the Colleges cannot and will not let it go. If you are indifferent about it, go it will under the secular influences of the day. This leads me to a point which I have long contemplated with much anxiety. I must talk very freely, but I trust that I shall give no offence. I should be very sorry to be supposed to pander to that feeling that the Church of England is specially a genteel Church. I believe it is emphatically the Church of the poor. But reasons, not far to seek, have made certain classes of society—the landed classes—gravitate to the Church. It is natural that they should. The very fact of its being an Established Church carries that result with it. Now I bring a charge against that class—the neglect with which they have for years treated the Universities. When I compare the set of young men in my time who were growing up for the two Houses of Parliament, the bar, the judicial bench, and all the active professions, and when I look at the Universities now, I say, with respect to those classes to whom, owing to their material prosperity and influence, the Church and Universities have a right to look, we have a great ground of complaint for the neglect they have shown to the Universities—a neglect very different from the state of things a quarter of a century ago—as to sending there sons there. Certain recent regulations have, unconsciously to their framers, come to the aid of the Universities. The new army regulations give great advantage to those who take their degrees there. Without going into that question at any length, I will say this—I thank God that a young man may fight his way on by a University degree to a Commission, and I say the same as to the Civil Service. I believe the Universities have the opportunity of coming forward and helping young men to get on in this great battle of life. The Church-people are still a majority in the land; therefore it stands to reason by an easy process of arithmetic that the young churchmen are a majority of those young men who want to get on in life. Consequently, that numerical majority may be a great integer in keeping up the Christian character of those glorious institutions—the Universities of England.

The Bishop of Hereford.

My Lord Bishop.—I cannot help feeling that the tone of our discussion has become of too sombre a hue, and I should very gladly, if I might, recall the minds of this assembly to the impression which I think must have been left upon all of us by the opening paper. As a member of the University of Cambridge, and as one connected with that University for twenty-two years—fourteen of them spent in teaching there—I should be very sorry, indeed, if I felt in my heart and conscience that my University was now false to her great task. It was with very great satisfaction that I listened to the words which fell from Professor Westcott, because he is one of those who are working on the spot, and is therefore better able to form a true and unbiassed judgment as to what really and truly is being done there. There is one aspect particularly in which I wish to place this question before you. After all is said and done, the Universities will be our great teaching institutions. I hope and trust they will be. Therefore, when I heard it recommended by one of the speakers that there should be theological colleges established in all our dioceses, I felt this—as one who has been called upon to preside over one of the smallest dioceses in England—I should be very sorry indeed to see that measure carried out in every diocese. I am bound to say that, in my judgment, it would not be for the well-being either of my own diocese or for the Church at large that there should be a theological college established at Hereford. Then, again, we were reminded that each cathedral ought to have a theological college attached to it. When your cathedrals are reformed—and, I suppose, after what we heard yesterday they soon will be—possibly such a measure may be beneficial; but so long as the cathedrals are what they are, I think it would be divert-

ing into an improper channel powers which may very beneficially be used for the purposes for which they were first intended. But the point which pressed most on my mind, in connection with this question of the preparation of our young men for the ministry of our Church, is this—the length of their preparation. I do not want to see the course of instruction in Cambridge or Oxford shortened much. I cannot help feeling that there is a tendency to shorten the curriculum, and I want to show the disadvantages of that. One point was raised upon which, as a former teacher of a college, I feel myself competent to express an opinion—that is the question of expense. I say, without any hesitation, that my boy, who is twelve years of age, costs me more at school per annum than many men whom I knew as pupils at Cambridge cost their parents to pass through the University. Then, with respect to the effect of shortening the curriculum upon the preparation of our candidates for orders, I hold in my hands a very remarkable extract. I want you to see that if we are so short-sighted as to do anything towards lessening the preparation of our candidates for orders, there are many persons in England who differ from us. I will read to you a sentence or two from *The Congregational Year Book* for 1871, the writer of which extract wants to show what a damaging influence upon the character of Independent ministers the shortened curriculum, which seems to be growing into fashion in many of their colleges, has upon the future character of their ministers. This is what the Rev. Dr. H. Allon writes:—

"By a kind of miracle of natural power and Divine grace he may succeed so far as not to fail, and may become a useful minister and pastor; but who shall say what this suicidal selfishness has hindered? The more promising the man, the more imperative is his protracted study and utmost culture. It is not the Galilean fisherman: it is the pupil of Gamaliel that is sent three years into Arabia to study the theology of Christ. Some men may be deprived of half their college curriculum, and the Church of Christ be neither better nor worse for it; but to take away a man of power, who gives promise of being a great preacher or theologian, is a short-sighted selfishness to be paralleled only by that of sordid parents, who for a few pence of wages will deprive a child of all education. It is to condemn our ministry to hopeless mediocrity and to rob the Church of Christ of services which only a few men in a generation are capable of rendering."

It does seem to me that to shorten our University curriculum would have the most damaging effect on our future clergy; therefore I want to press this question upon you in that light now. I have for some four years been brought a good deal into contact with young men who come up to me for Ordination. I should like to say something as to the sort of young men who come under my notice, and I want not only to impress it upon this meeting, but upon all those throughout the country at large who may happen to read the reports of what goes on at this Congress—I want to impress both upon the men and their teachers, to whatever University they may belong, the amazing importance of a larger and wider course of study than it appears to me they have at present an opportunity of getting. I do not like, for fear of bringing pain to any heart with which I may have been brought in contact, to disparage any candidates with whom I have had to deal; but I do say they are not all of them up to the mark, and it does seem to me that either bishops' chaplains or bishops, if they were called upon to tell you their experience, would be bound to say that the theology of the younger men who present themselves for Ordination is not of that character which they would anxiously desire that it should be. We were told in the course of our discussion to-day that the Universities were losing their hold upon candidates. I have had a notice put into my hand within the last few minutes which shows that, at all events, among the most junior curates in the rural deanery of Leeds is an Oxford first classman. We may look upon that as an omen that in this part of the Lord's vineyard there are those who have laid the foundations deep by a thorough mastery of those sciences with which their minds have been brought into contact, and that they are now bringing them into contact with that which is the queen and mistress of all sciences—theology.

Lord Houghton.

Interesting as have been the comparisons between the former and the present state of the Universities, they are nevertheless obnoxious to the objection that the mind of the observer may be very different now from what it was at the time when he was a member of those Universities, and, therefore, I shall not rest upon that point, although I do keep up a sedulous interest in my University of Cambridge. I may, however, be permitted to say that there is no doubt in my mind that all religious subjects are studied at Cambridge with at least equal interest to what they were in my time, and that not merely because they are religious subjects, but because they are subjects of deep interest to mankind. I believe that the Universities fully represent the changes of public opinion in this country. Although it is perfectly true that there may be a more prominent sceptical element in both Universities than there was in those days, nevertheless, I am sure that the more outspoken scepticism arouses in the minds of other men stronger devotion, sentiments, and deeper religious inquiry. In my day I do not believe the scepticism to have been less, although more adroitly and habitually concealed. This being the case, I see no reason whatever to doubt that the advantages to our present clergy of a University education are as great as ever they were. In some points I think they are almost greater. I think it is almost more important now that the clergy should have a University education than it was then, because subjects of speculative and historical inquiry are far more broadly spread now than they were then; and if the clergy are to keep the influence they ought to have in English society, they cannot do it unless properly armed by education and a higher teaching. The lot of the clergy of England is in their own hands, and if in these days of hard competition they prove themselves equal to that task, they will keep their intellectual footing in the country, but otherwise they will not keep it. The Church of England has had the work of leading the mind and intelligence of England. Of the public men of England there have been many who have taken a deep interest in these subjects, and at least they have never spoken of them with disrespect. It is not for me to say how eminent the present leading men in the State have shown themselves even in theological controversy. I do trust that every effort will be taken to encourage the University teaching of the clergy. I think that may be encouraged in many ways; for instance, by the establishment of colleges at our Universities which shall enable men to go there at less expense than hitherto has been necessary. Some such colleges have been established, but somehow or other they have not incorporated themselves into the University life, and they have carried with them a certain sense of social inferiority. We must try to prevent that or compensate it, and if we can succeed in producing the impression that the man who has had the University education is to be esteemed the more on that account, that he is more likely to have influence in the society of Englishmen wherever he may be placed, than the man who has not had those advantages, then we shall come to the conclusion that the Church of England can maintain its intellectual position in the country. If we do not do that—if the man of intelligence and social position ceases to go to church, or ever does so as a matter of decorum, and not as a matter of interest, that will be a dangerous day for the Church of England. At the same time it cannot, in the natural course of things, be that men in that position should keep up a vivid interest in the Church of England, if there is in that Church a visible decline of intellectual power. Therefore, I do earnestly desire that we should never in any way dissociate the spiritual and intellectual influences of the Church. Let the Church be as spiritual as it can be; at the same time, let it never be forgotten that the Church of England is the one Church in the whole of Europe which commands the full respect ot the intelligent upper classes of the community. You may go to churches on the Continent, and see them full, but you will see in those congregations very rarely the men of activity, the men of intelligence, the men who are making the world. The Church of England has had the privilege of commanding the respect of those classes, and I do trust that by the blessing of God it will ever be able to retain them.

The Rev. Edward King, Principal of Cuddesden College.

My Lord,—In speaking of a theological college, I do not wish to make any separation whatever between the training at the University and the training at the theological college. The work I have seen has been done after men have been trained at the Universities. Yet again, on the other hand, I do not wish to say that other good work may not be done in other theological colleges. I merely wish to give a grateful testimony to the work I have seen done, and which I have heard of being done in other colleges, where men have been brought for an additional specific education—a training for the ministry after their University education. So far, for my own part, I have seen my way clearly, and I believe there is a good work to be done without running the risks of a narrow seminary education such as has been well hinted at several times to-day. To enter upon the work of a clergyman is to enter upon one of the highest and hardest of works—one that will require very great self-denial—one that will require a very great and peculiar preparation if it is to be done as it ought to be done; and while I see men after a University education going to the bar, or going to the study of medicine, or finding that the University education gives them an advantage when they enter the army; and yet that they have to fit themselves for those professions by a special course of study, it seems to me only fair that people should not undertake the art of arts merely on the confidence of a University education; but that they should have added to that all that can be given to fit them for the training of souls, for the warfare of this world, and for the great life that is beyond. That is what I have in my heart to say—that there ought to be this peculiar training, and I hope I shall be forgiven if I say that I have not seen it done so thoroughly as I could wish in the Universities up to the present time. What their capacities may be it is not for me to say, but this I do say, that if they are enabled to carry out this peculiar training in the Universities better than we can can do it by supplementing their great foundation work, then let us of the theological colleges be improved even to the vanishing point and swept away. Where it can be done best there let it be done,—only let it be done thoroughly.

The Rev. Professor Birks.

My Lord,—I wish to say a few words on the danger that besets us, the duty that lies before us, and upon the grounds of hope that should encourage us. The change caused by the abolition of tests involves a serious loss, and yet there are some compensating advantages. The loss is the desertion of a high principle: the compensation is that the system had been so travestied by human infirmity and neglect that it might seem almost better to be thrown more upon individual effort. I think the real danger is not so much from the legal change as from the spirit of the times out of which that movement has grown. I believe that our chief danger, in the present day, arises from the latitudinarian spirit which goes beyond reasonable divergencies within the Church of Christ, and extends to the abolition of all distinctions of faith whatever, reducing men to a state of thorough scepticism with regard to the relation between the ever-living God and the souls of men.

The change that has taken place is a call to every Christian man, especially in the Universities, to be doubly earnest in maintaining the supremacy of divine truth in the midst of all the various occupations of human thought, and the various branches of human science. Our fundamental duty turns upon this very point. You know that there is a school of thought now threatening us, which sets aside theology as a non-existent science. It thereby degrades all moral truth into a question of physiology, and leaves man nothing to study but the works of outward nature, morals and religion alike being made a branch of physics. Now, what is the remedy? It consists in the old truth, handed down by our forefathers, in the University system, that all human knowledge is a climax in three divisions: first, the knowledge of nature; next, the knowledge of man; and highest of

all, the knowledge of God. We need to borrow from the students of physical science their earnestness, their diligence, their impartiality, their caution and modesty in their own region (if they have these virtues, which some of them may profess without having them). But still we need to take up, and learn thoroughly, the lesson of Pope—

"The proper study of mankind is man."

And not only so, but a lesson still higher—the lesson of our Lord and Saviour Himself—"This is life eternal, to know Thee the only God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent."

If this is the great duty before us, and it is one of growing importance at the present time for every one connected with our Universities to see the subordination of natural truth to humanity, and the subordination of all the knowledge of man to the knowledge of man's Creator, then the next question with regard to those Universities, as places of preparation for the sacred office, is, what are to be the leading ideas we are to keep in view in all our future efforts? A great deal has been spoken, and many controversial questions have been started in this Congress, showing considerable divergence of opinion. But next to the question of comprehension is another of hardly inferior importance—the need of subordination—I mean subordination in truths themselves. Too often truths are set in direct antagonism to each other, which have their separate place in the general system of truth. I conceive that there are three main things to be kept in view in the education of our clergy, all of them important, but not all equally important. The one of supreme importance, without which all our other efforts, all historical learning, all technical skill, and all ecclesiastical and mediæval researches will be thoroughly useless, is the supremacy of the Word of God, the study of the inspired Scriptures. I believe that, in keeping this prominent, the study of the Word of God, with reverence, with prayer, and with the aid of human learning also, lies the main ground of hope we have for the future, in the preparation of those who are to become the clergy of the land. Second in order to this, but having a real place, is the study of Catholic antiquity within its due limits—the study of the Church as it emanated from Christ, through His Apostles, in the first ages. A third element to be kept in view, equally important, is the lesson drawn from the experience of later ages. It teaches us how essential it is, to the efficiency of the Church for its true objects, to defend the truth from the additions and corruptions, which long overlaid it, to maintain not only its Catholic but its Protestant character, and especially the adaptation of their work, by those clergy, to the varying circumstances of the times in which we live. It involves a wise and just expediency, not founded on a sacrifice of the principles of the Word of God, but which brings them to bear on the minds of men amidst all the conflict of opinion, and to deal wisely with those modes of thought which are the distinguishing characteristics of the times in which we live. Only let us arise individually to this standard and aim. Let us seek to have our future clergy trained in the subordination of nature to man, of man to God, in learning to accommodate their action to the circumstances of the times, but so as never to abandon their faith in the truth and authority of the inspired Scriptures which God has given us, and then we may still have a bright and hopeful prospect for our Universities, for the Church, and for the whole nation.

The Rev. J. G. Cazenove, Provost of Cumbrae College.

My Lord,—I accept, with all my heart, the picture drawn of the Oxford of my day by the eloquent voice of the Dean of Durham. I am one of those many to whom their University has indeed been a benign mother—*alma mater*—and it is sad to think that there should be any discrepancy in this respect between the past and the present. We cannot, however, ignore one remarkable fact which it pleased God should happen in His Providence. There was a school, with whatever faults, or even extravagances, or mistakes, which was earnest and able, and seemed to be carrying all before it. A great leader of

that school left us. I am not here to sit in judgment upon any one; but one of the many results of his departure was that very many seemed grievously unsettled—possibly for their whole lives long. To use a witticism of the day, many were conscientiously convinced that they had gone too far, and that instead of being Tractarians they ought to be Re-tractarians. But there were others who had sympathised with that movement as a brilliant intellectual phase, who, when its chariot-wheels dragged heavily, left it, rather because it did not seem to be a winning cause, than because they had real sympathy with anything else. From that time there was a great reaction, as will happen in the history of the human mind. A friend of mine used to say there was a *via media* everywhere. I find myself in some degree in that position, between the pictures given by Professor Palmer and the Dean of Durham to-day. If Professor Palmer is too sanguine, I cannot help hoping that the Dean is too gloomy; and I would draw a slight distinction, from my own experience, between those who are merely reading for the ordinary degree, and those who study for honours. Those who read for the ordinary degree, so far as I can make out, are not, at the present day, subjected to very much more temptation than usually falls to the lot of young men. Those, again, who read for certain honours, for instance in history, do not seem to be much tempted; although, in some degree, the works of Hallam, and I fear I must add the great work of Dean Milman, are too external in their character, and display no living interest in the struggles of great and good men. But among the classmen of Oxford there is a real peril; and although I think it is on the decrease, still it is a subject to be deeply lamented, and one which needs our prayers, and our best thoughts how such difficulty shall be met. I wish I could see a good reply—calm, bold, and reverent—to Mr. Lecky's work, on the *History of Rationalism.* I am glad to think that the translation of *Ueberweg's Logic*, by Mr. Lindsay, an eminent minister of the Free Church of Scotland, may do something to correct the tendencies of that school of Mill and Bain, in whose views, we are told by the *Athenæum*, young men of the University of London are steeped up to the very roots of their hair. As Dr. Arnold said, we do not so much need works directly religious as works on philosophy, on history, and on studies of the University generally, imbued with a religious spirit. We can gather what are the dangers of unsanctified intellect, by thinking how much God has done, by great minds such as an Augustine, an Athanasius, a Hooker, or a Butler, in their day. Those who give way to the temptations of their lower nature, or who are caught for a time by the world, as it passes by with its glittering train, may at least say that they have not defied their Maker; but those who set up their own intellect as a god become, as it were, victims to the temptation of our first parents—seeking to know good and evil, but learning the evil only and perverting others. Therefore, I do trust, that in all attempts to improve our Universities you will not, in your earnest endeavours to improve theological knowledge, overlook attempts to elevate and sanctify those previous studies on which the later ones are to be based.

THURSDAY EVENING, 10th OCTOBER.

SECTIONAL MEETING.

The Chair was taken by the Right Reverend the Bishop of Carlisle, at Seven o'clock.

CHURCH MUSIC.

The Chairman.

My duty this evening is a very simple one, namely, to occupy this chair while Sir Frederick Ouseley and others entertain and instruct us on the subject of Church music. It will be, however, impossible for me to allow the proceedings to commence without first testifying in one or two simple words the great interest which I have myself in the subject which is going to be discussed this evening. It has been my lot for more than ten years of my life, not exactly to sing Church music, though I did that to the best of my ability; but there devolved upon me the, perhaps, more important duty of making other people to sing, as dean of a cathedral, and that one of the grandest cathedrals in our country. And though I now look upon it, unfortunately, through a vista of three or four years, yet, having had one of the best choirs in the country in Ely Cathedral, it is impossible I could have been absent from the meeting this evening, or look upon the proceedings with anything less than the highest amount of interest. Having said these two or three words, which perhaps are more than I need have said, I have the greatest pleasure in the world to call upon my friend Sir F. Ouseley to give you his promised lecture.

The Rev. Sir F. A. G. Ouseley, Bart., read the following paper:—

The subject of Church music has so often and so ably been considered of late years at various great public meetings like the present, that it is not altogether easy to avoid saying again many things which have been already well and sufficiently said. And yet the subject is of such vast importance in itself, and touches the well-being of the Church in so many points, that it is well that public attention should be kept fixed upon it as much as possible. Who that compares the Church music of the present day with that which the oldest amongst us can remember as being almost universal in their childish days can fail to rejoice at the wonderful improvement,—I might almost say, transformation,—which has been effected, especially in the singing of our rural choirs? Nay, more,—is there not some connection between this musical improvement and the decency and order in other parts of the service which are now

happily and notoriously prevalent? Has not the practice of church song, fostered by choral associations and other machinery of the same class, had likewise a most beneficial social effect, bringing together clergy and laity, rich and poor, old and young, as fellow-workers in one good and holy cause, and thus tending in no small degree to abolish jealousies and misunderstandings, and to enable the various members of a parish to co-operate with friendly minds and willing hearts, in a way which formerly was seldom or never to be met with? If this be so (and I do not think it can be disputed), then is the promotion of Church music a most important object, in the best interests of the Church of England,—and the consideration of it very suitable to such an assembly as that which I have the honour of addressing. But there is another point of view in which this subject deserves our attention. Church music, like all other things in this world, is liable to corruptions and abuses—to injudicious and too stringent efforts at reform—to the misfortune of being split up into rival and antagonistic schools of style and taste—and above all to the danger of being taken as *the end*, instead of what it really is, the *means to an end.* That end to which it is the means, is the promotion of God's glory, by improving man's worship; and it were well if our Ecclesiastical musicians, whether composers, singers, or players on instruments, would bear this in mind a little more universally than they are in the habit of doing. Some years ago it was possible to divide Church music into two great classes—cathedral music and parochial music. Such a division was adopted by my friend Dr. Jebb in his admirable work on the Choral Service. Such a division I myself followed in a paper read by me before the Church Congress at Manchester. That division is no longer possible. In all our large towns may be found churches in which, of late years, choral services have become the rule—not always perfectly carried out, indeed, (as is the case in the Parish Church of Leeds,) but still essentially choral. And in a great number of rural churches in every part of the country we find attempts, and sometimes very successful attempts, to perform a really correct choral service, either occasionally, or ordinarily. And one of the most difficult of all the hard problems which have to be solved in connection with the conduct of public worship, is to decide in each particular case on the amount of musical element which it is expedient to introduce, so as to tend to the edification of those who come to worship, without offending prejudices or stimulating ignorant opposition. Perhaps the most perplexing part of this difficulty has its origin in the antagonism which must necessarily exist between the advocates of exclusively congregational singing, and those who love to devote the most refined and subtle beauties of the art to God's service. The only advice to be given, where such antagonism is displayed, is to have recourse to mutual compromise. In a cathedral, at least at ordinary services, the purely musical element should be allowed to prevail—and such should be the case wherever a regular trained and picked choir is established, and where parochial considerations do not come into collision therewith. In a rural church, where no singers are to be had, or at best only the very roughest, and where, perhaps, there is no organ, and no one qualified to train a choir, of course the only thing which can be done is to use every means to induce the whole congregation to sing simple hymn tunes, and to abstain

altogether from every attempt at chanting, or other elaborated singing. These are two extreme cases. But between them nearly every conceivable gradation may be found, and this fact renders it harder than it was formerly to read a paper or lecture on this subject which shall be useful to all classes of church musicians alike. Perhaps the best way will be to take the various parts of the service in order, and state my own ideas as to the way in which they should be musically rendered—and, first, as to the use of the monotone. In cathedrals all the prayers, collects, thanksgivings, and exhortations, are recited on one note by the chanter. By this means his voice is heard further and more distinctly than by ordinary reading, all peculiarities of style and idiosyncracies of manner are softened, and often extinguished, and the choir are enabled to sing their *Amen* musically, and in harmony, to suit the steady note used for the prayers. I am not an advocate for the use of the monotone except where there is a regular choir, and a tolerably complete musical service—but where these exist the use of the monotone is always to be cultivated. It is a great mistake to suppose that it is impossible to chant impressively on a monotone. If the chanter is careful about his stops and pauses, and slightly emphasizes those syllables which require it, he will have no difficulty in being as impressive as if he were preaching. In the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and some other parts of the service, the choir join in the monotone, and all the congregation should join in it likewise. Indeed, many a person who shrinks from the sound of his or her own voice in church, when used in ordinary conversational tone, can join with comfort in a congregational monotone, because the individual voice will then be swallowed up in the general tide of song. This argument has been well and forcibly put in my friend Mr. Hullah's excellent pamphlet, "On the duty and advantage of learning to sing." But I have to speak of music—and monotone is hardly so to be called. The next stage music-ward, however, involves melody. It is the regular inflexion which is used for the termination of versicles and suffrages—than which no part of our music is more venerable, its origin being lost in antiquity. It is called the ancient plain-song or canto fermo of the Church. It is not perfect as music, inasmuch as it is devoid of rhythm and symmetry. But it is admirably adapted to that portion of the service to which it is generally confined. The answers or responses, sung by the choir, are similar as to melody, but are usually harmonised, in four or five parts, the melody being sometimes in the treble, and sometimes in the tenor. Various cathedrals have different ways of harmonising these responses—and in many, the plain song has been sadly corrupted. On great occasions it is customary to accompany the responses with the organ, and then Tallis's admirable harmonies are almost universally employed. It is obvious that this music is only suited for regular trained choirs—in other places it ought never to be attempted. There is, however, no reason why, when it is used, those of the congregation who have voices and ears should not join in these responses, either in unison or in harmony—only, if in unison, they should sing only the plain song itslf, and not any other melody which may chance to accompany it, as is too often done.

But I must not delay to go on to a more interesting part of my subject—more interesting because it admits of musical illustration—I mean the psalm chant. A regular English psalm chant is either single or double.

The single chant takes in one verse at each repetition—the double takes in two. Of these the single is by far the best form, as it does not interfere with the sense, as the double chant must do whenever a new sentence or subject is started at a verse appropriated to the latter half of the chant, as is frequently the case. Moreover, a double chant interferes with the parallelism of the Hebrew poetry, which a single chant does not. Of course, there are exceptions to this. The psalm, "In exitu Israel," may be cited as a case in point, for the verses run in couples, as to their sense and parallelism, all through it, and, therefore, a double chant cannot interfere with them. The choir will now sing the "Venite exultemus" to a single chant, after which I will venture a few observations on the subject of chanting—its uses and its abuses. (Here was sung the *Venite* to a single chant.) Now, it cannot have escaped your observation that a chant is a combination of two elements—the one unrhythmical, and the other perfectly rhythmical and symmetrical. It is, therefore, a great advance on the versicle and response, from an artistic point of view. Musically speaking, a single chant is divided by a double bar into two parts—the double bar corresponding to the *colon* which is placed in the middle of every verse of our prayer-book Psalms. The former part, before the double bar is further divided into three bars, the latter part into four. The first bar of each division consists of a semibreve with a pause over it (understood, if not expressed), and on it must be distinctly recited so much of each half-verse as cannot be rhythmically included in the remaining bars. The style of recitation of the words, on the reciting notes, should be deliberate and distinct, and every necessary stop should be carefully observed—I say *necessary* stop, because there are certain commas, such as those before interjections, which are not minded in ordinary reading, and should not be dwelt upon in chanting. But all necessary stops, and emphases, should be observed in the recitation of the Psalms to a chant, according to the rules of good elocution. The rhythmical portion of the chant (that is the last two bars of the former division, and the last three of the latter), should be sung in strict time, like any other regular melody—and such a rate of speed should be adopted as shall bring the utterance of the syllables as far as possible to a pace approximately identical with that of the recitation which has gone before. Thus, the music will in no wise interfere with the sense of the words, and the words will not injure the effect of the music. It is a great advantage that all single and double chants are constructed on the same model, as regards the number and position of the bars and divisions. Whatever variety of melody they may contain, the division and adaptation of the words will always remain unalered. In what are called Gregorian chants this is by no means the case. They (belonging as they did, in their origin, to a tentative period, before melody had come to anything like perfection, and previous to the invention of harmony, or musical rhythm) require a different pointing of the words to suit each of their various endings, and this is what constitutes one of the especial difficulties which they involve. They are also almost devoid of melody, and thus the general congregation cannot so easily learn them, and carry them away in their memories, as they can the more tuneful melodies of our genuine English chants. I have, therefore, no hesitation in asserting that if the same pains are taken to teach a congregation to join in the melody of

English chants, as in those of a foreign origin, they will find the former by far the easier of the two.

It will not be necessary to vindicate the chanting of the Psalms to-day—it may be safely assumed that the absurdity of *talking* words of Divine song,—of saying, "O, come, let us sing," and then not singing,—of using a version specially pointed for chanting, and yet not chanting it at all,—will be readily admitted in such an assembly as the present. Where there is anything approaching to a choir, the Psalms should be chanted in harmony; where there is no choir they should be chanted in unison by the congregation, provided there is an organ, or even that wretched substitute, a harmonium, to accompany them. It is only in the absence of all such appliances, or under very exceptional circumstances, indeed, that the old "parson and clerk" system of reading them should be tolerated.

With a view to supplying an acknowledged want, it is my hope and intention, ere long, to bring out (in conjunction with my tried colleague, Dr. Monk) a set of single and double chants for every day in the month, so contrived as to be singable by the people in unison and octaves, while varied harmonies are played on the organ or harmonium. As both the chants and their accompaniments will be of the same date there can be no incongruity, no anachronism, in such treatment, and this is what cannot be said of Gregorian melodies, treated in a similar way; seeing that, in this latter case, the melodies were composed long before the introduction of harmony had been dreamt of, while the harmonies are obliged often to be of an ultra-modern, ultra-chromatic, character, to suit the melodies at all. This is sewing a new piece to an old garment with a vengeance! no wonder good taste revolts at it,—no wonder it fails to attract any really musically-gifted auditors. But this is a digression into which I have been betrayed contrary to my original design. Let us, then, return to our main subject.

We come now to the Canticles. These, like the Psalms, are pointed for singing, in our Prayer Books—and should be always sung under the same circumstances as when the Psalms can be so. In ordinary choirs chants should be used for the Canticles. For those which have an even number of verses double chants are not unsuitable. For the others, single chants only should be used. The *Te Deum* presents some difficulties on account of certain very short verses which it contains. These are, it must be confessed, but ill adapted for ordinary chanting. In many churches a more elaborate kind of music, called a chant-service, has been adopted for the *Te Deum*, which obviates this inconvenience. Sometimes, too, an interchange of two or three single chants of different characters may be advantageously employed. For the "Benedicite Omnia Opera," also, a peculiar sort of chant is required. For all the other Canticles the ordinary English chants are well adapted. Where there is a regular and well trained choir, as in our great cathedral and collegiate churches, and in the principal church of a large town, as here, for instance, at Leeds, certain more elaborate compositions, technically called "Services," are employed, with good effect, for the Canticles. A Service is like a psalm-chant in one point, *i.e.*, that it is antiphonal in its construction,—*i.e.*, the two sides of the choir answer each other in alternate verses. In all other respects a service is very like an anthem in style—only not so

ornate. As a specimen of a Service you shall now hear the *Gloria Patri* of a magnificent service, by one of our best church composers, Dr. Wm. Croft, who lived early in the last century.

"Gloria Patri," from the Jubilate.—*Croft*

I am by no means an advocate for the introduction of these complicated settings of the Canticles into our ordinary parish churches. I think that, especially in rural districts, and in churches intended for the more particular benefit of the poorer classes, such very hyper-artistic and un-congregational music is out of place altogether. But none the less should I be grieved if these beautiful compositions were to be disused in our cathedrals and central churches—forming as they do a kind of link between the chant and the anthem—an element of choral variety of style which appears to me most valuable from an artistic point of view—and one of the most legitimate ways of devoting the highest art to the service of God. Especially true is this in the case of the service for the Holy Communion, which claims the very best music we can give. Indeed, I go so far as to long for a time when, on great occasions, a full orchestra may be added to the organ and voices, so as to set forth the Church's grand old canticles and hymns to the best possible advantage. But, of course, this remark only applies to our very largest churches and cathedrals.

We have now, as it were, ascended in the scale of art from the simple monotone through the plain-chant, and the English psalm-chant, to the Service-setting of the Canticles. Only one more step remains—and that is the consideration of that most beautiful and valuable element of cathedral music, The Anthem. On this many words are not needed. We all know what an anthem is. But, possibly, we do not all recognise the best type of anthem.

Now, you will bear in mind that the anthem is essentially a *cathedral* element. In ordinary parish churches its place is supplied appropriately by a hymn. Wherever a regular choral service is established, however, (and even in other churches, on special occasions, when a sufficient choral body can be got together), an anthem should always follow the third collect at morning and evening prayer. Indeed, no cathedral service can be accounted genuine or complete where this beautiful part of it is omitted. I know, indeed, that in several English cathedrals it is the custom to omit the anthem on Sunday mornings. But such an omission is obviously an abuse, and a corruption of the cathedral service, which ought not to be allowed to prevail any longer. It is *unrubrical*, it is a *product of laziness* on the part of choral officials, and it tends to deprive the service of that *variety* which is an important advantage in all musical worship. The grandest and most sublime anthems are those which are intended to be performed by a large body of voices. Of these you shall now hear some good specimens.

1st. A fine short anthem, of a somewhat penitential character, by Richard Farrant, an eminent Church composer of the Elizabethan period. There is a touching pathos in all Farrant's works, which marvellously combines the elements of sublimity and beauty; nor is this character absent from the little anthem you are about to hear—

Anthem: "Call to remembrance."

2nd. A magnificent specimen of choral counterpoint, in six vocal parts, by that giant among the old composers, Orlando Gibbons. This great genius flourished in the beginning of the 17th century. He died at an early age under very sad circumstances. He had composed an ode for the marriage of Charles I., with Henrietta of France, in 1625, and had gone to Canterbury to superintend its performance. Here he was seized with small-pox, and died before his composition had been heard. He has left behind him much admirable church music, most of which has been hitherto unpublished. I may state that I am preparing a complete edition of his sacred works, which I hope will prove of no small use.

Anthem: "Hosanna to the Son of David."

A great change came over the style of our English Church music about the time of the accession of Charles II. During the Protectorate choirs had been universally dispersed, organs ruthlessly destroyed, copies of church anthems and services burnt, and the whole tradition of English Choral music broken. It was truly wonderful that our school of Ecclesiastical music ever recovered this very heavy blow. However, there arose a series of very gifted young composers, such as Blow, Turner, Wise, Humphries, and especially Purcell, —who supplied the Church with new music to make up for what had been lost, and, no doubt, what they did was of inestimable value. Unfortunately for the sublimity of art, the style of music chiefly affected by the Court of Charles II., was that of the then French school, and it is easy to trace the effect of this secularising influence, even in the works of Purcell himself. For he had, like the others, to compose for the service of the Chapels Royal, where the Court taste reigned supreme. Still, in spite of this drawback, much of Purcell's church music partakes largely of the element of sublimity, without detriment to its beauty and originality.

To show the difference of style, you shall now hear two anthems in immediate succession—one by Benjamin Rogers, who lived through the Interregnum, and continued to write in the old style; and another by Purcell—the greatest genius of the new order of things—

1st. "Teach me, O Lord."—*Rogers.*
2nd. "O God, Thou art my God."—*Purcell.*

Many composers at that time were clergymen and dignitaries of the Church; for instance, Henry Aldrich, D.D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and Robert Creyghton, D.D., Precentor, and Canon Residentiary of Wells. After Purcell, perhaps one our most characteristic and original composers was Dr. William Croft, a contemporary of Handel, as was also Dr. Maurice Greene. I must not omit the name of Dr. Boyce, who succeeded these great men, and to whom we are largely indebted for the three large and well-engraved volumes of collected Cathedral Music, which has done more than, perhaps, any other work ever published to keep up an unbroken tradition of good style and correct taste in Church music. He also greatly enriched our repertory by many beautiful anthems and services of his own composition.

You shall now hear an anthem by Dr. Boyce, which I have found to be a general favourite, and which combines good style and taste with correct harmony and counterpoint, and a careful setting of the words—

"Wherewithal shall a young man."—*Boyce.*

Of his successors I need only name Hayes, Battishill, and Attwood, whose anthems are greatly and deservedly valued in all our great choirs. Of living composers it would be invidious to speak. You shall, however, hear one magnificent specimen by Sir John Goss, just to show that sublimity is not dead amongst us; and I can thankfully add that he by no means stands alone on that high pinnacle of sacred art.

Anthem: "Praise the Lord."

You will have noticed that in some of the specimens of anthems which you have heard, broad choral effects alone are presented. In others we find also trios, duets, or even solos, interspersed, for the sake of variety and effect. Both kinds are admissible. The anthem is essentially *un-congregational.* Just as a voluntary played softly on the organ is of value to *rest* the worshippers, and to enable them afterwards to resume their active work of devotion with renewed energy, so the anthem may be regarded as a *choral voluntary,* if I may venture to use such an expression, useful for the same purpose, and even more efficient in adequately producing the desired effect. Therefore, every resource of art, vocal as well as instrumental, is thoroughly in its place in an anthem,—provided always that all things secular and frivolous be sternly banished, and nothing be admitted which can induce any association of ideas alien to the service of the most High God.

There is a great tendency in most cathedrals to prefer adaptations of foreign music to the genuine national anthems of the Church of England. Portions of the masses of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, have been frequently so treated. I call this musical murder. For, whereas the composers wrote their works to express and to set forth certain words and certain ideas, we deliberately wrench the words and music, asunder. We adapt the music to new words, too often utterly alien in character to the style and intention of the composition. We substitute English for Latin. We dispense with the orchestra, and supply its place with the organ alone. In short, we do enough despite to the composers' intentions, to disturb them in their graves, —not to mention the false idea we give of their works to those who can only listen to our falsified versions of them. We spoil the music, and then quote it as the inspiration of a great master. This is, indeed, musical murder; it is also musical theft, and musical falsehood. And, besides all this, it is a grievous disparagement to our own admirable school of church composition, of which we ought, as Englishmen, to be proud. Of course, there are exceptions. Some of the chorusses in Handel's oratorios which do not depend on the orchestra, but on the voice, for their effect, and which were originally written to English words, should be freely used. I should be the last to object, for instance, to the use of many parts of the Messiah at Christmas and Eastertide. And, perhaps, the same license may be conceded to some extracts from Mendelssohn's Elijah and St. Paul, and one or two bits of Spohr's oratorios. But, further than this I am not prepared to go, and even thus far I do it under protest.

One more point deserves mention under the present head, and that is the *selection* of anthems, with reference to the Church seasons. On all Saints' days special anthems should be selected, having some reference to the occasion, and always of a festal and jubilant

character. On days of fasting and humiliation, on the other hand, penitential anthems should always be preferred. Thus, a great deal of indirect teaching may be imparted, and all incongruities and inconsistencies avoided. It is wonderful to me that in many cathedrals this very obvious precaution is almost entirely ignored. Let us hope for an improvement in this respect. In my own church I go so far as utterly to exclude every anthem in which the word Hallelujah occurs, during the solemn season of Lent. But it is time to speak of another part of the subject.

We have now gone through the various parts of a regular choral service. In conclusion, let me say a few words on one element which does not properly enter into it, but which is still of vital importance as a part of ordinary Church service. I mean the *hymn*. This has happily superseded the old metrical Psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins, or Tate and Brady, which formerly reigned supreme. A hymn is essentially congregational. In most parts of England it should be sung by the people *in unison*, although accompanied on the organ *in harmony*. This does not apply, however, to the very musical part of England in which we are now assembled, where the people appear to sing harmony by instinct, and to have done so from the time of Giraldus Cambrensis. Hymns should be set to strong, healthy, hearty, tunes. Everything mawkish and sentimental should be studiously eschewed. The compass of the melody should be limited, so as to suit the vocal powers of the majority of the worshippers. The glorious old English tunes of Este and Ravenscroft, such tunes as the Old Hundredth, and the Old 113th are the sublimest models. Some tunes of later growth are also admirable. Such a one is *Hanover*, so effectively sung the other day in the Parish Church here. Of late years a great improvement has been exhibited in the style of our tunes. *Prettinesses* have been expelled, I am glad to say, in favour of good solid compositions; and such collections as the Anglican Hymn Book, Hymns A. and M., and others, too numerous to mention in detail, have done a vast amount of good service to the Church, and to the cause of congregational song.

But, along with this good, there has sprung up in some quarters what I must regard as a gigantic evil. I allude to the adaptations of ultra-secular songs and ballads to sacred words. I have heard "*La Suissesse au bord du lac*" sung frequently as an English hymn, for instance, in one of the most crowded churches in London. How can such tunes in 6-8th time, in tripping measure, in secular style, with associations of secular and even amorous and questionable words,—How can such tunes conduce to devotion? How can they enhance the perfection of sacred art? How can they fail to degrade that which they seek to exalt? How can they result in ought but the disgust and discouragement of all musical churchmen; the misleading of the unlearned; the abasement of sacred song; the falsification of public taste; and (last but not least) the dishonour of God and his worship? Away, then, with secularity in our Church music. Let all be *done to edifiying*. Let us strive so to improve our national service of song, that through it souls may be drawn to Christ, and thus our musical services be made subservient to the highest aims. I could say much more about this matter of secular and un-ecclesiastical hymnody, but I feel that it is not the branch of the subject on which I have been asked to dilate;

and, indeed, I am told that a Leeds musician of eminence had proposed to read a paper on this subject, but it was not considered advisable, as it had been so thoroughly discussed at former Church Congresses. I therefore refrain from further remarks in this direction. Indeed, I have already occupied too much time. By way, then, of summing up all that has been said, let me recommend that the *ornamental* style be almost eschewed, that the *beautiful* be appropriately used in its place, but that the *sublime* style be ever predominant. For we may be sure that *that* will be the prevailing characteristic of those glorious songs of praise which the blessed spirits of saints departed, and the bands of bright angels, for ever shall pour forth before the everlasting throne on high,—in which heavenly music may we all be privileged to join hereafter.

The Chairman.

It is breaking through the ordinary proceedings of these Congress meetings, but this is not merely a short paper—it is an elaborate and illustrated lecture, and I am sure I shall only be interpreting your feelings when I tender Sir F. Ouseley, in your name, a hearty vote of thanks.

Dr. Stainer, Organist of St. Paul's, read the following paper:—

It will, I suppose, be generally admitted, that English churchmen have a right to ask that the influence exercised by our cathedrals, whether on art or religion, shall be of the highest and purest character. Knowing as we do the extraordinary effects music is capable of producing on the emotions, on the mind, on the very soul itself, it is of the utmost importance that these effects, this power, should be guided and handled to the best possible purpose. The world of pleasure is fully alive to the allurements of sweet sounds, and very often uses their attractions to no good purpose, and, in so doing, is able to secure the services of many of the best composers, singers, and instrumental performers. If the Church is content to stand still in matters of music, she is allowing a valuable weapon to be wrested from her hands and used by her adversaries. Our duty, as churchmen, is plain; we must strive to keep the standard of our music as high or higher than that of secular music, and so extend the influence of the Church, as against that of the world. I know there may be many here who will object to this view, as offering æsthetical temptations to worshippers: but should we not compete with the æsthetics of the world? I think we must do so. We should draw into the service of the Church, not only the most promising composers, but also painters, sculptors, and poets, should make art subservient to morality, and make all that is beautiful exemplify and inculcate all that is good.

I believe one of the faults of our Cathedral musicians is a tendency to run into one groove, to become adherents and admirers of only one style or school of music; by doing so, they prevent many devout members of the congregation from reaping that benefit from the services to which they are justly entitled. It will be said, the taste of individuals is so

various that it is impossible to please everybody. But has the attempt ever been made? The reply to this question is to be found by looking over those programmes of the music for the week, which, in our cathedrals, are technically termed *bills*. Now, a glance at these in the majority of cases shows that the selection of music is made on no principle at all, or that where a principle exists, it is a bad one. Some churches are notorious for a constant reproduction of the music that has been heard in their walls for a century; others are found neglecting the old in their anxiety to adopt the new; in some, the contents of the anthem-book are steadily worked through, because it contains many old favourites. These *old favourites* in nine cases out of ten are, I must say, very poor specimens of music. But to return, the selection of works for cathedral use should not be hap-hazard, nor should it depend upon the likes or dislikes of precentor or organist. Where are we to seek for our guiding principle? Let us look to facts. We find that the Church possesses an extensive musical literature, consisting of services and anthems, by composers of all dates, varying greatly in style. The greater part of these are by English writers; but some, owing to their appropriateness to our forms of worship and its requirements have been, very properly, adapted from the works of foreigners.

What is to be done with this repertory of music? Cathedral authorities are its trustees and guardians. It is their duty to see that these works of art which have accumulated from many successive generations, shall be exhibited, as it were, to the best advantage. They must also encourage and tend the growth of church musicians, that this generation may duly add its contribution to this splendid property. But I ask, ought any one person, be he precentor or organist, to say, "Only such a period shall be represented in our cathedrals," "Only such or such a style of composition shall be heard?" Certainly not. I come here to advocate the simple principle that the best specimens of all styles of music should be selected for such use. The musical authorities, precentor, and organist, should, out of their art-treasures, produce things new and old; and in order to encourage young composers, a certain number of new compositions should be always in use. Few authors can be tempted to write on the chance of their works being listened to in a century's time. All have not the faith in their own works of a John Sebastian Bach or a Franz Schubert. Nor can all hope that the hand of a Mendelssohn shall, at some future time, take from the library-shelf the result of their labour, be it even a noble Passion-music, or that a George Grove and Arthur Sullivan will be found to dive into dusty cupboards, in remote places, and drag forth their sublime symphonies.

It will be said, "It is easy enough to say, 'Select music new and old,' but what is meant by old? Do you include Gregorian tone and tunes under *old*, or eject them as obsolete?" It may be urged also, "If you include Gregorian music, you should, to be consistent, also have a little descant sometimes, and a little diaphony, with its perpetual succession of consecutive fifths and octaves." This objection cannot be satisfactorily answered until a definite test of the value of church music be found. What makes church music good or bad? what criterion can we apply to it which will enable us to gauge its value? This is the test, the only test. *It must edify.* By all means let it be highly artistic in every form,

so long as its artistic construction adds to, not subtracts from, the religious edification it is capable of producing. Let us proceed to apply this test universally. Now, if we arrange church music under different styles, regardless of date, you will find it falls into the following classes. 1st, consisting of a plain accompaniment of a given melody, which we will call the *simple harmonic.* 2nd, containing elaboration of detail according to conventional rules, which we will call the *contrapuntal.* 3rd, embodying an attempt, to paint in sounds, the varying emotions produced by the words, which we will call the *dramatic.* A large number of very important compositions consist of a combination of all these styles. Of them we shall have a few words to say by and bye. Perhaps we may make them a fourth class, and call them the *composite.*

The first class, or *simple harmonic,* will be found of two kinds, one in which the relation of the harmonic progressions is of more importance than the melody; the other, in which the melody is all-important, and simple harmonies are only used with a view to its support. The first of these is, generally speaking, the older of the two, for our musical forefathers not unfrequently wrote their bass part first, then built upon it; nor were they altogether wrong, for a very fine effect is produced by a beautifully arranged series of chords, a finer effect in fact, than that sometimes produced by the undisguised prominence of a striking *tune* or *air.* As examples of the first, I might mention, Croft's Burial Service, and "Hide not Thou Thy face," Farrant; "O bone Jesu," Palestrina; of the second, "Come Holy Ghost," Attwood; "O Lord my God," Wesley.

But there are some ancient melodies, which lived before *harmony* (in the modern sense of the word) was invented, which have come down to our time in all their original simplicity. The so-called Ambrosian *Te Deum* is one of these, and when harmonised quite simply, may claim its place in the *simple harmonic* style, and its right to be heard sometimes within our cathedral walls. Under the same category come many "unbarred melodies" as they are termed, some Gregorian tones, and the Communion office of Marbecke. I know some of my hearers will be alarmed—"What! have Gregorians in cathedrals" they will exclaim: I answer, yes, the *best of them*—not to the *exclusion* of music of all other kinds. May I be allowed to say in passing, that much of the prejudice which exists against Gregorian and other kinds of old church song, is owing entirely to the ill-advised zeal of its advocates, who have earned for themselves the unenviable title of "Gregorianizers;" so well is it known that if they had their own way, nothing but old church song would be heard. This one-sidedness is the very thing I am here to protest against, and I hope it will be understood that while appreciating the historical value, the ecclesiastical character, and the edifying power of so called Gregorian music, I am no Gregorianizer, nor have I any sympathy with Gregorianizers. There seems to be a prevalent notion that anybody can play and anybody sing Gregorian music. Nothing is more fallacious. I have said it should be harmonised simply. I do not, however, mean to say that modern chords should not be used, or that its melodies should not be decorated in the same way as even double chants are decorated by many accompanists; but I do say, that the indiscriminate galloping up and down the scale, and the harmonic contortions to which this class of music is often subjected, not only bring

it into just disrepute, but also place it outside the pale of a Cathedral selection. Large numbers of voices are necessary to its proper exposition. I have heard a Gregorian service supported by two men and a boy. To those who would defend such an absurdity, I would say, think how sublime a thing you are making ridiculous. I hope it will be distinctly understood, that I am the last man to desire the extinction of double and single chants; but, on the other hand, I consider it only fair that some of the finest Gregorians should be *sometimes* heard in cathedrals, considering the vast number of worshippers who are greatly edified by them.

The best specimens of the simple harmonic, whether chants, services, anthems, or hymn tunes, can be easily discerned, and should at times be selected for use. The *bad* specimens of this class are as easily discovered; in them, either simplicity will be found to have sunk into weakness, or, an attempt at bold progressions has resulted in ugliness.

With regard to the second class, the contrapuntal style, it will be seen to possess rare merits, but also some serious defects. Its merits are, that it can, when properly handled, constantly stimulate the attention of hearers, and almost *compel* attention to the words, giving, at the same time, a feeling and sense of satisfaction by its completeness and massiveness. Its serious drawback is that it often unfortunately entirely shrouds the spirit of the words by the elaboration of its details, and so tempts the thoughts away from the words, to a contemplation of the author's musical skill. We shall have no difficulty in deciding what specimens of this class of music should be used in our cathedrals, if we apply the following test—namely, When counterpoint renders confused or unintelligible those sacred words on which it should be, as it were, a commentary, it is, without doubt, objectionable. I cannot help here pointing out how many of the settings of the canticles, or *services*, as we call them, by English composers, err in that respect. In many of them a subject for imitation is proposed at every verse or half-verse of the text, and whether the words are those of prayer, praise, or narrative, no distinction in style is made; all are ruthlessly turned into the contrapuntal mill, which ceases not to grind, till the very last word is reduced to powder. Even Orlando Gibbons, whose ideas are generally broad and grand, is guilty of this fault. In his Nicene Creed in F, at the words "And was crucified also for us, He suffered and was buried"; words so solemn, so affecting, that many a knee on hearing them sinks in adoration, he has a musical theme of a trivial, almost of a playful character. Can any better proof of the utter disregard of the words, in which contrapuntists indulge, be brought before you than this? One MS. copy of his service has, I believe, minims instead of crotchets at this particular passage; but it is an emendation of such questionable authority that I never have heard of its adoption. This contempt of words is a prominent feature of our contrapuntal services. It has been said that some of the pages of Handel, on which he depicted in sweet sounds scenes of the Passion, were found stained with his tears. Do you suppose that the mere contrapuntist is moved to tears while writing? Nothing of the sort: the only anxiety you can trace on his face arises from his fears whether he can make his subject of so many notes or bars stand on its head, which he calls *inversion;* or whether he can stretch it

out to twice its length, which he calls *augmentation;* or whether he can squeeze it into half its compass, which he calls *diminution ;* whether worshippers will be *edified* or not by his music is none of his business ; it is enough for him if it is ingenious. But imagine, for one moment, what is really the effect of this word-killing counterpoint on hearers. If a man be an educated musician he will be, perhaps, interested, often *amused,* at the devices of construction. Is this edification? If, on the other hand, the hearer knows *nothing* of music, he will but hear the words huddled together in a mass of helpless confusion. Is *this* edification? Such services—which are a parody on fine music, and which mar some of our finest canticles, as the Te Deum and Magnificat—I trust will some day be for ever exiled from our cathedrals. With regard to anthems in this style, composers are free to select their own words, and therefore can choose less in quantity and make them more impressive. We have some splendid specimens of such anthems by English writers : "If ye love Me," Tallis ; "God is gone up," Croft ; "Put me not to rebuke," Croft ; "Hosanna," Gibbons ; "O God, Thou hast cast us out," Purcell ; "My God, my God," Blow ; cannot be surpassed for mixed beauty and grandeur. It will be easy, then, in selecting for cathedral use, to choose only those contrapuntal works, in which the counterpoint *enforces* the meaning or spirit of the words ; and to reject consistently all those in which counterpoint tends to hide or destroy their meaning. Some of Bach's chorales come under this class, and should take their place occasionally amongst Hymn tunes of other kinds.

Now as to the dramatic style. Though this is chiefly aimed at by modern writers, yet there has ever been a reaching after it by various composers, from Purcell and Humphrey up to the present day. When skilfully treated, this style is capable of perpetually leading us into a train of thoughts most suitable to the words. But it requires a high order of talent to do this successfully. The fault of this style is that it is liable to have about it no repose, no rest ;—all is a straining after effect. When our canticles are set to music of this character, they are often presented to our ears in a series of small detached fragments, which, however well they represent the spirit of each separate passage, fail to impress us with the oneness, the unity of the words set (*e.g.*, Attwood in A, morning service, which, though full of beautiful ideas, is in effect patchy and restless). In anthems this fault, for reasons before alluded to, is not so likely to be found. We possess some fine hymns tunes in the dramatic style. I will mention two: "I heard the voice of Jesus say, Come unto me and rest ;" and "Fierce raged the tempest o'er the deep ;" both by Dr. Dykes. In choosing specimens of this style avoid those in which genuine dramatic music is merely imitated by a constant change of key, and a forced departure from musical form.

Of church music in a mixed style, part simple, part contrapuntal, part dramatic, we possess a noble store. What can be more beautiful than "O God thou art my God," Purcell ; "By the waters of Babylon," Boyce ; "O where shall wisdom be found," Boyce ; "The wilderness and solitary place shall be glad for thee," Wesley ; and later still, "We have heard with our ears," by Arthur Sullivan, an anthem founded on a Gregorian tone, but breathing throughout the brightest aspirations of modern art, though moulded into an old form. Mendelssohn has written

church compositions in almost every style, some of which were originally set to English words, most of which are thoroughly suited to their English version. If I were asked how to make a selection from these, I should say—*Take all.* His religious and pure mind, his soft and refined sentiments, his keen sense of the contact between the seen and unseen, made him the chosen vehicle of musical inspirations, which, considering the short time they have been entrusted to us, have exercised an influence over society little short of miraculous.

Parts of his oratorios are admirably fitted for cathedral use. I am aware that there are some who say that arrangements from oratorios should not be used in cathedrals, because originally composed for the concert room. I would remind such objectors that the oratorio was in its early growth a valuable means of teaching sacred truths in sacred buildings—in churches. That it has been allowed to find its way into the concert room is owing to the negligence of the Church, and is no reason against making the best possible use of it within sacred walls *now.* The Church has lost (in the oratorio) a valuable possession, and now, earnest musicians have, as it were, picked it up, and bring it back to the Church saying, "Here is your lost oratorio, receive it again." To which, some would wish the Church to say, "No thank you; it does not belong to me." Is this wise? Is it true? No; I have before alluded to the necessity for a rivalry between the music of the Church and the music of the "world;" and in this contest, I assure you, the Church will have no chance of success, till she knows how to produce the oratorio, the Passion music, the cantata, with all their proper instrumental accompaniments, within her precincts. Nay, more, why should not the "Gloria in excelsis," that apostolic hymn of hymns, that highest form of praise, be always in the highest form of art? In every cathedral town why should not all the lovers of music and the church be drawn together and trained till thousands can sing as one voice? This is, at present, an ideal, I know; but, I am convinced that the first step towards attaining it is to have music of all styles, and so exclude nobody; to be able to say to the lover of Anglican music, Come to our cathedral on such and such days; to the lover of Gregorian music, come on such other days; to those who can devoutly worship when listening to an oratorio, (and who can not?) come at such times; to those who love congregational singing, come on Sundays, and hear our roof echo again and again to the uplifted voice of the hearty congregation.

Thus should I like it to be shown by our cathedral authorities, that no partial musical education, no party spirit, no allegiance to any special school of music, dictates the selection used; but that all our beautiful heirlooms of musical art are valued and treasured, and duly presented to the children of the Church, in their most suitable form.

But before this can be done, a huge weight of prejudice which lies heavily on some of our precentors and organists must be removed. Let Church Congresses take care lest by their influence they foster such prejudice; they can I am sure, and *ought* to do much to destroy it.

DISCUSSION.

Dr. Spark.

I had no idea of addressing this meeting to-night, having just left a crowded one at the Town Hall, where, as Borough Organist, I have been engaged in the performance of my duties; but I was unwilling to allow our learned lecturer and Dr. Stainer, to go away without offering, on behalf of the musicians of Leeds, our sincere congratulations on their appearance amongst us. I have been deeply interested in the portion of Sir Frederick Ouseley's lecture I have heard; and you will agree with me that we are all indebted to him for his generally sound views on Church music. From the accomplished successor of Sir John Goss, Dr. Stainer, we have also received some valuable suggestions on our Church services. But I do not entirely agree with either, and I will tell you why. Not only for its simplicity, but for its elevation of thought, much of our Church music is very beautiful. Some portions of it, however, appear to me to be scarcely adapted to our modern times. We live in a new epoch, and must adapt ourselves to the age in which we live. I admire the old Church music as much as any one. I was educated in a cathedral, and am therefore attached to its services; but I maintain that we want what I am sure our neighbours across the Channel would approve—a commission to examine what is really good and valuable, that we may authoritatively advise its use, and at the same time eliminate all that is obsolete or worthless.

Let me, however, repeat the expression of satisfaction with which we have all heard the admirable lecture and its happy illustrations. Heartily I endorse what Sir Frederick has said with respect to oratorios and masses. We need not go beyond members of our own Communion to hear the music of the Church of England performed. Yet we are continually rushing to foreign composers, and leaving our own great masters for men with whom we have no sympathy, because they have no sympathy with us. I feel strongly on this point, for we are doing a national wrong. With regard to the services, how many of us have been fated to listen to Te Deums, Magnificats, and Canticles possessing neither melody nor character—whilst our own Church music, selected with judgment and taste, and freed from unnecessary repetitions, might not only give us the highest intellectual pleasure, but contribute to afford one of the highest aids to true devotion. The mode of rendering such music in our Parish and other Churches in Leeds might be cited in proof of what I am advancing.

The lecturer has alluded to the fact that I offered to the Congress a lecture on the subject of "Hymns," in the hope that an useful and practical discussion might arise as to their adaptation to large congregations. The two preceding speakers are admirable exponents of Cathedral music—but what we want here is some one who shall tell us what is the best kind of music to attract and retain the sympathies and affections of the great masses of the people.

Many of the speakers at the Congress regret that thousands of working-men in Leeds are not with us in our Communion. We want to bring them back. Very well. Then I want to know what is to bring them back. We are told they do not care much for preaching. Some of them, I know, say so; but I maintain that the music of our National Church—the music of our great national composers—the melodies of English music speaking to English hearts—will bring them back, and, when you have charmed them with the simple music they love so well, you will have their hearts open to all you have to say to them.

The Rev. H. F. Sheppard, Vicar of Thurnscoe.

In the absence of Mr. Hullah, whose name is upon the paper as one of the speakers upon this subject, we lack one of the three great elements which would have gone to make up a musical unity. In Sir F. Ouseley we have the theory, in Dr. Stainer we have the execution, and in Mr. Hullah we should have had the critical and historical faculty. And now, my Lord, I trust I shall not be thought ungrateful or presumptuous if I at once acknowledge that the interesting papers which have been read to us, have yet left in my mind a little feeling of disappointment,—and if I venture to point out what appears to me an important want in them. It was impossible to listen without pleasure to Sir Frederick Ouseley's lecture, and to the admirable illustrations which accompanied it, but I regret that it did not contain (what I certainly expected would have been put forth on an occasion like the present, when so many churchmen are come together to take counsel in Church matters) some allusion to, and recognition of, the *ancient ritual music of the English Church.* Dr. Stainer did indeed, in his paper, partly supply the deficiency, but he based his advocacy on other grounds rather than on those of principle, and, whilst admitting in some respects the merits of Gregorians, disclaimed all sympathy with Gregorianisers. I confess plainly that I am a Gregorianiser, by which I mean, not that I insist on the exclusive use of such music, but that I am one of those who hold that the ancient hereditary music of the Church of England, plain-song music, has been wrongfully eliminated from her services, and that it ought to be replaced in them not as a matter of taste, but of right. And, although Dr. Stainer does not sympathise with me, I sympathise with him, and am so far grateful for his advocacy that I strongly recommend all present who wish to know how to accompany the Gregorian tunes, to procure and study Dr. Stainer's published harmonies to them. Now, Dr. Stainer has drawn a lively picture of Gregorians under difficulties, as sung by two men and a boy. It is not in the least overdrawn. I myself have frequently chanted the Psalms to these tones with no better choir than two boys and a man, and I really see nothing ludicrous in the idea. If the parish priest can find no more to join in the office, why should they not sing it if able to do so? It is one of the merits of the Gregorian tunes, that they are adapted for small as well as large choirs, and really may very well be sung, if need be, without any accompaniment at all. It is too often assumed that they cannot be properly used without a great number of voices, especially of men's voices. This is quite a mistake. Of course, with a large choir and fine organ you get grand effects, but effect is not the first thing to aim at. The primary object of choral service is not the edification of man, but the glory of God. And the glory of God demands that, in His service, you shall do your very best, even though it may be poor after all. Now, if being but two or three together, the Church directs you to sing, and you, being able to sing, only talk, you are not doing your very best. My position is this, that the services appointed by the Church of England are in their nature choral from beginning to end, and that any other mode of rendering them is a departure from her original intention. Sir F. Ouseley seems to think that, only where special facilities exist, the service should be musical. But it appears to me that a musical service is plainly contemplated as the rule, and that if it cannot be first rate, we must be content with something less. What else does the title page of the Prayer Book, what else do the Rubrics imply, when they direct that this or that is to be "sung or said." They imply music, ornate or simple, as the case may be, but always music. And now, the Gregorians are the simplest possible music, for they consist merely of a reciting note with an inflection at the end of each half verse, It is the varied character of this inflection which distinguishes the Gregorian from the Anglican chants. These last are cast all in one uniform mould, and Sir F. Ouseley speaks of them as if their form were a universally received thing, established by some incontrovertible authority. But, except that of a certain custom, they have no authority at all, certainly none from the Church. The only music that has any recognised authority in the English Church is that which was in use at the time of the Reformation. No sooner was the first English

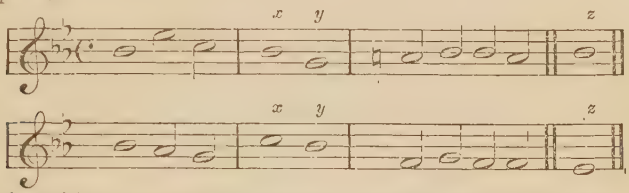
Prayer Book put forth, than the old music was adapted to it by John Marbecke and the "Common Prayer Noted" was published in 1550, with the approbation and sanction, if not by the official authority, of Archbishop Cranmer. We have since then drifted into the Anglican system, single and double, but Gregorian tones are the only chants which have any claim to be used "by authority." But this is not their only claim, they have other authority greater even than official sanction—that of an unbroken use in the Christian Church from its earliest days. If our branch of the Church Catholic, if her existence, her doctrines, her ritual, her offices, all dated from the sixteenth century, then her music might well be modern too; but seeing that in all these respects she goes back to primitive antiquity, and prides herself upon it, why should her ancient music be discarded? For example, Sir Frederick Ouseley instanced the 114th Psalm as well adapted for a double chant. But that Psalm has been sung to its own peculiar melody for hundreds of years, far beyond the reach of tradition. We all know that *In exitu Israel* was one of the psalms sung by the Jews at the Feast of the Passover, and musical historians of eminence have told us that the beautiful chant to which it has ever been sung in the Christian Church—the *Tonus Peregrinus*—may not improbably be a relic of the Temple music, in which case we may have in this tone the very melody to which our Blessed Lord and His disciples sang the psalm in question, before they went out into the Mount of Olives. Surely we would not change this possibility for any chant, double or single, whatsoever. One more point I would urge in connection with Gregorian music—one which is generally overlooked. All ecclesiastical art is conventional, Church architecture, painting, sculpture, are all conformable to a certain type, and form a class in themselves. Church music must not be separated from these. It belongs to the same class, and is, like them, conventional. The difference between it and the modern style of Church music may be shown by a single illustration. Supposing, if it were possible, that the Christian religion could be effaced—banished from the earth, what effect would that have on the kind of Church music advocated by Sir F. Ouseley? None whatever, not the slightest. Why should it? They have no distinctive character in common. But take away Christianity, and Gregorian music, with all mediæval art, would fall into disuse; would no longer have any meaning or office; they would fade away and sink into mere anachronisms. They derive their merits, their beauty, utility, their very *raison d'etre*, simply and solely from their relation to that divine institution, in whose service they have developed, with which they are inseparably connected, whose doctrines they illustrate, and whose offices they adorn.

The Rev. J. R. Lunn, Vicar of Marton-cum-Grafton.

Judging from what Dr. Stainer has said, it would appear as if there had been a sort of general conspiracy, on the part of Gregorianisers, to swamp all Church Congresses, but I was not aware Gregorians were advocated at a Church Congress before to-night. I am a Gregorianiser myself. Gregorians have been described as unmelodic, that is to say, as having been invented before melody. Now, I believe the Gregorians are the most practicable and suitable for English prose. In my opinion, Anglican chants are measured and rhythmical, and therefore suitable to English Iambic Verse. Sir F. Ouseley has alleged that Gregorian chants, being the compositions of ages before melody was invented, ought to be discarded, but this allegation would, if good for anything, prove too much, for the invention of melody is usually attributed to Mozart, though, in my opinion, it is to be attributed to Sebastian Bach; therefore, if the objection is valid, it would necessitate the rejection of all the oldest Anglican chants likewise. Dr. Stainer has said, that, perhaps the Gregorianisers would like a little descant with consecutive fifths, &c. This must surely have been a slip on his part, as he must know that the older people were much more particular about fifths than we now are.

The President.—Sir F. Ouseley and Dr. Stainer both say they did not state what you have unintentionally attributed to them.

MR. LUNN.—Now, it has been said that Gregorian chants would be bad if sung by two men and one boy. Since I have been in Yorkshire I have been put in very extreme cases. As conductor of the Choral Association in my district, I have had to do with both Anglican and Gregorian chants; I have uniformly found the latter more manageable. I have been placed in a parish where there was no musical knowledge at all, and it would have been simply impossible for me to have done anything with that small number of singers, which I could get together, on any other than Gregorian principles. Gregorian chants, "sung by two men and a boy," would be more satisfactory than Anglican chants under similar circumstances. There is a much more serious objection in the form of Anglican Chants, which you will best see by an inspection of the following, one of the most approved:—



That is the real form, as appears from actual performance; and in it the cæsura, division, or gap really occurs at the places marked *y*, whereas the colon in the Psalms is made to come at the places marked *x*. I need refer no further than to the Venite which the choir have just sung; they actually did make the division, not where the colon in the Prayer Book is put, but at the end of the recitation note following. It will also be observed that the bars marked *z* are usually written only half the length. I have used this chant to the hymn, "Draw nigh and take the Body of the Lord," with good effect, and I am sure that if any one will try that experiment they will see that Iambic Verse and not prose is the proper thing for Anglican chants. Some of the newspapers have expressed surprise and regret that no practical advice has ever been given on such matters, and I will, therefore, in conclusion, state four rules for "pointing," to secure rational, dignified, and intelligible chanting. They are (1) syllable for note; (2) if obedience to this make the accents amongst the words disagree with the musical accent, then better have two notes to a syllable than two syllables to a note; (3) if it is necessary to put two or more syllables to one note, then of these the relative accent should occur on the last, so as to form an Iambus or an Anapæst; (4) if it should be, as an extreme case, necessary to violate this, it must in no case be violated on the last note of mediation or cadence, for otherwise, it will produce an agglomeration of a lot of unaccented syllables floating about in the air, which will cause indistinctness and flippancy.

The Rev. CANON BEADON.

I SHALL not detain this meeting beyond a very few minutes in what I have to say. I am not myself a musician, though passionately fond of music, and so cannot enter into the controversy as to Gregorianisers, and Anglicanisers. But to speak practically, I can say something of what has been done in a small parish, with the use of the Anglican chants. I confess myself a humble disciple of Sir Frederick Ouseley, thanking him most cordially for the lecture he has given us, and the choir for the beautiful music in illustration. I cannot but fear there are some of my reverend brethren present constituted like myself, in country parishes with small population, and who may think it impossible for them in any way to avail themselves of the hints which have been given them to-night. May I tell the meeting what I have been able to do in a small parish without either organ or harmonium. I live in the South of England, in a district where there is little or no natural taste for music in any classes of society, and it is only within the last few years, when a choral union has been established, that there has been anything like an effort to promote Choral Services.

Indeed, I may say there are not above two or three parishes where there is any attempt to have a choral service. In engaging national schoolmasters for the last twelve years, I have made it a *sine qua non* that they should be masters of vocal music. Twelve years ago, I began with a master from Battersea, and since that time the choral service in the evening has never been suspended. I have a choir of ten boys and six men, in a congregation of 320; and every one of them are working-men, and the boys labour in the fields with their hands, and their choral services have never been interrupted, even in the absence of the precentor. Of course, we cannot compete with the services of large towns. In the morning the Canticles only are sung. We have an anthem, such as the simple anthems of Tarrant, Goss, and Sir Frederick Ouseley. Our hymns are taken from various selections; and I only know one thing which has enabled us to carry on our service, viz., that we never, in the selection of our chants and hymns, choose anything that the congregation cannot join in, and never continue the use of any hymn tune which is not cordially accepted by the congregation. By that means we have been enabled to keep up our services. No one enjoys a Gregorian service more than myself, and, without saying which shall be first and which last, I humbly hope and believe that what tends to the edification of the people, tends also to the glory of God.

Mr. C. L. Higgins.

I am very unwilling that this large and important meeting of the Church Congress should quite pass away, without a slight allusion to certain institutions which are now becoming very common. It is a matter for great thankfulness, that throughout the length and breadth of the land there should have arisen within the last few years so earnest a desire for the improvement of Church music. And this desire has manifested itself not only in large towns, in which the churches are filled with congregations more or less intelligent and refined, but also in the rural districts, where those who worship are for the most part of the poorest and humblest class. Almost everywhere, in the smallest churches, with the least advantages as we suppose, may be heard now a hearty, joyful, loving song of praise, to Him who regards with gracious favour the humble endeavours of His faithful people. I can remember well the time when, in such churches as I have spoken of, a hymn was never sung, or a chant attempted, from one end of the year to the other. While the clergyman was changing the surplice for the black gown, and climbing up to the top of the "three-decker," the parish clerk from below was wont to say, "let us *read* to the praise and glory of God, the — psalm," whereupon he proceeded, "How blest is he," &c. How changed is all this. Happy indeed, are we who have lived to see it. Now, I am anxious to say a few words upon a subject which has not been touched upon at all during this evening meeting. I mean that of Church Choral Associations, and festival services in connection with them. I do believe that these associations, which are now spreading themselves almost everywhere have been more than anything else the means of promoting and bringing about the blessed change to which I have alluded. I have myself been privileged to take a humble part in many, and I can most truly say that, wherever the attempt has been made, it has nearly in every case proved most successful. Such associations do not desire to help those who can, and will, and do help themselves. Here, in Leeds, as indeed throughout the whole of this great county of Yorkshire, everybody has a voice, and a good one too. The people seem to sing naturally, and charmingly they do it, as we have all had the pleasure of experiencing in the exquisite illustrations given this evening. But in many parts of England it is not so. Great pains and labour, and some expense also, is required to train a little village choir to sing those sweet and heavenly hymns and chants, which do so much to refresh and elevate the mind, and by God's blessing to improve the heart. Praise is indeed "comely," and it is worth while to offer our best endeavours to promote that, which our blessed Master is graciously pleased to accept, and which angels and archangels delight to

offer. The part of England in which I live is by no means one in which musical talent naturally prevails; and yet, Church Choral Associations have been established, embracing from ten to thirty parishes each, the result of which has been the spread of an improved Church song all the country over. How much may be done if we only try? Our Right Reverend President, when he was Dean of Ely, lifted up an encouraging voice from the choir of his cathedral, which echoed in the chancels of very many of our village churches, and swelled forth in sacred anthems and heavenly songs, never more to be silent I trust, till one great Catholic hymn of praise shall rise from the Church, in still better and happier times yet to come. I have but a very few moments more. Let me earnestly try to engage your sympathies in behalf of this work. Great results sometimes arise from small beginnings. Two men and a boy are quite sufficient. Take the girls into favour. They will do good service. O, happy will you be, reverend sirs, if in your parishes you can, in the least degree, promote that in which heaven rejoices. Your little village choir may join with angels in humble praise; and, perchance, if you listen well, some day, when you little expect it, you may hear arising from your chancel faint breathings of a song more lovely far than any of mere earthly melody, for the Church of the past and the present is all one still. The Communion of Saints is a great reality. Encourage yourselves with the thought of that happy day when our poor, weak, trembling voices, renewed and made immortal, shall join with the whole redeemed Church in that song whose sweet strains shall have no jarring note, and whose joyful harmonies shall have no end.

The Right Reverend the Chairman.

It is now my business to bring the proceeding of this evening to a close. Time does not allow that I should make many remarks, although it is very tempting to say something lengthy in the way of gathering up some of the fragments which have been brought before us very abundantly this evening. We have had a lecture on "music," and a discussion on music, and we all know one of the great teachers of harmony, is harmony. But we also know that musicians tell us that a discord, introduced judiciously, adds very much to the pleasure which is produced by harmony, and I find upon this occasion, as I have found upon other occasions, that the manner in which the discord is introduced into a section of a Church Congress upon Church music is by the question of Gregorians and Anglicans. I have never been able—perhaps I am not musician enough—to understand why Gregorianisers are so exceedingly pugnacious. Since, however, the question of Gregorians and Anglicans has been met with strong cries of assent and dissent—"Yes, yes," and "No, no,"—let me say I do not see why the strongest Gregorianiser and Anglicaniser should not do exactly what I do myself—that is to love and admire both the one and the other. When I was Dean of Ely we had both styles of music. On the Wednesday and Friday we had Gregorian tones to the Psalms, on the other days we had Anglicans; and I venture to think that the mixture of the two added very much to the sense of devotion and reverence which belong to the service of Ely Cathedral. But I would say this, that while I, for one, should be very sorry to miss that peculiar delight and pleasure which Gregorian tones convey to my mind, especially that really most touching *Tonus Peregrinus*—while I should think it a great misfortune to lose that connection with the past, whether with two men and a boy or not, at the same time we ought to be proud of the Anglican chants. Whether country people can sing one or the other more easily I cannot decide. I have heard such positive assertions both upon one side and the other. I find those who are more favourable to Anglicans say, it is utterly impossible to sing Gregorians; and those who are favourable to Gregorians say, you may try the year through and not get people to sing Anglicans. I believe they can sing both. However, this is a subject I do not want to enter into any further, but I would simply say, by way of bringing our proceedings to a close, that I trust what we have heard will not only give satisfactory pleasure, as I doubt not it has done, but that we shall all go away with the feeling that we come here to these Church

Congresses not merely for the purpose of being pleased, but for the sake of getting such information and instruction as we may make use of when we go away. Therefore, with regard to the special proceedings of this evening, I trust the instruction we have received from those kind friends who have been so good as to address us this evening will be carried home to your parishes; and, whether you are Anglicanisers or Gregorianisers, or whatever "isers" you may be, I trust you will do your best to encourage Church music in all your parish churches, and endeavour to make the service of the Church popular in the best sense of the word to the people, and make Church music tend not merely to the gratification of men, but in the highest and best sense to the glory of God.

THURSDAY EVENING, 10th OCTOBER.

WORKING MEN'S MEETING,

VICTORIA HALL.

The Right Reverend the PRESIDENT took the Chair at Seven o'clock.

The Right Reverend the PRESIDENT.

FELLOW churchmen, and in some respects, fellow workmen, I rejoice to meet you here to-night. Seldom do I enjoy a greater pleasure than when I am brought face to face with the honest hard-working toiling men of Leeds. Let me tell you something about the object of our present meeting. You are all aware that the Church Congress is holding its meetings in Leeds during the present week. And what is the Church Congress? It is an assembly of the members of our Church gathered together from every part of the United Kingdom, for the purpose of discussing matters which relate to the efficiency of the Church and the welfare of the members belonging to it. This Church Congress has been in the habit of holding annual meetings for many years past. This is its twelfth annual meeting. Some years ago it held a meeting in the city of York, and whilst that meeting was going forward a deputation of working-men waited upon his Grace the Archbishop of York to prefer the following request:—They said they had not the opportunity of attending the meetings which were held during the day. They were otherwise occupied; but they said they felt a great interest in the matters that were under discussion by the Church Congress, for they felt that they were as much members of the Church as any of those who met together to discuss Church matters. Therefore they said they would be glad if an opportunity should be afforded to them of hearing some of those who came from a distance, and had something to say about Church matters. His Grace the Archbishop listened to their request, and said, "By all means. We will have a meeting of working-men. We will give up our Congress Hall one evening for the purpose of inviting the working-men to come and hear what we have to say about Church matters." The working-men came. The hall was filled. Great interest was excited, and from that time, at every succeeding Church Congress, one evening has been devoted to what is called the Working-men's Meeting. In the beginning of the year we had to discuss the arrangements for the Church Congress which is now being held, and some said, "Shall we have a working-men's meeting in Leeds?" Now, I

do not want to tell any secrets that ought not to be made known, but there were some who had a little misgiving and doubt about it. But I had no misgiving or doubt about it. I said, that after sixteen years of tolerably hard work in Yorkshire, I thought I knew the working-men of Leeds pretty well; and I should be glad to have the opportunity of meeting them face to face in this hall, and of giving them the opportunity of hearing those who have come hither for the purpose of discussing matters which affect the interests of the Church, and therefore the interests of every working-man in the United Kingdom. There is one subject of regret to me about this meeting, and that is that I see none but men before me. I wish you had all got your wives here. I will tell you the reason why we could not invite your wives—our room was not big enough. If we had had a room large enough we should have invited your wives as well as yourselves—but at least I hope that what you hear to-night you will tell to your wives when you go home—and that both they and you may be the better for it. Now, I am not going to trespass upon your time more than a few moments—and that for this reason—there are a vast number of speakers ready to address you, and you do not hear them every day. I am quite sure you will be glad to listen to them. None of them will speak more than about ten to fifteen minutes, and, therefore, if the speech happens to be dull, you will know it will not last long. Now, before I sit down, there are one or two points I want to speak upon. I want to tell you this, that we, the bishops and the clergy of the Church of England, look upon you working-men as brothers in the Church of Christ. We want you to help us as much as we want to help you—and depend upon it that we may be fellow-helpers one of another. It is sometimes a matter of complaint that our churches are not as full as they ought to be. There are several reasons for that. I won't go into them all, but one thing I will tell you, and that is, that it is a great mistake to leave all the work and labour of gathering souls to Christ to the ordained clergyman. There are many causes as I have said, which hinder our churches from being full. Sometimes it is that the clergyman has not the capacity of making himself either interesting to, or understood by the people. That is one reason. Another reason is this: In some of our churches there has grown up a system of pew monopoly. Now if you cheer so much you will take away all my time. I say there has grown up in some churches a system of pew monopoly, which defrauds the poor man of his right. The floor of a parish church is the common right of every parishioner. Owing to this system of pew monopoly it not unfrequently comes to pass that if you ask a poor man or a working-man to go to Church, or urge him to go to Church, he may very justly turn round and say, "If I go to Church, where am I to sit?" But when we have made every allowance on this score, still it is the case that our churches are not filled as they ought to be, and as they might be. And here you might, many of you, help us. I will tell you an anecdote to prove this. Some time ago I was going to preach a sermon one week-day evening in a church in the neighbourhood of London. I went there; I found a large congregation. What struck me was that it was a congregation of only working-men, and they were there in their week-day clothes, and I asked the clergyman, "How is this? how have you managed to get all these men together, all coming in their working clothes?" He said, "It is not I who did it at all; these working-men did it themselves." I said, "How did they do it?" "I will tell you," he said. "They formed themselves into little bands of twos, threes, and fours, and agreed amongst themselves that they would go round the whole parish, and tell their fellow-workmen of the services that were being held, and invite them to come and join them in their services." If some of you would do this; if all those of you who value the ordinances of the Church, who do think it is a privilege to come to Church to hear the preaching of the everlasting Gospel, which makes men wise unto salvation through faith in Christ Jesus, would unite yourselves in little bands, and go to your fellow-men and tell them it is a good thing to come and hear the Word of God, and join in the public worship of His holy name, then the result would be far different than it is, and instead of seeing half empty churches we should see invariably what I have often had the privilege of seeing in this diocese, large churches crowded with working-men eager

to hear the Word of God. Now you are to be addressed by many speakers, and I am quite sure you will give to each and to all a patient and attentive hearing; so I will detain you no longer for the present, but will at once call upon the Rev. Canon Tristram to address you.

The Rev. Canon Tristram.

I hope that what I may say may go home to your hearts, for I come here to plead for liberty. Some of us are not very fond of having over much to do with policemen, and we think that law is rather a troublesome thing, and that the less we have to do with it the better. No doubt it is quite true in a way; but what is the policeman for, and for what is the law in force? They are to defend the right and the weak against the wrong and the strong. There is another thing that people dislike very much, that is, trying to make men religious by Act of Parliament. There are a certain set of gentlemen going about the country, and are very active on what they call the Sunday League. They tell you that we should abolish all the restrictions which have hedged round the observance of the Lord's Day, ever since this was a Christian land, because it is no use trying to make men religious by Act of Parliament. I want to show you that this is a working-man's question, and that it is most important that the Christian working-men of England should understand, and be able to show to everyone with whom they talk, that those laws which fence around the observance of the Lord's Day, mean liberty; that without those laws there would be no liberty, no security for the weak; that without the law, the lust of gain, and the love of pleasure, would rapidly divide this land into two classes, the money-making classes and the slaving classes; and that therefore it is our duty to fight at all costs, for the maintenance of the laws which preserve that one day in seven as a day of rest. Though I am not a great admirer of democracy, I was a little ruffled by hearing yesterday that the United States were not a Christian country, that they were the first country that had, as a nation, made itself out to be a non-Christian country. I don't know about that; but there is one thing the United States have done (I have spent much time in that country): they have, at any rate, fenced round the observance of the seventh day. There is no city in this land in which the observance of the Lord's Day, so far as regards places of public amusement, post offices, drinking shops, and railways, is more rigidly enforced than in the Northern and North Eastern States of America. That country is always pointed out to us as the goal to which we are to tend. That is the country to which we are to cross the ocean in search of new ideas. At any rate, America has held to one old idea, which she got from her old mother and Church of England, that is, to hold by the seventh day of rest. There is another country, I know pretty well, that is a good deal nearer than America, *i.e.*, France; and what has become of the Lord's Day there? Can man do without it? They tried the experiment once. In the first Revolution they tried and failed. Aching backs, wearied limbs, and palsied hands, compelled them to do something; they compromised, and the Infidel Republic were compelled to set apart one day in ten, and afterwards to add ten days of holiday at the beginning of each year, to make up for the loss of the Sabbath, which physiology proved that man's nature required. Then came the laxity which still reigns in that country. I am not going to talk about what the Commune did when, in their brief and bloody flicker, they abolished the Lord's Day, and marriage, and everything else they could abolish; but what is the Continental Sunday? I do not ask what it is to the pleasure seeker, or to the man who can make every day a holiday when he likes, but what it is to the working-man in Paris and throughout France. I say, that in France, in country and in city alike, every eye-witness will tell you what I have often and often seen myself, that the man who has to labour labours his seven days for six days' pay, and gets his holidays how and when he can scramble for them by chance, if he gets them at all. Then people wonder why there

is no family life in France as there is in England. What chance can there be of family life when a man has not one day in seven to hear the prattle of his children, and talk with his wife cosily after dinner. All those who have studied the subject best know that the man who tells you to do away with the restrictions of the Sunday law is no working-man's friend, that the love of pleasure for you, which these men talk of, means the love of gain for themselves. When I find that a great number of shareholders, in a place of public amusement like the Crystal Palace, are banded together to relax the observance of the Sunday in England, I do not think that I am very suspicious if I suspect very strongly that with them the chance of increased dividend, by Sunday opening, tells a great deal more than all the philanthropy they spout for your interests. There is a great deal of work done in England that need not be done on Sunday. There is the work of the cabman and the 'busman. Ten thousand 'buses run in London instead of 12,500 in the week; and how many conductors, drivers, horse-keepers, and watermen, does that mean? Are not they a slaving class, working seven days for the working classes who only work six days? And cannot we do something to reduce that? Then there are the post offices. They say, "We cannot stop the mails; we never could do that." Dear me! They have stopped them in London. There are no deliveries in London, in Edinburgh, or in Dublin. When they talked about having the post office open in London on Sundays, some twenty or thirty years ago, all the London merchants held up their hands aghast, and said, "We shall lose our holiday: it must not be;" and the London bankers and merchants stopped it. Out of 7,984 post offices there are more than 7,700 in this country so far open on Sunday that they keep at least one person the whole day in attendance; and it has always struck me that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. What they can do with in London we can do with in Leeds. Then there is the iron fettling on Sunday. We were told by all the manufacturers, with some noble exceptions, that they could not do without it. There is a firm, not far from me, the Bagnalls, who taught them to do without it. The workmen thought they could do without it, so the ironmasters and founders did not strike, but very sensibly went to arbitration, and the arbitrator decided that the men were right, and that the masters could do well without this extra work on Sundays, and I have not heard that the iron trade has died in consequence. But there is a great deal of work men submit to that they need not do on Sundays. There is, for instance, a great deal of work put on men working on railways, which it is in your hands to resist. An instance occurred in my own parish. Half my parishioners work on the North Eastern Railway. I complained, from time to time, to the local authorities about unnecessary work on Sundays. They held up their hands in holy horror. It was against the orders of the company. Oh, no, they never did it. I went to some friends of mine and asked them to take notes in West Hartlepool, Stockton, and several places, until I found out what was necessary work and what was not. Then I found, on one occasion, that 200 men had been employed in sweeping docks at West Hartlepool. That was one of the necessary works. I went on until I had got a long list, and then I sent it to the secretary of the company and several of the directors. I went to head quarters to see if I could not get justice for these overworked men. For nine months my railway men, my best churchmen, regular communicants, had been seriously exercised in mind, having only one Sunday out of three. As soon as I got at head quarters, the North Eastern Company wrote and told me that they were shocked to find that my account was true, that this employment was unwarrantable and contrary to the orders of the company, that it must not be repeated; and if it was repeated, they hoped it would be reported to the secretary. Very well, what did I do with it? I got a thousand copies of my letter to the company, and their answer, printed off. I sent them to every platelayer and railway worker in the neighbourhood, and stuck them up in nearly all the stations of the railway in the neighbourhood. That pinned the company, and for the next nine months (it is only nine months ago) the men have only had three days' Sunday work; and even I am ready to admit that those three days were necessary. Well, now, let me remind you that your Sunday recreation, if you are a working-man, means

Sunday work for the slaving classes. Aye, and when they talk about the bondage of the Jews, I want to know where any philosophy ever stretched further, or any love for creation reached wider, than the command which says that, "thy man-servant and thy maid-servant" shall rest as well as thyself, and not only so, but "the stranger that is within thy gates," and thy cattle, too. Recreation! Well, somehow or other, the shopmen have got their Saturday half-holiday about us, and the workmen do not work as long as they did. I believe they can see museums and picture galleries on other days. "Oh, but," say the Sunday League people, "we want to draw them from the public-house." Why you know as well as I do that the law shuts up the public-houses at the time you want to take them away; therefore, instead of the men being drawn from the public-house, they would be drawn from churches and chapels. The public-houses are closed on the Sunday morning; and six months in the year pictures can only be seen in the evening by gaslight; and why should not the gas be lighted on the Saturday or Friday, and let the people see the paintings then? But, remember, however interesting and pretty they may be, it is not feeding your souls to go and see pictures on Sunday. I am not a teetotaller, but I want to say a word or two on the drink question. Whether we are Permissive Bill men or not, we must agree in this, that if there are 253,000 licensed public-houses in England, that means 253,000 families who ought to have a Sabbath, and day of rest. Let the publican have his day of rest. Let there be one day in the week for his house to be a private house. I would just remind you of this, that experience tells us, and medical men have told us, that we cannot do more than six days good work in the seven days, and, therefore, if you work on the Sundays, you will only just do in seven days as much real good work as you would otherwise do in six. There is not a man who drives an engine, who has not to clean it out once a week; and if an engine has to go, as it were, into dock, what is the intricacy and marvellousness of that machine compared with you and me, whom God has so wonderfully and fearfully made? Do not we want our oiling, and smoothing, and resting? Do not our boilers want cooling? Let the loom stop on Sunday, let the engine stop on Sunday; let the horse stand still in the stable, and let the exchange be closed everywhere, except for preaching. Let the post offices be closed, as much as possible, on Sunday, and let the railway servants, the guards, and the porters, have their day of rest. Let the State secure one day of rest for all, and, above all, for the helpless; and, then, when the State has secured that day of rest, the Church will do the rest towards making men religious. The Church will open her doors as she does, and try to draw in those who will hear. I am quite sure of this; if our schools are cheerful, and our teachers intelligent; if our services are warm and hearty; if our seats are all free and open; and above all, if Christ is preached, I am quite sure the Lord will never falsify His own word, for it is the word of truth—"I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me."

Mr. R. A. Cross, M.P.

I am not a Yorkshireman. If I were, perhaps, I should not have been asked to speak here to-night. But I am what, in our country at all events, we think pretty nearly as good—I am a Lancashire man. Well, we do not live very far from Yorkshire, and I know at all events quite enough of you to know that you are not bad hands at making a bargain, and what is better still, when you once have made a bargain you always keep it. Now I want to make a bargain with you. If I give you credit for not wishing by any words of mine to receive the smallest amount of flattery, will you give me credit for not wishing to preach you a sermon? And if, in the course of the few words I have to say, I may say anything to which you don't quite agree, if I tell you that you have a perfect right to hold your opinion (and you know it without my telling you) will you at all events agree with me in this, that I have an equal right to hold mine? I remember very well having read a story of a very able and hard-working clergyman, very well known to a great number of you, if not to most of you in this hall, whom I most reverently am

bound to call the Dean of Chichester, but who, I believe, is known by a name among yourselves, quite as honourable, though more homely and affectionate, "t'owd vicar;" he was asked one day how it was he managed his parish so well? and his answer was very characteristic. He said, "I manage my parish! I never thought of doing such a thing. I let my parish manage me." You will all agree that that arrangement worked tolerably well in Leeds. No Englishman that I know of likes to be managed. I don't. Very well, then; if you don't like to be managed by anybody else, it is absolutely necessary that you should take care to manage yourselves. I am going to say a word or two upon that point. Many people are apt to say, according to the old saying, that everybody has a right to do what he likes with his own. So he has—only he must remember that if he has rights of his own, the natural consequence of having rights is that he has duties to perform. In saying what are your rights, be very careful you don't make this terrible mistake of thinking that what seems to you to be your interests are really your rights, because they often turn out to be very different things. I take this case for a moment. Supposing you see a man of high station, of great wealth, of great power, it may be of great dignity—supposing you see him, as it appears, thoroughly enjoying himself, but living a life of ease, luxury, and pleasure, and nothing else; not performing his social or his public duties—you shrug your shoulders at him, and pass by him when you meet him, and say he is not worthy of that high position which he holds. Or suppose you see a man who, perhaps, may be equally rich, equally powerful, but who is a grasping fellow, who secures all he can out of everybody who comes near him, whether they be his tenants or his underlings in any way—you say he is a despicable fellow, and is thinking much more of his interests than of his rights. Or if you see a man a spendthrift, not using his position at all to his own or any one else's advantage, you say all those gifts that have been showered down upon him have been thrown away, and it would have been better for him, as well as his neighbours, if he had never had them. So much for the man of power, wealth, and dignity, supposing he does not perform the duties of the station to which he is called. And remember, if he is called to that station, he is like a man set upon a hill—his acts cannot be hid. The full glare and blaze of the sun is upon him, and everybody can see what he does. I want you to come down with me from that hill to some of these Yorkshire dales, and I ask you whether there is not there the same difference between rights and interests, and whether rights do not entail duties just as much as they do in every other sphere of life? When we come there we come to people who have earned all that they have got by the sweat of their brow—by honest work with strong hands and stout hearts. You may say that, if in any sphere of life surely in that, every man has a right to do that which he likes with his own. So he has. Only remember that other people have rights as well as he has. One of the great rights that every man has in England and elsewhere, if he happens to be a married man, is a right to the comfort and solace of his wife. She is the person who consoles him in all his trouble, soothes him in all his sickness; she is the person to whom he always goes if he wants help in any way of that kind, and he is only getting what is his right and due when he does so. Only remember that the wives have rights as well as the husbands. One of the first rights a wife has is to have a comfortable home. If her husband is well off, she is to have as comfortable a home as he can possibly afford for her. And when she has got that, if she is a wife worth having, there is something more than that which her husband can give her, but which she sometimes does not get, and which she feels the want of bitterly, and the more comfortable her home is the more bitterly she feels it—that is, the society of her husband. There is an example to show that a man has not a right to do what he likes, if he, by doing so, commits a wrong against some one else. His wife has rights as well as he. Now, supposing that they have children—every parent has a right in his old age to the comfort and support of his children. His greatest pleasure should be to see them growing up honest citizens, fighting on the right side in the battle of life; and he has a right to expect that when his work is done and he can no longer help them, they, in his old age, will help and comfort him. If that is so—remember, the child has rights just as much as

the parent has. The child has a right in his youth to the best education that the parents can afford; not simply to some education in reading and writing, but he has a right to the best education that the parent can afford to give him. He has a still further right. Precept is one thing—but example is far better; and the child has the right, by the law of nature even, to have the best example set by both of his parents as to the way in which he should walk in after life. In these cases retribution falls upon man if he fails to recognise the rights his child has on him, and when old age comes and he wants comfort and help, if he has not acted up to his duties when they were young he will not get his rights when he is old. One step further still—a man's neighbours have rights just as much as he has. A man's neighbours have the rights of good fellowship, which I am thankful to say is almost universally common in this country; but he has a right to more than that. He has a right to call upon his neighbours one and all to form that public opinion in the society in which he lives, which is the greatest guarantee for right conduct among them all. I will take two cases, one of which has been mentioned to-night. I take the case of keeping Sunday and the case of drunkenness. It is all very well to say, "I do so and so: I don't injure my neighbour if I break the Sabbath or get drunk." That is precisely what you do. You are in that case doing precisely that which you ought not. You are exercising what you think to be your right, and you are forgetting the rights of your neighbours, because they have the right to the good example which you ought to set them. Will you consider what was the case some sixty or seventy years ago in what are called the upper classes, where drunkenness at that time unfortunately was rife? That was not put down by Act of Parliament, but by the common plain sense and improved religious feeling in those classes; and eventually, instead of almost honouring the crime of drunkenness, people came to regard it as a shame, and if a man fell into that crime he was turned out of the society to which he belonged. Now, if you will only do precisely what was done some twenty-five years ago; if you will say, "If our friends get drunk we won't associate with them; we will make them feel that it is a disgrace; we will send them to Coventry till they get better," you will be acting up to your duties as well as your rights—to your neighbours as well as to yourselves. There is another matter. You have a right to buy everything you can in the cheapest market to which you can possibly go, and if you have any goods to sell you have a right to go to the dearest market. But very often a man who has anything to sell will go to the dearest market and sell his goods, and then he will say to the man who wants to buy butter and eggs, "You ought not to go to the cheapest market." Now, a man has as much right to buy the eggs and butter in the cheapest market he can, as the other has to sell in the dearest. It makes no difference what the sale is—whether it is butter, eggs, or labour, it is all the same. Therefore, remember, when you are exercising your right, which is your undoubted right, of selling your labour in the highest market in which you can, the man who buys it has an equal right to go to the market where he can get labour the cheapest. In conclusion, I will remind you that there is one right more which your country expects from you. Not simply your wife, your children, and your neighbours, have rights, but your country has rights also; it has the right to expect assistance from each and every one of you, in the maintenance of order and good government, and above all, that you should exercise that which is your proper possession, your franchise, in the best possible manner. Now, I have only one right more to mention, a right which is often forgotten. You have one right which you have not defended as you ought to have done. You have one franchise which I venture to say few of you have exercised. The Church of England is yours. It does not belong to anybody else; and, as the Bishop of the diocese has said, the floor of the parish church belongs to the parishioners. Make up your minds, and insist upon this right of yours. The law will support you if you will only exercise your rights. Do you working-men attend your parish vestry meetings? Go to your next parish vestry meeting. At the proper time elect your own churchwarden, and tell him that you elect him for the special purpose of seeing that you have your rights in your parish church; and if you are determined to do so, the law will back you up, and I defy any power on earth to prevent you obtaining your end.

Mr. Benjamin Shaw.

It is with a feeling of the most heartfelt satisfaction that I have the pleasure of meeting the working-men of the great county of York. I know something of the working-men in London, because for many years I have been connected with an institution for working-men in the metropolis. My impression is that the working-men of the north are ahead of the working men of the metropolis. I believe they are ahead of them in steadfastness of purpose, in resoluteness, in capacity and determination for self-improvement. You live in the midst of the great triumphs of physical science; you come in daily contact with the steam engine, the electric telegraph, and all those marvellous discoveries which have utilised the laws of nature for the benefit of man; and it is not surprising if, by those circumstances, you are led to the intelligent study of the laws of external nature. What I want to ask you to-night is, that you will not allow your devotion, a right and laudable devotion, to the study of the laws of physical science, the laws of external nature, to elbow out of your minds the idea and the thought of the *super*natural. I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that there is a disposition in the present day, either to exclude the thought of the supernatural altogether, or to try it by tests, which are wholly inappropriate to the subject. You cannot test botany by the laws of an exact science like astronomy. You cannot resolve the problems of theology by the maxims of chemistry, and you cannot solve the problems of the supernatural by the laws of the natural. That my notion is not unfounded, I call to witness the fact, that a very popular writer of modern times has proposed to test the efficacy of prayer, by an experiment of some forty or fifty persons joining together to pray for a specific object, and to see whether it will be granted or not. Experiment, as if it were a gas or a metal, upon the will of the Supreme Ruler of the universe! Experiment upon what you will, but when you come to the relations between man and his Creator, be serious and reverent. "Take off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." We want those sages of old times, men like Bacon and Newton, who kept their religion without losing their philosophy—those men of whom the poet wrote, as

> "Sages who, even in exploring
> Nature thro' all her bright ways,
> Still went like the seraphs adoring,
> And veiled their eyes in the blaze."

That is what we want in modern times, and I apprehend that the great reason why we have not got it is because we attempt to test the supernatural by laws and maxims to which it is not subject. I contend that to try the supernatural you must begin with that which is spiritual in man, with the laws of his own mind, with those facts which are revealed to you by your consciousness in the recesses of your own minds. You must begin with that, and to what does it lead you? Suppose you go into a garden, and you see an apple fall from the tree by the force of the wind. It is blown from the bough by the wind. It falls to the earth by the law of gravitation. You say that is the very circumstance which suggested to Newton, the law of gravitation—that universal unvarying law which prevails in the planetary orbits, no less than in our gardens and before our own faces. But suppose you put out your hand and catch that apple as it falls; the law of gravitation is unvarying, but for the time, you, by the interposition of your personal will have produced on the whole an effect different from what the law of gravitation would have produced of itself, if it acted without any counteraction. Now, then, remembering that you who have done that, as your consciousness tells you, by the origination of your own personal will, and remembering that you are a dependent and a limited being, and therefore that you must be dependent upon an independent and unlimited being, will you venture to deny to that independent, infinite, omniscient Being the power of doing what you yourself do, *i.e.*, the power of interposing, so as to produce an effect different from that which would have been produced by natural laws, but for that interposition?

Further, I say that the greatest revelation of your consciousness to you is that you have a moral nature, that you have a will which can choose to succour the oppressed, or to murder the innocent; and you have a faculty which rises up within you, and which your soul tells you is the vicegerent of a higher power, which tells you that to do the one is right and to do the other is wrong. This same moral nature tells you that so to succour the distressed claims the highest approbation of that faculty, and I say that if you were a monarch upon a throne, and if you threw aside your robes and rushed into the raging tide to succour, and to save from drowning the meanest wretch upon the earth's surface, the amount of your condescension would measure the amount of the approbation which conscience would attribute to the act. If that be so, and if your moral nature is, as you must of necessity believe it to be, a faint reflection, a distorted and imperfect representation, but yet a representation of the moral nature of the Being who made you—for else you must conceive the absurdity that you, having a moral nature, were made by a Being who had not—I say, if this be so, you must see that the delight and the glory of that Infinite Being must rest above all things in condescension, in succour, in mercy, to His distressed and wicked creature. Oh, you are told that man is too insignificant. In a spirit far different from that of the Psalmist when he asked, "What is man that Thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that Thou visitest him"—you are told this, not to enhance the condescension of Deity, but to elbow Him out of His own world. Will you believe it? Will you for a moment, believe that your soul is not of more importance in the eyes of Deity than any mass of inanimate matter that you can possibly heap together? It is a saying of the famous Pascal, that man may be crushed at any instant by the material universe; but he says that man, while being crushed, would be greater than the material universe that crushed him, because he would be conscious of being crushed, and the material universe has no consciousness at all. Only one word more—this idea of the littleness of man comes through measuring by space and not by time. Measure by space—count the millions upon millions of miles that an astronomer will calculate, and add to that the expanse of illimitable space, and I agree you may say man is but an insect in creation. But remember, some astronomers have said that the meteoric fuel that is being poured into the sun may some day fail, and that the orb may roll through creation, a black mass, without light and without life. But when that is so, you will not have come to the first decade of the life of an immortal soul. Measure by time; and think of the immortality which shall endure when the heavens shall be rolled up as a scroll, and you will know what man's soul means, and what it was worthy of the Creator to do to bring that soul to Himself.

The President.

I have now to introduce you to one of yourselves—a Yorkshireman, bearing a name that will ever be honoured and reverenced in this great county. I also speak of him as one of yourselves, because, hard as any one of you may work, there is not one in this room who works harder than the Right Rev. Samuel Wilberforce, the Bishop of Winchester.

The Bishop of Winchester.

My kind and welcoming friends, if I could only think I had anything to say to you worthy of your kindness in receiving me, I should be at this moment one of the happiest of men. I have been very much exercised in my old Yorkshire mind as to the meaning of this meeting to-night. I have asked half a dozen of the wise men on the platform here around me what it means—what the idea is—what it is that I am to say to you—how I am to use the few minutes given to me. I give you my word, I have not had an answer from any of them. The Chairman, with his wonted honesty and straightforwardness and cleverness, told you how the meeting arose. He told you that the men of York said, "We are unable to spare the middle of the day; but, seeing all you strangers coming

together, we want to hear what you have to say, and so we will have an evening meeting." That is excessively like us Yorkshire people. Yet it seems to me that the real thing would have been to have had you speak to me. And really, if you had undertaken that, it would have been an excessively pleasant thing to me. Well, the only thing I can think of is, that our meeting together here to-night is very much like what closed the Autumn Manœuvres of our army a short time since in Wiltshire. For you must know that we, too, have been manœuvring—I assure you we have. I assure you if you had been present you would have seen some very remarkable manœuvring—sharp shooting—a good many men lying under cover, where they did not think they would be seen, and popping out with a shot now and then. There were there all sorts of manœuvring. Well, we have had our manœuvres, and now that they are over I think the gathering to-night must mean "The march past." We are all to be exhibited to you, and I, in all humbleness of mind, entreating mercy as a brother Yorkshireman, but begging for no mercy on any of the South Country people—now "march past." When I have done that I think I have done pretty nearly all I can do. Let me tell you that I have the highest veneration for Yorkshire. It must be so with my hereditary feelings about it. There is hardly a family in the land that is such an out-and-out Yorkshire blood family as mine; and then, in this town of Leeds, in its Cloth-hall and like places, great triumphs were achieved, not only by but also for your representative in this county, which enabled him to stand up and say to one of the greatest interests in England—"You shall give up your prey—the slave shall be free." I never come to this county without feeling myself I hope a better—I am quite sure a more alive—man than I am anywhere else; and when I look to-night on the grand scene I see here, I can only say, I would to God I could say a single word that would help any of these thinking, feeling, deeply living men to live the life they have got more happily and more usefully; then I should know I had done something to-day. There is one thing I should like to say to you—because, you know, it is a moral compact that I am not to preach a sermon, and you are not to listen to one. Oh, if I was only in the pulpit, I should have no mercy upon you—I should preach until I had no more voice and you had no more ears, and you would be bound to sit still and listen. But not being let to preach, what I want to say is this. It seems to me this is the age of nostrums and impostures, and there are all sorts of nostrums and impostures. I dare say many of you have read in the newspapers, or in print somewhere else, what we call quack advertisements. All quack advertisements begin in the same way by flattering the poor man. They tell him that this one thing which you can buy for one shilling and twopence—the twopence for the stamp that is to bring it to him—will make him a sort of archangel. I have no such thing to tell you; but what I want to say is, Never be persuaded out of your humanity. The greater part of those quacking words which are written for you seem to be for the purpose of persuading you out of your humanity. It is persuading a man out of his humanity to tell him he is to live for the pleasure of the present day, to tell him his afternoon amusement and his pot of beer are the things he has to live for. You know, every one of you, in your own deep heart, that you have a greater life than that. Now, here is another and a worse imposture; you are told by some in this day to suspect everything which speaks to you of your life as being a mystery; and being directed by a present personal God. My brethren of Yorkshire, you are all now used to machinery, though it was a very hard fight to bring it into Yorkshire, because the work used to be done, as I well remember, in the houses of the different cloth-workers in the country with their own manual labour, and, like all true Yorkshiremen, they said, "We don't mean to have it taken from us." But now you have got it. Yorkshiremen always do rise to the top, and you have risen to the top in managing machinery. What have you learnt from it? Look into any of those machines, and see the intricacy of all the mechanical ingenuity that has been brought to bear to make it. Let a man who does not understand the machine look into it, and let him be told—"You understand that perfectly; don't be taken in; don't listen to any of these men who tell you there is any mystery in it; there is no mystery in it; you know it perfectly well." The man who believed that, you know, would be a fool,

because he could see in the machinery which he looked into, wheel within wheel, compensation after compensation—a motive power manipulated often with a nicety which escapes the notice of the common observer—and that, therefore, he would be perfectly aware that he could not understand the machine unless, perhaps, he had made it himself. And then, my brethren, you, the very least of you, are told by these your friends that there is no mystery in you, no wonder in you, no deep mechanism, no wonderful motive power of life, and that all is easy if only you won't be misled by priests, philosophers, and the like. The man who believes that is just as great a goose as can be found anywhere. Oh, believe me, you have got a wonderful nature; and believe that He who made it has provided for it that which it needs; that it will have its own fuel; that if properly directed and used it will not go off some day with a horrible explosion, but will work out the result for which, with perfect wisdom, it was made. Therefore, reverence yourselves! That is my lesson. Let me give you a single illustration which some of you may like and some may dislike. You hear now-a-days a great deal said about the temperance movement, as if that were all that man wants. Well, I say, that so far as reforming the drunkard goes, and so making the spoilt machine to a far greater degree useful, the value of that movement is unspeakable. But it is not everything, and don't you be fooled into thinking that it is. You may see a man stand up and say, with infinite self-complacency, "I was once a drunkard, and now I am sober; look at me!" But have you made that machine work right when you have conquered his drunkenness only to puff him up with self-conceit. I say you have finally ruined a great machine if you have made a man believe that he may rest contented in his self-righteousness; because he has conquered that one debasing vice. No, never let him rest till you have made him understand that he has a great work to do in God's world—and that it cannot be done merely by his not being a drunkard—but that he must humble himself before the Maker, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, and go forth in His strength to try to be a blessing to every man with whom he may come in contact in this busy life. Take another instance. We have been fighting very hard to get for working-men leisure hours. I consider this a very important object, even in a physical point of view—I put that first, because it never does to forget that we have a body as well as a soul—but it is very important also for the sake of the family, the intellectual, and, above all, the spiritual being of labouring men. But there will be no use in having these leisure hours if the additional hours got by the working-men of England are to be spent in dissipation and riot and drunkenness; if they are to be spent in learning ourselves and teaching others to be dissipated, in making them believe that work is not glorious, and that the proper performance of it does not tend to the elevation of man's faculties. Better by far that the working-man should not have hours of leisure than that he should have them to lower his moral and intellectual condition. But my time is spent, and, my friends, I end by repeating that my desire for you all is, that by seeking to elevate the life that is above life, you may raise the life that is life; and God bless you in your endeavour.

The Dean of Durham.

Whatever else I may say with which you may disagree, there is one point we shall have in common, that is a deep sympathy with my right reverend friend who has just addressed you. I hope you will also feel sympathy for myself placed in the position of rising after one to whom I may apply the word, when the well-graced actor quits the scene, the eyes of all are fixed on him who enters next. The Bishop of Winchester, with his peculiar felicity, exposed to you many true instances in which quackeries were abroad in this age. Let me take the other side of the picture, and tell you that this age has many other characteristics besides quackery. Whatever are the faults of the age, there are in it certain peculiar characteristics, not indeed without danger to many of us, but which make it an age in which we may all be well proud to live,—which make it an age which calls

forth, more than any age which has preceded it, all the intellectual and all the moral powers of man, and in which Christianity and our Church may indeed be subjected to some dangers, but in which they are armed with still greater powers to resist them. The first point to which I wish to invite your attention, is one with regard to which, as you are very well aware, any of you who are conversant with the religious literature of this day, or any other time, that there is a very common tendency to speak of our own age as peculiarly a bad age. I do not in the least quarrel with religious men for doing this. It is most natural. It is most true. They have certain great faults and vices before them, which vices strike them with peculiar force, and they are bound to direct all their energies in combating them; therefore, I say, that I see nothing remarkable in speaking of this age as good men have always spoken of the age in which their lot was cast, as one in which the religious life is beset with peculiar difficulties. Let us calmly consider what some of those difficulties are, and what are the accompanying advantages. It is very commonly said, and there are not a few in this hall who will applaud the statement, that this is a real age of progress. I believe it to be an age of religious as well as of other progress, but at all events there can be no doubt that it is an age of great progress, especially in all material things, and that never was this country on so proud (if I may use that word, which I do with some doubt)—at least on so eminent a pinnacle of wealth and prosperity. Now I want to put this question:—Is all this wealth and prosperity an unmixed blessing? I think we may venture to say of all our great wealth and prosperity, what was once said by a very distinguished man with regard to liberty, "we must remember after all," he said, "that liberty alone, is not the highest blessing, unless it leads us to something beyond." I cannot help fearing, when I see on all sides the abundant and increasing wealth of this great country, that we may possibly, in past generations, and even in may be in the present generation, to some extent be neglecting that which more than anything else makes wealth an advantage, the real cultivation of our minds and of our hearts. I was not very long ago in a great country, not very far from us, and I could not help reflecting when I saw on every side the results of the thought and education of three centuries; that the great wealth of England is not really to be put into the balance with a thoroughly educated and cultivated lower and middle class. Therefore, when we praise progress, when we speak of the material advances of this age, and we are right to rejoice in them, for they carry with them their great opportunities, let us not forget that they are not themselves the final object, that a man may be rich, that he may have his hundreds and thousands a year, and yet he may be poor, and naked, and miserable, unless he is rich also in those still greater endowments of mind and heart. Allow me shortly to speak upon another point as a characteristic of this age. It is an age of great inquiry into every possible subject, intellectual, moral, and scientific. There are a great many persons who regard this also as being a covert enemy to religion. You will hear a great many good persons, in all directions, who complain bitterly of the onslaughts which they would say science is daily making upon religion, and upon the injustice of those onslaughts. Now ask yourselves, my friends, whether it is conceivable for a moment that inquiry, which is put into our hearts by God, and religion, which is also put into our hearts by God, should be enemies of each other. I do not deny for an instant, that inquiry may be conducted in an ill way. I do not deny that persons may be proud and presumptuous in their inquiries, but I do deny that it is possible that there should be any true antagonism between science and religion, and I contend that those religious men, who would use such language, would be putting a most tremendous weapon into the hands of the unbeliever. They would be saying, in plain words, "You must not inquire into the truths of God. You must not aim at verification, because if you get that verification, you will be somehow or other clashing with the truths of religion." Into that subject I will not enter more deeply. I have touched upon it because I know I am speaking to men of thinking habits, men who will ponder over anything that may be worth suggesting to them; and because I am persuaded that in all classes there is a sort of suspicion of what science may possibly do against religion, whereas, so to speak, they move upon different although parallel lines, and it is

utterly impossible, if we examine into the historical evidence of Christianity, that it can for one moment be touched by any scientific fact. Forgive me if I take just one other point, which I think is very characteristic of this age, and into the spirit of which it is highly important that we should endeavour to throw ourselves. This age is also one of great religious freedom and equality. We cannot and we do not wish to turn that back. We do wish, in this age, that all systems of religion should be on what may be reasonably called an equal and a fair basis. We wish it with regard to those who are out of the Church, and with regard to those who are in the Church. With regard to those who are out of the Church, I will not speak, simply because I have not time; but with regard to those who are within the Church, I will expend my last minute in imploring you, my brethren, to know that we are brethren, to endeavour to close your ranks, and let all these unhappy divisions, which every Church Congress brings up to the surface, be put down with a strong hand. I maintain that all members of the Church of England are true brethren. I put in a plea for a large-hearted Church in this respect, that you should endeavour, however you may differ in some respects, to bear one with another; and I would remind you that if we do not do that, inevitably we cease to be a Church, a chaos inevitably ensues, and the Church of England will no longer have its place in this great and intelligent age.

The Bishop of Oxford.

I cannot help feeling, after what has been said by the Bishop of Winchester, and by nearly all the speakers who have addressed you, that he is a very bold south-country goose who attempts to say anything to-night. However, it is impossible for the goose to change his habitation now, and, if unfortunately this is the first time I was ever in Leeds, it is my misfortune and not my fault. Therefore, south-countryman as I am, I shall venture to obey your bishop's request, and say what I have to say to you. When I had his invitation (I was never present at one of these working-men's meetings before) I noticed that this meeting differed from all the others in the Congress, in having no subject, and I pondered with myself what should be the subject on which I ought to speak. That, of course, led me to enquire what was the subject which the working-men themselves would have chosen, and I would have given a good deal to have had half a dozen of them in my study to tell me on what subject they would like me to talk. However, as it happened, whilst I was thinking over this, I went out into the country, where I live, and I found in a field a collection, large for that part of the world, of working-men. They were about as different from you as you are from the Chinese, but still they were working-men, they were farm-labourers, and they were gathered together in a field, listening to a lecturer, who had come round to talk to them about a union he was recommending to them. Thinks I to myself I shall get to know something about the subjects the working-men would like to hear of, and I stayed partly for that reason and partly because I wanted to speak to the men myself. I stayed two hours listening to this lecturer, and trying to find out what parts of his address interested those labourers. He talked about their children's education, and I did not see that they took much notice of that. He talked about improvement of their dwellings as a help to their morality, and I did not see that they took as much notice as they ought to have done about that. He talked about a great number of subjects that are common in the mouths of political people, and they did not seem much interested; but when he began to talk on one particular subject, I thought I saw every ear prick up, and that was the subject of their wages. You know our southern farm-labourers are not very open in their demonstrations, but as far as I could judge, that was the one subject they cared about. Perhaps I should very much wrong the working-men of Leeds if I were to say they cared for no other subject than that of wages, and it would be very wrong for me to make that assumption. If any of you do, in this respect, resemble those south-country labourers in making the question of wages the one

engrossing topic of your conversation, and the one great subject of your thoughts, all I can say is you do very much wrong yourselves, and shut out from yourselves those thousand subjects of interest to a human being, upon which he ought to think and feel, and speak and act. Perhaps it may come to your minds to say, "Don't begin to preach to us about thinking a great deal of money. Don't our masters do the same? Are they not always thinking how to extend their trade, and how to increase their profits and dividends?" Well, my friends, if any of them are always thinking of those things, I feel sure I may say they are not the men who stand highest in your estimation, or in the estimation of their own friends. Who is the most honoured master among you? It is the man who is not merely seeking to enrich himself continually, but who has a care for those who are working for him; who tries, by all means in his power, to do them good, and to promote, as far as he can, their highest welfare. Is not that so? And if this is the kind of character which brings honour to a master, should not the same character be esteemed and honoured among the men? But why did I say just now that the master is honoured who is always trying to do something for his men? Why are we to speak continually of men having things done for them? My good friends, I think you can do a great many things for yourselves. This afternoon, when the rain was coming down, I was looking out of the window where I was, near a railway station, and there opposite me, on the pavement on the slope, was a lad with a truck. He thought he should like to ride down the slope on the truck; so he sat upon the truck, but it would not go. Then he got off, gave it a bit of a shove, and jumped on it again; but still it would not go. Then he gave it a harder shove, jumped on again, but still the truck would not go down the hill. Well, what did he do? I daresay you have guessed already that he trundled it down himself. That was the end of it. Don't you think some of you could trundle your own trucks a bit more than you do? Well, now, what has all this to do with the Church Congress? My dear friends, a Church Congress is an assembly of a number of churchmen to try to understand and carry out the work of the Church. Now, the Church, amongst other things, is a great society for mutual benefit, the largest and the oldest in the world. It is a great society—founded by One who knew everything, even the hearts of men—a society of people who were to try to do one another all the good they could. I say to you, cannot you do a little more for yourselves, and for one another—cannot you do a little more to help one another in all kinds of difficulty and distress—a little more to make every one's condition about you more comfortable and happy than it is? Do not think that I want you to go immediately to your clergymen and ask them to give you some work. There is not one of you working-men in this hall who cannot find out how you may do some act of kindness; and, remember, a company of people who are trying to do all the good they can to one another, is really carrying out the proper idea of the Church of Christ, which ought to be a great company of people who love one another and help one another. There is one thing which seems to me more than anything else to prevent people trying to do this kind of good for one another. I think it is the want of a proper feeling of love and respect for goodness. Whenever there is a good man or a good work, instead of giving that good man or that good work the love, and respect, and homage which they claim, the first thing which is often done, whether it is in a mill or a ladies' drawing-room, is to pick it to pieces. Instead of giving the noble heart and the self-sacrificing life the homage of love and respect, people are continually finding fault and sneering. You know, my friends, this is considered to be a great age of invention and improvements in all kinds of arts. It seems to me that of all the arts that have been improved and carried to perfection in this generation, there is no art that has been carried so far and made so perfect as the art of sneering. If I were to look for a perfect exemplification of it, I should look to those instructors of ours—the newspapers. Whenever a great work or a good man has to be mentioned, or a noble saying to be repeated, or something which ought to warm men's hearts and call their sympathy together, and enlist them in a noble cause, it cannot be mentioned without some application of that art of sneering. I want you—and, I believe, working-men are rather more free from it than

some of their betters—I say I want you to unlearn that art if you have learnt it. I want you not to sneer at what is good, and not to be influenced by others who do sneer at it. I have heard that there are shops, are mills, where a man who sets himself to do good, and makes himself a useful Christian person, meets with some little ridicule from his mates. Perhaps that is not so in Leeds. But whether it be or not, I do exhort and beseech you, with all the power I possess, never to allow yourselves to make a mock at any good man or any good work. I do not want to add anything to that; if you will only take that bit of advice home, I shall be quite satisfied; therefore, all I will say further is, that if you will go about your daily work helping one another, and doing one another good, there will be churchmanship of the first order. If I am asked where there is a parish that is a good parish, or a town where there are good Church people, I would answer, not where there is the noblest Service, or where there is the greatest outward manifestation of—what is called—Church life, but where there is the greatest attempt to make people comfortable, to dry the tear of sorrow, to show some respect and honour to old age, to take away the distress and perplexity that attend the widow's suffering, where there is the attempt, on the part of all, to show kindness and love one to another, that is a good parish.

Mr. Hugh Birley, M.P.

I think myself fortunate in being permitted this evening to address you for a few moments, but that satisfaction is mixed with great distrust, for I feel that no language of mine can do justice to the sentiments I should desire to express. However, I will speak to you, coming as I do from across the border, like Mr. Cross, as I would to a Lancashire audience. I may take it for granted, I think, that there is scarcely a single person before me in this hall who does not desire to better himself. With that feeling I entirely sympathise. But how do you wish to better yourselves? By having less work and more wages? More to drink, more time to sleep, more dainties, and more indolence? If so, instead of bettering yourselves, you will only degrade yourselves. No, you will tell me that what you desire, in your better moments, is that you may be able to dress your families more decently, that you may acquire better furniture at home, more time for recreation, more money to devote to the education of your children. So far you are right, and I will tell you that you have great opportunities for advancement and improvement. There is no necessary coarseness in the position of a working-man as many people seem to think. He ought to be able at the close of the day to sit down with his family, in a cheerful and comfortable home, practically with all the refinements and appliances of a gentleman. I have frequently insisted upon that, and I do so still. They will not be on the same scale, but they will be in the same direction, and often to a much more profitable result. But when you have attained all these, you will not have done everything, unless you blend with them religious feeling and religious training for your children, and a sense of duty to all around you. Unless you do that, you will be but a superior kind of animal, you will be, I may almost say, like the brutes that perish. Now the object of the Church Congress is to bring together all classes of the community, to speak their opinions upon social and religious questions, to take counsel together, and to act for the general advancement of the people of this nation. Of course one of the obvious efforts which such a society makes is to induce you to go to church. You have been told very truly to-night, that the floor of the parish church is free to every individual. I should say that is true, legally, only of the old parish churches, and not of the lately erected churches, but it is certainly true of all the ancient parish churches of this land. How does it happen you have not those rights? You say you are turned out, but why? Why don't you turn in? It would not be necessary to elect churchwardens. You have simply to go and take your places reverently and orderly, and in a very short time not only will you be welcome in all the ancient parish churches of this land, but all the newly-erected parish churches

will only be too glad to receive you. We have been told, over and over again, that the Church of England has lost its hold on the people of this country. I am afraid it is true, and I say it with shame. There has been much neglect—much unpardonable neglect on the part of those who ought to have taken care that this sad result should never have occurred. But is there no blame on the other side? Have you, working-men, done your part? Have you been ready always to take advantage of the ministrations of every active, earnest, and pious clergyman, who has been placed in your midst? I am afraid it must be said on both sides, "Brother, brother, we are both in the wrong;" yet I believe there is, at the bottom, a strong substratum of religious feeling amongst the working-classes of this country. There is nothing, or almost nothing, of the irreligious spirit that seems to have penetrated the labouring classes on the Continent, and which appears to have produced the dreadful scenes which we lately witnessed in Paris. There is another great mistake that the working-men are apt to make. They say, "It is all very well for a gentleman or a clergyman to be going about doing good, saying what is right, and setting a good example, but it does not signify so much for us." Now, I must tell you there are a great many things in which your example would be of the very utmost benefit, and it is an example which all the bishops present on this platform could not equal. There are many parts, for instance, in this great town and neighbourhood into which your example would penetrate and diffuse a light far beyond anything which even this Congress could afford. Our great national poet has said—

> "How far this little candle throws its light,
> So shines a good deed in this naughty world."

And many times it has occurred that the example of a man in the most humble circumstances, and because he is in those humble circumstances, has had a far more vivid and lively effect upon his neighbours than all the practice or the preaching of the clergy of the whole neighbourhood. Another thing I wish to impress upon you is this—you know we are all members one of another. We talk of working-men as if they were a distinct class, and I dare say that most of us have a confused idea of a distinction between a working-man, and one who is not a working-man; but I and many on this platform claim to be emphatically working-men; and if the day should ever arrive in which those who are now classed as the working-men of England should claim to themselves idleness as their inheritance, then I believe the prosperity of this country will depart. I do not desire to limit your advancement, but I desire that that advancement should be true and real. I desire not that you should enjoy an animal life for a few years, but that you should become religious and moral citizens of this great country.

The Bishop of Manchester.

My Lord,—If my eye might judge of the constituents of this meeting from my experience in Lancashire, I am afraid that I could hardly call this a meeting of working-men. I see before me a number of clergy, some of them from my own diocese—working-men I admit, but not quite the ideal working-man that was contemplated by this meeting. I see before me a number of respectable, well-dressed tradesmen, occupying probably the middle class of society; but if I were to call for a show of hands, and ask how many hands have been blackened and indurated by actual material contact with that machinery of which my right reverend brother, the Lord Bishop of Winchester, spoke as having been so difficult to introduce into Yorkshire, I imagine I should not see twenty-five per cent. of hands held up. (Cries of "Try it.")

The President.—Let the real working-men hold up their hands. (A large majority of those present immediately raised their hands.)

The Bishop of Manchester.—I can only say, I infinitely rejoice to have been so much out in my estimate. Such being the case then, that seventy-five per cent. or there-

abouts of this meeting are actually working-men, I entirely share the feeling that was expressed by my right rev. brother, the Bishop of Winchester, that our positions should have been reversed this evening, that you working-men, or some of your representatives, should be here to speak, and we—at any rate the clerical portion of us—should be down there to hear; for I am convinced that we clergy, and, perhaps, emphatically we bishops, want to know more than we do know of your mind, your aspirations, your yearnings, your temptations, your difficulties. I cannot measure myself the temptations and the difficulties of the working-man. I remember when I lived in the south-country—for I am "a south-country goose" as well as my right reverend brother—I was in the habit of frequently conversing with another south-country goose—for he was a Berkshire squire. He is a squire of the right sort, as I will explain to you presently: that is, a squire who lives upon his own estate, and spends as little time in the year as possible in the frivolities of the London season. He is a squire determined to hand down his estate to his eldest son in the best possible condition, both as regards its cultivation and the cottages upon it. He is a squire who employs all through the winter-time something like sixty hands, whom, if he were disposed, he might turn adrift to find work where they could—some of them, perhaps, to seek a home in the workhouse; and that squire has said to me as we have been walking home from church, for he used to sit under me in Berkshire—I was not then a Bishop—"My dear Fraser"—I forgot to mention one of his tastes—he is a keen sportsman, and he has said to me, "I am afraid if I was a working-man I should be a poacher and a tippler." And what did he mean? He meant that he had a keen instinct for sport, which he would gratify one way or other, and that might have tempted him to become a poacher; and I think he further meant if he had not a comfortable and luxurious home—if he had such a home as many of you working-men are condemned to dwell in, after the exhausting labour which many of you are obliged to follow—he might have been overcome by that terrible temptation to compensate for the hardship of his lot by recourse to that falsest of stimulants—drink. I say for myself, having a comfortable home, I should deem myself utterly inexcusable in the sight of God, and in the sight of my fellow-men, if I resorted to any such stimulants, or any such sorts of gratification. Nor can I understand the sleek and well-to-do grocer or baker, who, leaving his own family, resorts to the "Black Dog," or the "Red Bull," and imbibes I know not what fabulous quantities of brandy and water, and smokes I know not how many pipes, which are called, I believe, "churchwardens"—I am afraid from a habit which formerly prevailed among that very respectable and useful body of church-officers. I say, we who live in nice and happy homes, can hardly measure the difficulties and temptations that beset the life of the actual working-man; and, therefore, I maintain that the working-man has a right to claim from us who preach Christ's Gospel, the utmost tenderness and consideration. It is written that the common people that heard the Lord Jesus Christ go about and preach His divine message "heard him gladly." How is it that the common people now—after the Gospel has had nineteen centuries of free course and been glorified—no longer seem to listen to its tidings with the gladness with which they once listened to them? Is it that we who have to preach have somehow or other lost the art of preaching this Gospel so as to reach the hearts, the intelligence, the conscience of our hearers? This morning I listened in this hall to a discussion upon a subject of considerable delicacy and difficulty—namely, the limits of comprehensiveness as regards doctrine and ritual in the Church of England. I listened individually—I know not what the feelings of others may have been,—but I must say for myself, I listened to that discussion almost throughout with exceeding pain, for it taught me that men, under the influence of passion, or of prejudice, or of partisan feeling, lose the calm balance of their reason, and will not even give those who differ from them an impartial or a fair hearing. Whatever be the limits of comprehensiveness within the Church of England, in regard to ritual or doctrine, no one will say that the Church of England has reached the proper limits of its comprehensiveness until it has got hold of and comprehended you. I acknowledge that things just

now are somewhat out of joint between the clergy and the working-men—I hope they will come into gear again; but just at the present time they seem to be working with hardly that smoothness and harmony one would desire to see. For instance, it is assumed that the clergy have had no sympathy, or have manifested no sympathy, with the struggle of the agricultural labourer in this recent agitation, and some words that unfortunately dropped from a Bishop of the Church of England, I admit in a jocular mood,—and he is one of the most kind-hearted of men—have been cast about from one end of the country to another, as if we (the clergy) had no feeling for the agricultural labourer in this great struggle. But will you remember that the position of the clergy in these social questions—questions affecting the relation of employer and employed, questions touching the hours of labour or the amount of wages—are extremely delicate and difficult questions for a minister of Christ's Gospel to deal with? Our place is not to set class against class, but, as far as we can, to bind together, on the basis of reciprocal confidence and mutual good-will; the various classes of which the fabric of society is composed; but I venture to say, without fear of being contradicted, that there is not a clergyman of the Church of England who does not feel in the bottom of his heart that the agricultural labourer has suffered—I will not say great wrong, because a wrong cannot be inflicted except with intention, and I do not believe there has been any intention to inflict a wrong; but I do say that the agricultural labourer has suffered, if not great wrong, at any rate great hardship, and that we should rejoice to see him sharing in a fuller measure than hitherto in those earthly comforts and advantages with which an unexampled period of prosperity has enriched the other classes of working-men. And, further, I maintain that I do not believe that there is a single clergyman of the Church of England, who has ever looked upon the great social question in a rational point of view, who would say that the agricultural labourer has not a legitimate right to combine for the purpose of improving his earthly condition. Those who have employed labour have combined year after year; the farmers at their market ordinaries have fixed the rate of wages for a whole district, and that is combination; and so long as combination is legitimate and fair, and physical force or intimidation are not used, I do not think any one has a right to say that the lowest and most depressed class of all has no right to combine for the purpose of lifting themselves into a better social position. Only when combinations have been effected, and when the two classes, the employer and employed, stand face to face, it is not well—at any rate, if it be well, the clergy of the Church of England must not play that part—they must not go in to create deadly and internecine feelings of enmity between those two classes—urging the farmer, on the one hand, to dismiss his labourer when winter is setting in, or the labourer to desert the farmer when the harvests are left out and ungarnered. Though I must say I do not rejoice to see imported into this great social question the names of gentlemen who are only too well known as agitators in all social questions of the kind, I desire to say, speaking as an individual, so far as I have read his speeches, Mr. Joseph Arch has conducted this great controversy with a moderation, fairness, and equity, that I should be glad that all who follow in his wake would copy. But I feel that this is a question which can only be dealt with in a spirit of great calmness and equity, and I should be sorry to be the man who, even with a high and single motive, added another to those elements of disintegration which threaten to break into fragments the industrial fabric of society. I was speaking about the relations between the clergy and the working classes not being altogether, as they seem to me, in gear. May I ask you, honestly and frankly, Do you working men trust us, the clergy, or do you suspect us? Do you believe us to be real, or do you write us down hypocrites? Do you believe that we are labouring for you, or do you suspect us of preying upon you? St. Paul had to defend himself to the Corinthians against the suspicion of wishing to catch them with guile. We, my friends, profess to seek not yours but you, and if we have not got your confidence, if you don't believe in us as honest men, if you think we are only trying to propagate and to maintain cunningly devised fables for filthy lucre's sake, it is impossible that we can be of any advantage to you. But, I ask you, need you

go beyond your town of Leeds to find examples of men, clergymen, who have laboured and are labouring amongst you almost without money and without price for the love of souls? The old vicar's name has been mentioned with the honour it deserves, and with the applause with which it is received in every assembly of English Churchmen. But the old vicar's mantle has fallen, since he was removed to another sphere, upon other shoulders, and is still worthily worn, and if he were not upon the platform perhaps I should say more; but, at any rate, I will ask you—Do you mistrust Edward Jackson? We seek, I say, not yours but you; we seek you because we believe we bear to you a message which it much concerns your highest interests to know. When I say your highest interests, I don't project those interests into the distance of the remote future, millions of years hence, when we shall be all gathered together before the great Judgment Throne; but I say this message of the Lord Jesus, which we have to bear to you, touches directly upon your dearest and most precious interests here. There is a true side to secularism, as well as a false and most misleading side. When God's angel set the Apostles free from their prison, and bade them go and deliver their message to the people, in what way did he charge them to do their duty? He said: Go, stand in the temple, and preach to the people all the words of this life—not all the words of the next life, but all the words of doctrine and of counsel necessary to help us to lead rightly the life we are living now. For the issues of *eternity* depend upon the manner in which men spend *time*. And we who believe that the life of the world to come will only be the natural and necessary outcome of the life we are living now, feel how unspeakably above all fancy dreams of paradise and of heaven, are those simple messages which tell men how they should behave one towards another here below. For what is religion? What is it but the recognition—the practical, living recognition—of the bond of duty and of the obligations to holiness which attach the creature to the Creator, the sinner to the Saviour, the helpless one to the Strengthener, the man to his God? And the principles of this religion, I venture to say, though they have been expanded into almost interminable folios, are few and simple to a degree that is almost inconceivable. A little child could carry them almost all in the palms of his hands, and retain them without effort in his memory. We do not want writers of casuistical divinity to teach us our duty to God and to our neighbour. We do not want ponderous expositions of the Apostles' Creed to strengthen our faith in these simple fundamental verities. We want faith, it is true; some learning, it is true; some use of the reasoning powers, it is true; but, above all, we want an honest and a good heart—that is the soil in which the seed, when dropped by the sower's hand, under the influence of God's Spirit, takes root and bears its fruit. Let me ask you, before I conclude, a few simple questions. Do you working-men read your Bibles? And, if you do read them, for what purpose do you read them? Do you read them for controversy? Do you read them to make yourselves useful and skilful teachers in Sunday-schools? — a very laudable reason, but not sufficient reason. Or do you read them, as Paul charges Timothy, "for instruction in righteousness?" And if you want to know where of all pages in the Bible you had best go for instruction in righteousness, open your Bible at those three chapters in St. Matthew, where the great Galilean Teacher gathers around Him a vast multitude of poor folk, who came gladly to hear His word, and teaches them the new conditions of the kingdom of God and His righteousness. I ask you, do you pray? I do not mean, do you make long prayers; I do not mean, do you go to church or chapel, and join in the prayers of the congregation? I mean, do you night and morning go down upon your knees—in the morning when you have dressed yourselves, and in the evening before you lay down to sleep—and in simple, earnest words ask God to bless you, to guide you, to protect you, to purify you? Again, I ask you, do you working-men—I will not say in the morning, because, perhaps, there is not time for it then—do you at night gather round your table, when supper is done, your wife and your children, and ask them to join with you in some simple offering of praise and prayer to Him in Whom you live and move and have your being? If you do not do these things, my men, you are not true supporters of the Church of England, nor of any

Church at all. A Church does not rest upon numbers—not upon mere numbers; but its foundation, says St. Paul, lies deeper, and it is this—"Let every one who names the name of Christ depart from iniquity." If only we who have to preach this Gospel, instead of disputing about these trivial questions—for though men having great doctrines upon them, in themselves they are most trivial—questions of the position of the minister before the altar—the length of the surplice, the colour of the stole, whether the sacramental bread should be wafer or household bread, whether the wine in the chalice should be mingled with water—if we only realise that you are living stones, whom it is our mission to build up into a holy temple for an habitation of God through the Spirit, we should do our work more successfully than we do. I have known men who have emptied their church of living souls for the purpose of wearing a particular vestment or standing before the altar in a particular position. Are not living souls of more value than these things? "The kingdom of God," says he, who far above almost any man, fathomed its depths, its length and breadth, and height, "is not meat and drink," or anything of that kind, "but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost."

The Rev. Canon Woodford.

I should not have come forward, after the speakers who have gone before, but for the call of my and your Bishop. He thought that this great meeting ought not to dissolve without a few words from the Vicar of Leeds, and as he has invited me to do so, I address you as brother churchmen and as parishioners; because, although from the necessary working up of the spiritual field of this great town there has been a sub-division of the old parish church of Leeds, yet I rejoice to think that there are thousands in the outskirts of the town whose hearts are yet warm towards the old church. Now, having been invited by the Chairman to speak to you as the Vicar of Leeds, I must for a few minutes reason with you about our common Church and your position with regard to it. I use the word "reason," because I am going to follow up what I say with a suggestion, which, if you act upon it, may make what I say not a sermon to you, but the opening of a question to which you can give a reply. I am afraid there is a very common feeling amongst working-men that the Church of England is an aristocratic institution. There is not a more false idea. If she were an aristocratic institution she would be utterly untrue to her Founder, who, when He came upon the earth, came as a carpenter's son. She would be untrue to her whole history. Through all the ages that are gone the Church of God has been an institution that has uniformly stood on the side of the people. It was the Church of Christ which, in the middle ages, stood forth as the shield of the weak against the strong. In this very land, when that first beginning of Englishmen's rights—Magna Charta—was won, it was the Archbishop of Canterbury of the day who headed the movement which gained that foundation of our freedom. More than this, we are very proud of our representative government, of our representative institutions; we think that the highest form of government is that under which a great people sends its deputies to a central council, and so through its representatives governs itself. What is the origin of representative government? The origin of it—this is not my statement, but that of a great French statesman who has written the history of the civilisation of Europe—the origin of representative government is to be found in the old councils of the Church. And let me remind you of a later period connected with English history. When, in 1688, that great change in the government of this country took place from which constitutional monarchy dates, there were seven Bishops of the Church of England who stood in the van of freedom. It is this same Church which offers to cast, if you will let it, its arms around you—to side with you, as the Bishop of Manchester said it should,—in the righteous working out of the social questions of the day, and to carry home to you those ministrations which may elevate, and purify, and render happy

your domestic life. Well, then, if this be so, there arises this question—why do not the masses of the people avail themselves more of this great institution? My friend, and your friend, Mr. Jackson, who knows so well the condition of the town of Leeds, could tell you readily, I have no doubt, the exact numbers; I can only say it is a notorious fact that those who worship are but a very small sprinkling indeed, compared with the masses which are living alienated from the life of God in this place. Now, I intimated that I meant to end with some practical suggestion, and I will do so. The Church Congress has met together to make an interchange of opinion, and to convey information from one to another. If I may divide those who are assembled in this hall I would say that we on this platform want to know a great deal more about you than with all our efforts and yearnings we have been able to learn. We want to get at the bottom of the question why it is that such a vast proportion of sensible, earnest, reasoning men—not drunkards, nor ill-livers—keep aloof from the worship of the Church of God. It would, of course, be quite impossible to have anything like a discussion in such an enormous meeting as this. But you are accustomed, you know, to come to me very often with deputations on behalf of trade guilds, confraternities, and societies—Ancient Romans, Kingston Unities, and a variety of other associations of that kind. You are very willing to come to me, and I am always heartily glad to receive such deputations. Now, I will throw out one hint as to how you may utilise the meetings of this Church Congress. Go home; think over, talk over, this great question of what it is that keeps, if I may use the phrase, your class to so large an extent from God's worship. Talk it out in your lodges, talk it out in your societies, sift it, and go to the bottom of it. In my own name, and in the name of my brother clergymen of Leeds, I ask you to come to us and tell us, if you can, what we can do, if we can do anything, to take the stones out of your path, and make the way easier for you. Just one word more. I know quite well that I am not addressing to-night those who stand aloof. I see hundreds of faces here that I well know in the old church, and I have no doubt the other clergy in Leeds on the platform recognise faces with which they are familiar. Therefore, for one minute I would speak to you as working-men who do avail yourselves of the ordinance of worship. I ask you to resolve to do what you can to bring others in. Depend upon it, you can do in this matter what no clergyman, however earnest and devoted, can do. You can get an entry to thresholds which we cannot cross. You come across men in your working hours, men whom we cannot find; you can speak with all the influence of those who will never be suspected, as we should be, of merely plying a professional trade. They will listen, many of them, to their brother-workmen when they would not listen to the parsons. Let me ask you to make it one result of this Congress that you will do more to bring others to go where you find it good to be. There are, I believe, in the depths of the alleys of this huge town hundreds of men and women who, in spite of scepticism, in spite of secularist and socialist teachers, are in their secret hearts hungering after God, who only want the word of encouragement, the arm kindly put within their arm, to lead them to God's house. You can serve us in this matter. I ask you to aid us in this way; and hereafter, it may be, in the case of many a soul whose salvation has begun from such a ministry of love as yours, you shall have a share in the blessing which will follow upon the words which the lips of the dying may utter—"I was glad when they said unto me, let us go up to the house of the Lord."

The Right Rev. the President.

Before closing the meeting, I wish to be permitted to say a word or two. Nothing has been more gratifying to me during the past three days than to witness the almost universal interest with which the proceedings of the Church Congress have been regarded. That interest has not been confined to Churchmen, but has been shared in a great measure by our Nonconformist brethren. I know for a fact that many Nonconformists have been present at our various meetings. I heard only yesterday of several Quakers having been

present, and I could not but think what a contrast they must find in the noise and speaking of a Church Congress meeting, from that to which they are accustomed in their silent meeting-houses. The organs of the press, representing every phase of political and religious thought and feeling, have, with remarkable unanimity, expressed an interest in the proceedings of our Church Congress; and last, though not least, our chief civil magistrate, the Mayor of Leeds, himself a Nonconformist, has shown in every possible way in his private and in his official capacity, by the hospitality which, with unstinted liberality he has extended to members of the Congress, by his presence at almost every one of our meetings, and by thus manifesting throughout the whole course of them, the deep interest which he feels in the work of the Church Congress. I am not sanguine enough to expect that all he has heard will have the effect of making him cease to be a Nonconformist. But of this, I feel fully persuaded that he watches with a lively interest, and he breathes a most fervent desire for the welfare and the progress of the good old Church of England. Although by the rules of the Congress it was not in my power to invite his Worship to address any other of our meetings, it does lie within my discretion at the present moment to invite the Mayor of Leeds to give us the benefit of any observations he may be pleased to make.

The Mayor of Leeds (Mr. J. Barran).

When I entered this Hall to-night, I had not the remotest idea that I should have either the privilege or the responsibility of addressing this large and important meeting. As the Bishop has told you, I am a Nonconformist, and I may say, that although a Nonconformist, the Committee of the Church Congress did me the honour to invite me to be one of its Vice-Presidents. That honour I felt I could not with consistency accept, but I promised that when the Church Congress came to Leeds, I would lend it all the influence of my official and private position to further its interests and to give emphasis to all its proceedings. As the chief magistrate of this borough, I feel that all large gatherings of this kind have results far more than can be tabulated, and I feel that the Church Congress has produced effects which only eternity will reveal. I have attended most of the meetings, and I have felt a deep interest in the papers that have been read, and in the discussions held on them, and although I do not agree with all that has been said, yet I feel that the effect of the Congress on my own heart and mind will be beneficial rather than otherwise. I do not believe it will have the effect of making me a Churchman, but it has had the effect of strengthening a desire that I have always felt that the Church should be, as it can be, far more useful in winning souls to its fold. When I consider the small proportion of our population who are found worshipping God from Sabbath to Sabbath, I feel that by whatsoever means these people are reached, if they are reached and told the Gospel message, so much the better for the people, and so much more glory to God. We differ as to the means that should be used, and we differ as to our views in connection with the Established Church; but whilst I hold strong opinions —and I do not hesitate to say so here—as what is called a "political dissenter," because my politics are bound up with my religion—whilst I hold strong opinions in connection with my politics and religion, I ever rejoice to see any church which preaches Christ succeeding in accomplishing the salvation of souls. We have had to-night a thoroughly practical meeting. There was no speech to which I listened with more pleasure than to the speech of the honourable member for the county of Lancaster. I believe, with all due deference to every gentleman on this platform, that that was the speech of the evening, because it went direct to the man, and his home, and his religion; and when the responsibilities of life are felt by men, I am quite sure those responsibilities will have such an effect upon them that they must necessarily become better men; and if they become better men they will be better husbands; their homes will be improved and be happier. The Lord Bishop of Manchester said he could not believe that this was a meet-

ing of working-men. I do not wonder, because we can, without any egotism, say that our town is one of the most orderly, one of the best-clad, best-fed, and, I believe, one of the quietest in every respect of all large towns in England. I may say, I have heard from all quarters, as the Mayor of this borough, expressions not only of satisfaction at the way in which the large masses of the people, on the day of the opening of our Park, behaved themselves; but I have heard the most extraordinary astonishment expressed that people in such enormous numbers could have kept themselves so orderly, so quiet, and in such good temper. We have had a good meeting to-night. I feel that we have done credit to ourselves, and let me say to you, my friends, that whatever differences of opinion may exist amongst us in this town, we should try to have our meetings conducted orderly, fair, and above-board. If this meeting had been disturbed, we could not have listened to the good speeches we have heard, and on other questions, if meetings are disturbed, we do not know what we lose. There is no judging without hearing; and I say, that to prejudge any public meeting is to do not only an injustice to those who get the meeting up, but an injustice to yourselves, because you do not know what you may miss from preventing the meeting. I rejoice that we have had this meeting, and I rejoice in the result of the Church Congress as far as it has gone. I hope that this influence may continue to be such as to command not only the respect of those who attend the meetings, but the confidence of the great masses of people by which we are surrounded.

FRIDAY MORNING, 11*th OCTOBER.*

The Chair was taken by the Right Reverend the President at Ten o'clock.

DEEPENING OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE.

The Rev. Canon Bernard, Rector of Walcot, Bath, read the following paper:—

The Deepening of Spiritual Life. That is our subject: not the nature of spiritual life, not the creation or diffusion of it, but the *deepening* of it. We look not at the unbelief and irreligion, but at the professed faith and godliness which surrounds us, and, knowing what this surface covers of dubious, or shallow, or immature religion, we ask each other's counsel with a view to better things.

God has His own means of deepening spiritual life. But we speak of those which He has put at our disposal. They are mainly three—Instruction—Devotion—Action. I shall speak only of the first. In so doing I may either consider what special methods for this end may be added to our ordinary ministrations, or, I may consider how to direct to this end those ordinary ministrations themselves. I adopt the latter course, from feeling that what is permanent is more important than what is occasional, and I address myself to this point, that *we must aim at the deepening of spiritual life, both in doctrinal and ethical teaching.*

"*We must aim at the deepening of spiritual life.*" Need anything be said on that? Yes! there is reason to insist upon it—God knows how great.

There is reason in *human nature* which ever shrinks from the thoroughness of the work of God, and has ten thousand ways of abating the claims and evading the powers of the truth which it admits.

There is reason in the *times.* In the midst of material prosperity, we behold a diffusion of religious knowledge, a familiarity with religious topics, a facility of religious profession, a multiplication of religious ordinances, and an unprecedented liberty of religious action and opinion. In such a time there must be a wide extent of untested and unconscious shallowness. Things which, in a former state of public opinion, were said or done only after the conflicts of an agitated inward history and under strong intensity of conviction, may now mean nothing more than the easy adoption of inherited habits or admitted views.

There is reason in *facts.* See the multitude of "good sort of people," whose vague and torpid religion continues at the same point through life. There was true experience in what the late Charles Bridges once said to me in conversation long ago. "I am tired of well-disposed persons. You are pleased to see how well-disposed they are: but you see them again after twenty years, and they are only well-disposed persons still." See, again, the many pulpits which minister to this very state; from which nothing proceeds but a vague and elementary doctrine, often sounding external to the mind of him who preaches it, and an ethical teaching which suggests no thought of fulness of stature or ripeness of age in Christ.

There is reason even in the interest which (thank God) is excited in the other parts of the Church's work. I mean its *evangelistic movements:* for these fix attention on the masses and the unconverted state, and on the first wants of waking souls, and on peace which is to be found in Christ; and, if there be no deeper teaching, many may mistake the beginning for the end, only seeking fresh cordials for the renewal of their first emotions, or resting in a stationary experience and in a scanty theology, confined to a few doctrines which seem most effective for conversion, or most satisfying for personal peace. Finally, there is reason in *the prevalent habit of thought*, fostered, as it is, by our political proclivities, which would refer all subjects to the opinion of the majority, and must, therefore, judge the things of religion from an inferior standpoint, taken on the level of the common mind. I see an instance of this in some of the arguments which have been rife on a subject now before the Church—I mean the use of the Athanasian Creed. It is asked (not speaking of the condemnatory clauses, but of the creed itself) what an ordinary layman can make of these strong statements on mysterious points of divinity. It is said that they are distasteful to many minds, and unmeaning to many others in the general congregation; and we are told to look at the puzzled or indifferent countenance of the common people when the creed is recited in a country church. Now, whatever on other grounds may be decided with regard to this creed, I protest with all my heart and soul against a principle which would make the mind of the ordinary layman (or of the ordinary clergyman either) the standard by which to revise the services of the

church; a principle, which, in reducing them to the average religious intelligence and the average devotional taste, would eliminate from them the elements which assist men's minds to sink deeper in thoughtfulness and to rise higher in adoration than the common level on which numerical majorities are found. If the Church is to utter nothing which can imply a history of more exercised thought, or express a more passionate conviction, you may leave off talking of the deepening of spiritual life, and remain for ever in your flats and your shallows.

Yes! there is reason enough for directing the teaching of the Church to the deepening of spiritual life; and the first requisite (for that end) is a more vivid and pervading sense of the reality of this life, and a more worthy apprehension of its nature, origin, and end.

Spiritual life is life in the spirit, that part of our nature which belongs to the world of spirits, and is capable of conscious union with God. It is life *from* God and *to* God, created and conducted under a special economy, through Jesus Christ manifested in the flesh and justified in the spirit. Its power is the Holy Ghost, sent forth in His name, and dwelling in His members. Its exercise and training are provided by the occasions, duties, temptations, and conflicts of this present mingled state. Its perfect development is ensured at the day of His appearing.

Let a church glow with the consciousness that it exists as the birthplace, nursery, and home of this divine supernatural life, and it will never rest in superficial appearances, or be content with shallow attainments. Then a holy ambition will inspire it, like that which breathes in the apostolic Epistles, that men may be made perfect in every good word and work, may grow up in all things unto their head, even Christ, and comprehending the length and breadth and depth and height, may be filled with all the fulness of God.

Now let us see how this is to be studied, in doctrinal and in ethical teaching.

And first in *doctrine*—Yes! always first; otherwise Christian ethics will sink to precepts of natural morality, and Christian ordinances to ceremonies or spells. By doctrine we mean what the Apostles call "the Word" (the word, that is, which was given forth from God, which came *to* the mind of man and did not come out of it); the preaching and teaching of Jesus Christ as the Way, the Truth, and the Life. Great is the mystery of godliness. Godliness, the character and life which we would create, has its root in a mystery—the revelation of Jesus Christ. If that mystery is the power to create spiritual life, it is also the power to deepen it. For this, as well as for that, we rely upon the Gospel, as the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.

For this end two things are wanted. First the doctrine must be distinct. What clouds this distinctness? Most often the want of it in the teacher's own mind. But it must be sought and studied, in order that the great central truths may stand out always in full view and in strong relief. "Then," it may be said, "you will have the same thing over and over again, you will repeat your well-worn statements till every body knows what is coming. That will not do in the present day. There is need of variety of topic, and of freshness and originality of thought." There is, indeed—but of *Christianised* thought, thought of which all the lines converge to the cross and the throne of Christ.

The Spirit of God works by His Word, and the thoughts of man, severed from the thoughts of God, will never deepen spiritual life.

Next, the doctrine must be full; it must be worked out. No doubt our teachers have a high esteem for their subject; but, perhaps, they want a larger view of their science. Men may preach their sound doctrine, or their simple gospel, and do their own amount of good; but, repeating their elementary truths, and traditional expositions, they may make no impression of advance. Their thoughts sink deeper in the old ruts, and then stick fast, and the mind of the hearer parts company. If, in the face of the bold expansions of science and the rapid strides of politics, you give the impression that the theological field is narrow, and the theological habit supine, you renounce your guidance of many fervent, active minds, from which you might best have hoped for a full religious development. Would not that be treason to the truth which we minister? Shall we speak of "the unsearchable riches of Christ," as if it meant that no searching can disclose, instead of that no searching can exhaust them! Shall we proclaim that "in Him are *hid* all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge," as if so *hid* that it is vain to study, or forbidden to explore them! The Apostle, speaking to those whom he had fed with milk, declared that he spoke wisdom among them that were perfect. We want more of that wisdom; not less of the elementary teaching to those who are babes, or yet carnal, but more of the solid nourishment for those who, "by reason of use, are having their senses exercised to discern both good and evil." I might ask whether men's later ministry commonly shows that they have been growing up into Christ, whether their expositions of Scripture become more thoughtful and profound, and their application of it more apprehensive of the subtle secrets of the heart; whether they who learn what it is for "enemies to be reconciled to God by the death of His Son," are equally led to understand what it is for those who are "reconciled to be saved by His life;" whether, in short, the doctrines of the deeper spiritual life are sufficiently wrought into the mind of the Church, such as those of the power of Christ's resurrection, of His glorified humanity, and our present relations with it, of the believer's incorporation and inherence in Him, of the paracletic office of the Holy Ghost, of the predestined purposes of God, of the procession of ages and dispensations, and the glorious issue to which they tend, at the coming and kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I turn to Christian *ethics*, comprehending the acts and works, the habit and temper, the character and conversation of the Christian. The deepening of spiritual life is the education of the whole man, the new man. Education does not come of itself. Christian ethics must be taught; taught as the Apostles taught them. You have their Epistles and you know how they did it.

First in regard to *motive*. See what motives they employ, what principles they rivet on the heart, the motives which the Holy Ghost inspires, and the principles which are found in Christ. See how they entwine the blessed Name with the dictates of natural conscience, and the impulses of natural feeling; how they discover the springs of human action in the Cross and Resurrection of Jesus; how they translate the revelations of grace and glory into moral habit and the duties of daily life, and fill the narrow paths of earth with the immediate light of

heaven. We must do the same. Men remonstrate. I lately read a paper in the *Contemporary Review* alleging that we pervert and injure Christian morals by this use of what we think spiritual motive, and by our reference to another world and a heavenly kingdom divert the mind from work which might be done, and expectations which might be realised here. Are we, then, no more to taste "the powers of the world to come?" Are we not educating and being educated as immortal beings, children of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven, on the borders of which we stand? This it is which gives their true dignity to the interests and duties of the present. To bring the motives of the spirit into use for things done in the flesh, to beautify and fructify things below by affections set on things above, to live to men because we live to God: this is the task which Christian ethics have to study and have proved themselves able to achieve.

Next, there is need to insist on the *practical realisation* of these motive powers in the actual exercises appointed for them, among the homely details of this present life. Some good men seem afraid to mention the words "works and doings," except to warn men not to trust in them (which, no doubt, there is need to do). But the Apostles were not afraid of them. Jesus Christ was not afraid of them. No reader of His words and theirs but knows how forcibly they represent the danger of our substituting the word and the tongue for the deed and the truth. Are these days in which the warning is unnecessary? In the midst of our multitudinous good books and good words, our conferences, addresses, and boundless discourse, I think there is special need to maintain a vivid consciousness that in passive impressions truth floats on the surface of the character, and only by active use settles down into its depths. If you ask about the deepening of spiritual life there is an ancient answer. What man is he who, building a house, "digged deep (literally "dug and *deepened*," ἔσκαψε καὶ ἐβάθυνε) and laid the foundation on a rock?" It is he who heareth my sayings and *doeth* them.

Then this practical realisation demands that ethical teaching should not shrink from *detailed instructions and definite applications.* Perhaps we shrink from them too much; and, from fear of personality, triviality, or unpleasant suggestions, are too general in our terms. Sin and righteousness, bad ways and good works, seldom touch distinct chords within. We have cause to study those applications to the different relations of life, and to its varying occasions, to actual faults and apprehended dangers, with which the Apostles taught their converts how to walk and to please God, ever entreating them to abound more and more.

Lastly, we must follow them in the *high standard* which they raised, ever claiming a walk worthy of the vocation and of the Holy Name, and such as it becometh the Gospel of Christ, not acquiescent in average attainments, but feeling that average attainment itself can be raised only by high demands and noble examples, and confiding for true success not in official spiritual direction, but in the divinely-guided instincts of the spiritual man himself.

Yes! the way in which our inspired teachers deepened spiritual life is the way for us to deepen it, and the power is still the same.

We believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, and our expectation is from Him.

The Right Reverend the Bishop of Brechin read the following paper:—

In the deepening of the spiritual life, as in all the other blessed processes connected with the justification of the sinner, there are two factors—the grace of God and the co-operation of the free will of man. Two operations concur—the divine and the human, and where the work succeeds, it constitutes one theandric work. God's holy power precedes—awakening, exciting, vivifying,—man the while being utterly incapable to merit, call forth, or even desire that Divine Grace, yet must let himself be excited and follow with freedom.

God offers His Grace—the sinner consents and receives. The Divine Spirit worketh not by absolute necessity, though He is urgently active. His omnipotence suffers human freedom to set it a bound, because an unconditional interference with that freedom would bring about the annihilation of the moral order of the world, which Divine Wisdom has founded on liberty. (Möhler's Symbolism, Vol. I. p. 123.) On the present occasion, not from any under estimate of its paramount necessity, but solely because the briefness of the time allotted to me enforces the necessity of selection and sub-division of matter, I do not touch upon Divine grace, or upon the means of grace—I confine myself to certain points, in the which we, "as workers together with" God, embrace, occupy with, lay hold of, that Divine help and assistance which He, for the merit of His Son, freely and gratuitously bestows on us, to enable us first to conceive good intentions, and then to bring these intentions into the perfection of deliberate action.

Again, I do not here speak of the re-awakening of the spiritual life in the process of a true conversion to God. I assume that the penitent Christian is in the state of grace—that either by confession and absolution, or by the exercise of a perfect contrition—that is the supernatural hatred for past sin, from the pure motive of the love of God, which takes the place of all ordinances—he has entirely broken with the hated past—that he has offered to God the sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart, trusting in the meritorious life and atoning death of our dear Redeemer, and therefore may humbly yet trustfully believe, that though his warfare is not accomplished, yet that his iniquity is pardoned.

Pardoned—what is the Christian to do, not only to ensure the continuance of the state of salvation unto which God has called him, but to improve his relations with Him,—to go on unto perfection, to press toward the mark for the prize. In one sense, his work is only beginning. He must, day by day, die more and more to sin—grow in grace and in the knowledge of God and of His Son Jesus Christ—assimilate more and more to the Christian's pattern, and dress himself at the mirror of the virtues of Jesus.

This is the deepening of the spiritual life, concerning which I am called to address you, and I cannot do better than at once proceed to suggest, or rather to recall to your remembrance a very few simple rules which may, by God's mercy, be helpful.

The first thing to be pressed is the necessity of deepening the sorrow for forgiven sin. You have sinned: you have repented. Christ has

pardoned you, but the memory of the past still abides within your soul. There are acts and words in the treasure-house of your recollection which can never be effaced. They blanch the cheek when any external circumstance recalls them; they are imprinted indelibly on your soul. How do you regard them? Do you seek to pass them over and esteem them as so completely gone that they are no longer concerns of yours? Do you feel that so real a change has taken place in your nature that the sins cease to be, as it were, your own sins? Do you regard them, because forgiven, as non-existent? Surely no. Forgiveness is attached to contrition, and contrition is sorrow for the love of God. Surely then, as the love of God increases in intensity in your souls, the remembrance of the forgiven sin will become more and more consuming. Deeply realizing, as you do, the freedom from guilt, and the non-liability to punishment, the ever-intensifying sense of that affection you have outraged, that tender love which you have spurned, will infuse into your souls emotions which the tongue can scarce describe: a strange mixture of pain and joy, such as moved the souls of those who sat by the heroic deathbed of the wisest of the heathen, will touch you to the core, and the broken utterance will find vent in words of the Psalmist, Wash me more and more from my wickedness. *Amplius lava me a peccato meo.*

If anything can deepen religion in the soul it is the co-existence of these. They balance, sustain, yet deepen each other. The abiding remembrance of the old sin calls forth the thought of the love and mercy of God; that love and mercy enables you to endure the thought of the sin. "One deep calleth another." In the presence of such emotion, where is there room for shallowness, or self-complacency?

2. Alas, so deceitful is the human heart, that even when all this is in a measure realized, we must guard against conceit. Its mortification is the second rule for deepening the spiritual life. There is nothing so stunting as conceit. By its very nature it impedes progress. If I am satisfied with anything I do, I cease to take more pains. I rest where I am. A celebrated Danish sculptor is reported to have said, "I shall fail in my next effort, for I am satisfied with this."

I am not here speaking of Pharisaic self-righteousness and contempt for the religious opinions and spiritual attainments of others, that is emphatically sin, but I am speaking of that subtle self-complacency which mars so much of the work of the Holy Ghost in the souls of good people. Sometimes it is the indication of general shallowness of character—the rocky ground on which he who is always sowing ὁ σπείρων sows his seed—but more generally it proceeds from want of self-knowledge. The abyss of self-ignorance that cleaves the human heart is something amazing. The gift to see ourselves as others see us is rare—the gift to see ourselves in any measure as God and the Holy Saints and Angels see us, is rarer still. Of course it varies in different persons—nay it varies with the different phases of the life of grace and justification in the same person, but it is of the first importance to watch ourselves closely—to take warnings, and to acquire knowledge from our occasional falls—to study the nature of our temptations, and to be assiduous in all our self-examinations, not only in enumerating the acts and occasions of sin, but in investigating our motives, and the deep hidden springs of action within the soul.

3. And this leads on to a third point, which hinders progress, and that is what, for want of a better word, I must term exteriority. While, on the one hand, there is nothing so dangerous as a morbid self-contemplation, over-development of the subjective in religion, and over-scrupulosity, which sometimes attains to the extent of a spiritual disease, and may be referred to the capital sin of pride; on the other hand, souls suffer very much from too external a religious life. Even when there is a fair share of prayer, the life is moulded, not by the spirit of prayer, but by the spirit of eternal work. The inner life is made subordinate to the outer life, instead of the inner life being the animating principle of all the rest. This is a special snare of our countrymen. English Christianity is the most unsupernatural form of that institution, and we may well take warning from those histories which tell of the fell assaults which Pelagianism made upon the Church in this island in early times.

The bustle and whirl of excitement which characterises the civil and social life of the 19th century, tells profoundly on the expression of its religion. Services are more ornate as wealth has developed the grace and artificiality of manners. The wider extension, and I mourn to add, the increased shallowness of modern knowledge, has affected the concerns of the soul. Few continue to study the classic authors of the English language, and it is not to be wondered at that they who are ignorant of their Shakspere, their Bacon, their Butler, content themselves with superficial views of the doctrines of Faith, and with the world's opinion of the laws of morality.

Even among earnest men this is greatly felt. The world goes so fast, that clergy and laity have too little time for prayer and meditation. There is neither time nor taste for the interior life. The tear-stained book of private prayers of Lancelot Andrews—the dying meditations of Richard Hooker on "the number and nature of Angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which peace could not be in Heaven"—are almost as unreal to this age as the rapturous communings of Ignatius in the cave at Manresa, or the mysterious exhibitions of Divine love which visited Francis of Assisi on the Mountain of Alvernia.

4. Some cure for this, some deepening of our religious convictions will be found in the fourth suggestion which I venture to bring before you—that is, to lay deep within each of us the basis of our work in the *vita purgativa.* The masters of the spiritual life have done well who have divided the Christian life into the life of purification, the life of illumination, and the life of union. There is no more beautiful episode in Dante than that in which, under the similitudes of Leah and Rachel, he contrasts the active and the contemplative lives to the preference of the latter:—

> "Know ye, whoever of my name would ask
> That I am Leah: for my brow to weave
> A garland, these fair hands unwearied ply;
> To please me at the crystal mirror here
> I deck me. But my sister Rachel, she
> Before her glass abides the livelong day
> Her radiant eyes beholding, charmed no less
> Than I with this delightful task, Her joy
> In contemplation, as in labour mine."
>
> PURGATORIO xxvii. 103–111.

God forbid that we should undervalue the better part of Mary, the sitting at the Redeemer's feet in loving adoration, or fail to rejoice in the special privileges of those holy souls who are drawn upon the wings of love to the vision of the Absolute by faith. Still, as regards ourselves, I firmly believe that self-love is so subtle, and pride so entangling, that we must never cease to build upon the life of purification, again and again renew our sorrow for sin, accept the troubles of life in the spirit of penitence, and practice such mortification—the bodily exercise which profiteth for a little—which has been found by the experience of nineteen centuries to be such a sovereign remedy for the diseases of the soul, and the absence of which has been proved more than anything else to stunt its spiritual stature.

5. And closely connected with this is the fifth point which I desire to press upon you. It is the danger which accrues to the soul from the absence of a definite battle with some temptation or propensity. We are all of us so constituted, that while temptation assaults us from all quarters, and we sometimes fall into sins the very opposite to our natural proclivities, as the meek Moses fell in a moment of impatience, we have generally a life-long battle with some one temptation.

Now it is very perilous when we relax our efforts in combating this. Either to suppose that because Satan has ceased to tempt us, therefore we have conqured, or to relax our efforts from a sort of despair, because we so often fail, is alike fraught with danger. We must possess our souls with the fact, not only that temptation in some sort or form is the condition of our warfare as Christians, and that if we come to serve the Lord, we must prepare our souls for it; but that, in the predestination of God, there is a certain definite combat on which we one by one must enter. Oftentimes it is determined by the external circumstances of our lives—in Church and State, a line of duty is marked out to us—and, if so marked, it has its own trials; oftener in the daily discipline of life the trials are incidental to our very position, and nobly are they often met; but most commonly is our trial an interior one. A temper must be controlled, a weakness strengthened, a vicious inclination overcome, as the case may be. "Thou art mistaken, my brother," says a father of the Church, "thou art mistaken if thou believest that a Christian can be exempt from temptation: never art thou more strongly set upon, than when thou believest that thou art not assaulted."

6. Closely connected with this is the necessity of practising habitual recollection. Now this is only another name for that interior life, of which it is written, "The Kingdom of God is within you." It is the life which finds its ultimate term in being lost in God, when God shall be All in All, and of which the first steps are the habitual thought of Him, the realization of His presence, and such union with Him as is competent to us in this vale of tears, in the exile of this earth, wherein we "dwell with Mesech, and have our habitations in the tents of Kedar."

As it is a fact that we are ever in the presence of God, as He surrounds us even as the fishes are surrounded by the water, and as He abides at the very centre of our being as its sustaining cause, so the soul must realize this truth. We are ever present with God, let God ever be present with us. This can only be acquired under Divine grace by care and by application. Watchfulness, repression of the irregularity of the senses,

restraint of the thoughts, affections, and powers within us, above all meditation, are the ways whereby almost insensibly there is formed in us the holy habit of the presence of God; and among external means the recitation of the daily service tends greatly to this. Not without a profound practical object did the reformers of our Service Books in the Preface to the Common Prayer lay down:—"And all Priests and Deacons are to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, either privately or openly, not being let by sickness or some other urgent cause."

That calm unexcited devotion, in which prayer, praise, and scriptural instruction are so happily blended, persisted in year by year, tends surely to fix in us the good, holy, and salutary thought of God. And that the same form of devotion is helpful to the laity, we may gather from the popularity of such books as Bishop Cosins' "Manual," which he drew up for pious members of the Church at the time of the Restoration; or Bishop Hickes' "Devotion," in the form of offices, which tended so much to foster the piety of the Nonjurors.

7. But there can be little of the interior life, unless we set ourselves to control our passions. There is a beautiful passage in Dr. Newman's "Lectures on University Subjects" which applies to this:—

> "The phenomena which are the basis of morals and religion . . . . . are faint shadows and traces, certain indeed, but fragile and almost evanescent, which the mind recognises at one time, and not at another—discerns when it is calm, loses when in agitation. The reflection of sky and mountain in the lake is a proof that sky and mountains are around, but twilight or the mist, or the sudden storm hurries away the beautiful image, which leaves behind it no memorial of what it was."
>
> [LECTURES ON UNIVERSITY SUBJECTS, p. 373.]

Now this which he asserts of our morals and of faith in God, is the same in all the departments of the spiritual life. In the presence of the perturbations caused by the indulgence of the passions, the peace of the soul disappears, and with that the power of realising God's presence. Not only as regards the final end of man, the beatific vision of God, but as regards the grasp of Him by faith here below, are the words true, "Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God." Nothing clouds the eyes of the soul like human passion, and exactly in the proportion that the things that are seen dominate over us, the things that are not seen fail to affect us. Hence the necessity of cultivating that silence of the heart, which is so pressed upon people by the spiritual writers, and in which God so speaks to the soul, as He speaks by the mouth of his servant Hosea, "Therefore I will allure her, and bring her into the wilderness, and speak comfortably unto her."—(Hosea ii. 14.)

I shall not, in conclusion, seem to be intruding into the domain of theology properly so called if I terminate this slight sketch by impressing upon you the truth that the worship of Jesus Christ, God and man, is the Christian life.

All just works and all holy living are closely connected with a right belief in His Person and Natures.

Jesus Christ is the Truth, we must offer to Him the worship of our intellect. He is full of grace and truth. One is our Master, even Christ. We must seek him in that which manifests Him—His Word, His Church, His Temples, His solemn rites.

He is the Life, we must offer Him the worship of our lives. He is the means of life, the Bread which cometh down from heaven, whereof

if any man eat he shall not die. We must unite ourselves to Him in those sacraments which he has instituted, to communicate to us His grace, and with grace the first fruits of eternal life.

He is the Way, we must render to Him the homage of imitation, fostering in ourselves those moral and supernatural virtues, of which He gave us the ensample.

By these manifestations of worship we attain to the love of God and man, and by the love of God and man, which is charity, through His merits, we attain to the Beatific Vision. Christ is our Master. Love is our Law, and the Sight of God in the Face is our End. (*Lacordaire, Lettres à un jeune homme sur la vie Chrétienne*, p. 95.)

ADDRESSES.

The President.

Allow me to say that the subject this morning is one of a deep devotional character, and a spirit of prayer particularly behoves us on this occasion. If, therefore, there must be an expression of feeling, let that expression be an offering of supplication to heaven in behalf of those who speak, rather than any utterance of loud applause.

The Rev. Canon King made the following address:—

I fear that what I am able to say may be considered by many as hardly reaching the great subject which is put before me. To speak candidly, after some few years under God's permission of attempting a life towards Him, I can only simply say that I can see, but in the distance, how far off I am from knowing anything really about the deepening of the spiritual life. Therefore, I hope I shall be pardoned if what I say belongs quite to the beginning of the life: that which is, perhaps, just at its very dawning. First, then, let me observe that the whole question of the religious life seems to me to want one thing—we do not give enough time to it. We do not make it sufficiently one continual work through our whole life, or so long as we have the conscious exercise of the free will. We do not begin early enough. We leave children too much to chance; to their own wayward wills, instead of regarding them from the moment of their baptism as temples of the Holy Ghost—as objects of love for the angels, and the deeper love of their Lord. Very early in life troubles arise which cloud middle life and hang heavily over old age. Do let me leave with you this one point to reflect upon—whether you are careful enough to watch the deepening of the life in the beginning of the life in the child. Then, again, if we do do that, we are all too apt, when persons have passed the middle of life, or even earlier, when they have reached the age of discretion, and at Confirmation have spoken out before the Church and God—we are too apt, I say, to consider that we need not interfere any more, nor talk to them about such matters as prayer, and the difficulties which beset their soul. We think it would almost be an impertinence to a man, and a wrong to his independence, to do so. But is that right? Is the battle of life over at twenty-one? We may be of age for some things, but yet only children in the service of Christ. Reflect for a moment on the warnings we have in the Great Book which God has written for us, and in which, among many other things, we may find the highest, and closest, and most outspoken guidance for the deepening of the spiritual life. No book that I know of speaks out so outspokenly as the Bible. And what do we find there? What are some of the great

examples of the buffeting of Satan? We have heard of the patience of Job, but do we always remember that he is brought before us as a type of one buffeted by Satan? And at what age? He was a married man, in middle life, settled in his place; one with a family; one with wealth around him. Such was the man, at that age, when buffeted. He much needed to keep on his watchfulness. We all know of the royal penitent, David. Ah! but when did his trouble come? Not as a youth on the hills about Bethlehem: not in all the gaiety and excitement of army life, and all the gaiety of the court of Saul, but when in mid-life, in married life, he had won a position which should have satisfied his ambition, and he might have begun to think of rest. It was then the cloud that darkened David's life overshadowed him. It was in middle life that he needed to preserve the duty of discipline. What was the age of the penitent Apostle when he had to be restored? It was in married life: it was when he had advanced beyond what many consider the time when discipline and deepening are necessary. If I may say it, with all reverence, do we always remember that when the Captain of our Salvation was pleased to descend into the arena of temptation and throw a lustre round it, by proving to us that temptation is not sin unless we yield, He was thirty years of age? We need, if we would deepen this life, on entering upon it, to remember it must go on from the beginning, until it pleases God to take us beyond this militant state. And next, if we do not give time enough, neither are we thorough enough when we do set about it. If you would but think of some of the warnings which are given us in the early dispensation of God. Think of the thoroughness, at least in symbol, with which the typical sin of leprosy was to be put away—how the man was to be put out of the camp—how when he is brought in there is to be the cedar and hyssop, and water and blood, the living and dead bird—the life through death—the purification, the scarlet, new blood flowing again when he is brought within the camp. Then there is the reconsecration of the man, almost point for point like the consecration of the High Priest. And then after this purification and consecration there comes the entering of the religious life again, and the sacrifice goes on with all the greater thoroughness. Or look into the New Testament. We are so familiar with the examples there, that we pass them by as though they meant nothing. But one of the blessed results of these later efforts to deepen the spiritual life, has been to make the words of our Blessed Lord substantial facts in the field of ethics, and to teach us that they can, by God's help, be made realities. But what is the life to which He would lead us? He would tell us that the religious life is not merely outward, but essentially something within, the improving the inward life, inward holiness, the working of the heart and mind towards Him. This was the point on which our Lord insisted. Some of His parables take their outward form as naturally from what He watched in the inward heart, as others take their outward form from the scattering of the seed in the field. The rich man says secretly to his soul, "Soul, thou hast much goods;" but God answers his secret words as though they were spoken openly and aloud. The Apostles are murmuring about the first place, and He makes them silent by asking them what they were talking about? In the heart where the thoughts are going on is the place where He would have us watch. It is the contents of the heart which leave a defiling mark upon the man quite as much as that which the world sees without. From within—here is where the scar begins which offends the eye of the Captain of our warfare. And so, again, if we listen to some of the simple commands, how high they reach—"Be ye perfect." We do not aim thoroughly enough; nor aim enough for the victory with Him. So, again, if I turn to some of the earlier Christian writings, how did the Bishop of Jerusalem, St. Cyril, teach even the catechumen? "Look up," he said, "look up to the angels and archangels; see in those creatures, once like yourselves, beings who, by the aid of God's power, have reached a state in which now they sin no more, but in perfect happiness do His will—in perfect peace abide in the highest heaven of His presence. Look up at those creatures who have reached this perfect state—Gabriel and Michael needed the help of God as well as you. They have had their help, and therefore look to them, and see in them what an an exalted state of perfection God can enable a creature to reach." We need something of this in order to attain a higher and deeper

thoroughness in dealing with the question. And now to come down again, as it were to the earth, what was one of the most attractive doctrines which enabled one of the great men of the last century, whose name I never can mention without gratitude and love—I mean John Wesley—what was one of the most attractive doctrines which led so many around him? It was the doctrine of perfection. It was a high standard: it was something worth aiming at; not a mere outward decency, not merely a good disposition, but an inward perfection. The bell warns me that I must stop. Let me add that what we want is more quiet for consideration of eternal things. For my own part, I think we offer you thoughts about religion too much under the hortatory lash of our sermons instead of bringing you into habits of quietness—call them retreats if you like; but anything to get free from that Sabbathless pursuit either of wealth or knowledge which injures us (the clergy) as much as the laity, and keeps us back from that which God has told us to do—"Be still, and know that I am God." If I may add one word more—to deepen your own spiritual life—let me say, although I may be breasting the wave of your disfavour, but you may thank me for it some day—if you would begin it thoroughly do not flinch from all the discipline which the Church offers to you in the doctrine of Confession and Absolution. Make the foundations of the building sound and true if you would have it safe in the future. I would not wish to bring any thought of discord into this meeting, but I must be true, and I know there are many souls troubled, crippled in the way of life for want of knowing this truth, which, as Christian clergymen, we are bound on their death-bed to let them know. But it is kinder to let them know it when they are in good health, when their reason is strong enough to understand it, and their wil to adopt it.

The President.

The next speaker, according to the arrangements, should have been the Rev. Sir E. Bayley, but a letter has been received from him, saying that he is unavoidably prevented from being present. Under those circumstances, the Rev. W. Cadman has been asked to supply his place.

The Rev. W. Cadman, Marylebone, made the following address:—

It is with very considerable hesitation that I rise to address this Congress, but I do so because I may say that the slightest word of request from the Bishop has always been sacred to me; and I have felt it my duty, as a presbyter, as I did as a deacon, to carry out such request to the utmost extent of my ability. So, on the ground of obedience alone, I now come forward, although I am sorry that I occupy the place of one who would have spoken in a far more powerful, pointed, and edifying manner than I can hope to do. I feel especially anxious that there should be no one jarring note in the harmony of this meeting. I felt anxious, while papers were being read, to avoid this to the utmost of my power, and shall endeavour, as far as I am able, to do so. There are differences of opinion which, perhaps, honest conviction forces us to express, but it is far more delightful to agree than to differ. Contrasting this day's meeting with some differences of former days, I feel that we have already to-day been breathing some of the influences of a deeper spiritual life. And, lest I should forget to refer to this matter again, having mentioned obedience to the request of our Bishops, I would just say, in passing, that it has been too much the fashion to find fault with them. I believe that one evidence of a deeper spiritual life amongst clergy and laity, would be a determination to pray more earnestly for those who are in authority over us, knowing the very great anxieties which they must have in days when opinions differ so much, and in days of trial and danger such as those we live in. And I would venture to

suggest that, before the laity speak against the clergy, they should pray for them; and before the clergy and laity speak against the bishops, they should pray for them; and before the clergy speak against each other, they should pray for each other. I believe that if, under the influence of prayer, we always gave utterance to our differences of opinion, those differences would not often be so sharply expressed as to call forth the conflict and bitterness which sometimes result. The opening paper to-day suggested that the deeper spiritual life might be regarded under the three heads of instruction, devotion, and action. The second paper, brought us to some of those higher walks of devotion, which I would fain we all tried to reach; and I am sure if we can provoke one another to love, and the more we can breathe the atmosphere of Heaven, and the closer we can come to the Throne of Grace, the more we shall love one another as brethren, with pure hearts fervently, even though we may see each other's imperfections; and more than all, we shall see our own imperfections so strongly that we shall have scarcely time or right to regard those of our brethren. I think it will be well for me, perhaps, to rest the further remarks I have to make upon the third point, namely, that of action, because I believe that one means, not only of evidencing, but of increasing spiritual life is its practical action. The question with us now is, not how spiritual life is communicated, nor so much how it is maintained, as how it may be deepened. Now, if I were to cast about for a definition of the spiritual life, it would be that of the Apostle: "Christ liveth in me, and the life I live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God," and what I desire to press is, that if this life be really experienced, it will lead to action. We all of us, I dare say, remember the story of the two travellers across the snowy plains, who were almost succumbing under the influence of frost and snow, when, happening to stumble on the body of another traveller who had experienced to a greater extent the effect of the cold than they themselves, they set to work to chafe and rub his frozen limbs with all the might and energy they could command, and having caused some manifestation of circulation, they raised the traveller, who would otherwise have died, and took care of him, feeling all the while, that they were only performing an act of kindness and generosity; but unconscious that, while doing this, they were quickening their own circulation, and preventing the influence of the cold, which would have frozen them to death, as surely as it was freezing their fellow-traveller to death. Well, then, if we can but bear in mind that there are many around us to whom we have the opportunity of doing good, and that if we exert the will and resolution which God has given us, we may be the means, not only of doing them good, but of getting good ourselves. We shall be rising to a higher spiritual attainment. If we can be stirred to spiritual action, it will contribute to the energy and deepening of spiritual life. To him that hath shall more be given. Another advantage, too, will be gained. The travellers spoken of might have been engaged in a sharp and bitter contention before they assisted in this benevolent work; but no doubt they had little disposition for it afterwards. Certain it is that no nearer approach to true unity amongst Christian brethren can be made than when, from the corresponding life of Christ, all unite to work for Christ, by removing ignorance, comforting the comfortless, and relieving the oppressed; in short, for the manifestation of that pure and undefiled religion which the Apostle described as visiting the fatherless and widow in their affliction, as well as to keep themselves unspotted from the world. I would add that, for the work of spiritual life, we need strength, and for strength we need food, and that food we cannot better obtain than in the ordinances of grace which our Great Master has appointed for the purpose of communicating spiritual strength, remembering that, both in devotion and work, He is present with us, and that the grace which He has promised to His faithful servants will never be denied to draw us nearer to God, nearer to each other, and to make us more full of charity and love towards our fellow-men. With reference to what has been said respecting seasons of retirement, I feel myself that they are absolutely necessary in this busy world; but, as to the mode of conducting such retirement I say nothing except that it is a question on which Christian men may agree to differ. I am

sure of this, that no clergyman can bear the incessant wearying toil and anxiety of a crowded parish if he be always amongst his people, if he be never alone praying for them when he is not speaking to them, and praying for himself in order that he may be a faithful witness for God and to man. We all of us know that it is sometimes harder to pray for our people than to speak to them; but it seems to me if we were to cast ourselves into the current of those ordinances, to which the Church to which we belong directs our attention, we should personally, as well as ministerially, get more strength and vigour for spiritual life and usefulness. Difference of opinion, I know, may be entertained with reference to the use or practicability of daily public prayer in the Church, and this I mention because I see upon this platform one to whom I am indebted for many practical suggestions in my ministerial course, the tutor of my old college. I say, then, that if a clergyman, who finds it is not desirable or possible to have daily prayer in his church for his people, will in private use the prayers and go through the Psalms and Lessons which the Prayer Book suggests, he will find that he has got into a deep current of chastened thought, and is led on to such spiritual reflections as will enable him to go forth to his people, not only as one who wishes to lead them to a higher spiritual life, but thus to lead them as a consistent clergyman, and as one who feels thankful to God not only that he is a Christian, but that he is a Churchman. With respect to the Holy Communion, I know that some of those with whom I am supposed to sympathise, have been regarded, though unjustly, as persons who place comparatively little value on it; but I am sure they would agree with me, that while they love and reverence all the ordinances of the Church, more especially do they feel drawn near to God in the use of that ordinance which our Blessed Lord has enjoined, and that they do not wish to be behind any of their brethren in using thankfully and reverently, and affectionately all that our Prayer Book enjoins. Let me add that on such matters as Confession and Absolution, we do not want to go farther than our Prayer Book leads us. I am not mentioning this for the sake of controversy or to call forth difference of opinion, but only because I suppose that if I were to speak with the preceding speaker about matters like these, we might agree as to the necessity of communicating with our people, and encouraging them to speak to us about their souls' welfare, when we might differ about the mode of doing this as enjoined by that pure and reformed Church to which we belong. My time having nearly expired, I can only further suggest three things, and I do this in the words of Holy Scripture. Let our determination be such as may be expressed in these three sentences—"Christ Jesus my Lord," "By love serve one another," "Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God." I believe that, by acting in the spirit of these Scriptures, and expecting and looking for the coming of our Lord and Master, we shall experience a deeper spiritual life; and by provoking only to love and good works be better prepared for the solemn account which we must one day give to Him.

DISCUSSION.

The President introduced the Rev. A. Brinckman as formerly a distinguished officer in Her Majesty's army, afterwards as an ordained missionary in Cashmere, and as now acting as a clergyman in the diocese of London.

The Rev. A. Brinckman.

I hope you will give me credit in your charity for believing that I thought I had at least one simple motive to justify me in coming before you. And will you let me add, that I think we all owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Right Rev. President, not only for his general conduct and bearing in the chair, but for those most helpful words with which he opened

the meeting this morning, cautioning us of the solemn subject it is we are considering. I hope this meeting will pardon me if I happen to speak on one or two things which, at first sight, may seem to you to be rather secular. I only allude to them, because I do believe they have a direct and indirect bearing upon this subject before us—the deepening of the spiritual life. The first thing I would call attention to, for which I would again apologise, is this, I would ask my brethren of the priesthood to believe I am not standing here (for I have no right) to pretend to lecture them, but I wish to say that if we, the clergy, are to try to help the laity and ourselves to a deepening of our spiritual life, it is a most solemn responsibility to every one of us as to how far or how little, by our outward actions and conduct, we show to people that those deep truths which we tell them are so helpful to their own souls, are exhibited in our own lives. Take a simple instance. After what the Right Rev. President has said, you may imagine I have had some interest in athletic sports in the army, and I am not going to say a word against athletic sports, but there is one practical thing, we might have some reformation about amongst us clergy. We must all agree, that if we want to get people to strive after a deepening of their spiritual life, we, who preach to them about it, must ourselves be the examples. Now, there is nothing wrong at all in such a thing as a national boat race, I think it is a thing we are all of us glad to witness and encourage, and all open manly English sports; but when we tell people that if they want to progress in the deepening of the spiritual life, the one great help they may have is to look up to the Lord their God, and contemplate Him in the sense of His sufferings and passion, we ought not, as so many of us clergymen often do, to go, just before Holy Week, to London, and be seen amongst an excited crowd applauding at a boat race. There is one other thing. We ought, all of us, to insist in the pulpit a little more upon this, and warn people about the effect that companionship may have, and the associations and friendships they form on the state of the spiritual life. Many of us clergy and laity are very particular indeed in warning people as to whom they speak and keep company with. Some of us are very much afraid if our children go and speak to clergymen whose teaching is not the same as our own; but are we always as particular as we might be in remembering that the companionships and friendships, and associations formed in all classes of life are very often most dangerous to our children? Do we always remember that evil communications corrupt good manners? I throw it out as a hint; are we particular enough as to whom our sons and daughters always associate with; with whom they ride and walk and talk, because any one who knows anything of the soul knows that great harm may be done to the deepening of the spiritual life, by a quarter-of-an-hour's frivolous, idle, or wicked conversation. I should like, even more strongly, to insist that a great deal depends upon the books we read as to what is the state of our spiritual life. I would ask one and all to be a little more particular when we order our books from the circulating library, not to give a general order for the books to come down, but to be particular and see what those books contain before we allow our children to open and read them. There is one thing more which I believe, my dear brethren and sisters in Christ: the time has arrived when something outspoken may be said about it. You, my brethren of the priesthood, who have much to do with individual souls throughout the country, must surely have come across such instances as I wish to refer to. There are a certain class of books becoming far too popular in all grades of society, which do an immense amount of harm to souls. It is time for the clergy and laity to protest against them, for they do a great deal to undo the deepening of the spiritual life in us all. To call it by no harsher name, I refer to that abominable, soul-destroying trash, so often found in modern French novels. And now, having tried to denounce something in very strong language, I feel as if I had come out of that more solemn and softer mood which any one ought to be in, in talking of such a subject as this. May I, in conclusion, add these one or two little words? We all of us agree that, not only is our dear Lord our Lord and our God, not only did He die for us on the cross, not only must we call Him Lord, but we must try and do the things he told us to do. In short, we ought to try, by the help of God, as far as we can, if we believe in the deepening of the spiritual life, to

reproduce the life of our Lord and God in our own individual souls, and so I come to this point. The subject of confession has been alluded to. Whether you mean sacramental or solitary confession alone in the precincts of your chambers to God, confession is of little worth in the sight of God, unless there has been some trouble taken about it; not merely to tell God generally that we are sinners, but to tell Him what sins we have done. Each sin demands a separate apology; each sin mars that deepening work of the spiritual life. I would now wind up these words of mine by remarking, that it would be a good help to us in the deepening of the spiritual life, if we could try to infuse a little more of love into these controversies which we are so often, alas, plunged into. Self-examination is the last thing I would put before you. If we used self-examination, half the bitterness which comes out of our controversies would never take place. Self-examination is simply this—not comparing, for that would be blasphemous, the purity of our souls with that of the Lord Jesus, but contrasting our inward spiritual life with his all-holy perfection. Self-examination would tell us this in those times of bitter, and almost forced controversy, which rages around us. Our Lord, let us remember, would never speak bitter words, raise a finger, or do a single thing by force or bitterness to stop His betrayal. This self-examination would make us consider whether we should not a little more infuse a spirit of love to all around us, and send us away in times of bitter controversy into the garden of Gethsemane as it were, to re-echo that most sweet and touching prayer, that the children of God may be one.

The Rev. F. Pigou, Vicar of Doncaster.

I am satisfied I only express the general feeling and mind of every one present when I say that we cannot but consider it a matter of common congratulation that almost the last subject of this Congress should be one of the most solemn character that can be brought before us. I think that I am not misrepresenting the feelings of my brother clergy present, when I say we all feel glad to carry away with us something of the fragrance and perfume of this meeting into our different parishes, feeling we have received an impulse heavenwards, to make us more earnest, zealous, and able ministers of Christ, and, endeavouring to communicate to others what we have ourselves received. I assume now that the spiritual life does exist. I believe more and more earnestly that at heart, underlying all controversies and all differences of opinion amongst us, there is in the present day a marked revival of spiritual religion, and that there is an earnest hungering and thirsting after righteousness in those souls to which it is our privilege to minister. If I venture to say anything this morning it is simply this—having no claim whatever upon your attention save, I trust, that of one of the working-clergy of this country—that I feel more and more strongly, when I look back upon some eighteen years of work, that if spiritual life is to be really deepened in our congregations and people, we must go back to the very fountain-head and seek to have that life deepened first in ourselves. And I trust, as one of the Line, so to speak, that those of our Commanders-in-chief who are present will pardon me for what I am going to say, will not think it an impertinence, but rather accept what I believe to be a growing feeling amongst the clergy of this country, viz., that at the time of Ordination, when men go up for Orders, to take the most grave and solemn step in their lives, there should, if possible, be an interval of some days between the necessary preliminary examination for Holy Orders and the Ordination itself, that, freed from all anxiety or distraction, the mind may for a while be wholly and only given to solemn preparation for the solemn step about to be taken. I always look back with thankfulness to God—and it is my regret that he is not here this morning to hear my public expression of thankfulness—when I recall the solemn season at Cuddesden at my ordination, and the impression that is left indelibly upon my soul by the earnest addresses of the present Bishop of Win-

chester. I felt, and feel even now, that the holy calm of the chapel at Cuddesden seemed to be too soon interrupted by passing out of its sacred precincts into the examination room, where we had to think immediately of Butler and Pearson, and Mosheim. There is another point upon which I wish to speak, and that is, that all the Retreats which are now being held throughout this country are so many expressions of a growing and earnest want amongst our clergy, pointing all in one direction—the absolute need of seasons of retirement for self-contemplation. I believe there is not an earnest clergyman in this great assembly to whom I am speaking, who, as he looks back upon his ministry, does not feel how the fretting cares of his daily life, and the often secular business of his calling, largely hinder him in maintaining that spiritual level that is so important to all earnest and healthy ministrations. I venture to suggest, in all earnestness, that just as Nature at this season of the year, in pensive autumn time, is beginning to rest from work before her gigantic forces are put forward for the Spring, and as the sun recalls the sun's rays at night that they may shine brighter on the morrow, so I have often thought that if we—the busy working-clergy of a diocese—could at certain seasons be recalled to the place where we were ordained, amidst its hallowed associations and tender memories, and there meet under the sanction and direction of the diocesan, aided by the help of those who could help and teach us, as we ourselves need teaching—I believe that a mighty wave of spirituality would circulate forth from the centre to the whole of the diocese, to quicken the life of individual clergymen in their parishes, and we should then have throughout the length and breadth of this land quickened hearts and quickened zeal, an earnestness, and devotion, which would form the most real and enduring guarantee for the spread of true Christianity and vital religion. That is one suggestion I venture to throw out. I do believe, the more I go in and out among my brother clergy, that this is a felt want, is a want in our different dioceses; and I believe earnestly and truly there are hundreds of clergy, who would thankfully embrace such an opportunity of meeting together for seasons of prayer and self-communing, and real refreshment to the soul.

The Rev. Dr. Salmon.

After the turmoil, excitement, strife, and debate of the past week, it is truly refreshing this morning to have a subject brought before us which goes home to the heart of every Christian. I cannot but express the sinking of heart I feel in coming forward to follow the heart-stirring words you have heard, one whose business has been with the intellect rather than with the emotions. One who has been chilled by coming in contact with speculative doubts, whose duty it has been to weigh arguments, to be careful not to press any unduly, not to make light of any difficulty, has not received the training that qualifies him to speak on this subject. I desire not to be understood to disparage one thing if I speak of the importance of another. What I do wish to speak of is the danger of forming an inadequate conception of the spiritual life, of supposing it to be the mere quickening of the emotional part of our nature, or the stirring up of our imaginations to take deeper hold of the realities of the unseen world. We may drive one part of our nature faster than another part can follow. There are some like myself, of dull imagination, to whom the discipline is eminently salutary of quickening the emotional part of their nature. Those, too, who are engaged in busy and active life, may employ the same discipline with the greatest advantage; but there may be others for whom there is a danger of raising the emotional part of the nature to God, and leaving the rest behind. I would speak then of the importance of weaving the whole of the life in one piece. Do we not hear it said by the world that a religious man is not always a better man; that a man who calls himself religious, is not in his dealings always the most straightforward, the most honest and fair, the most incapable of taking advantage in a bargain, the most truthful in his words, the most charitable in his thoughts of others, the most watchful to repress every unkind act,

the most self-denying and careful to repress all self-indulgence. Is there no truth in this which the world sometimes says? Is it not the experience of any gaol chaplain, that he cannot trust those who seem most impressed by his speaking, and who are ready to express, in eloquent words, their sense of the benefit they derive from him? Do not those of us who come in contact with a young man who has fallen astray, sometimes feel a morbid horror of cant, if we hear him expressing too eloquently his repentance and his desire to improve? Not that we of necessity suppose him to be consciously insincere; but we know how often feeling dies away without ever becoming a practical spring of action. We may take a lesson from our Lord Himself. Is it not remarkable how large a space of His discourses was occupied in reproving the religious world? It was the Pharisees who, in an age of unbelief, when even the future life was denied, and the existence of angels and spirits disputed, set their hearts on the unseen, and delighted to make long prayers. What we must do if we would deepen the spiritual life within us, is constantly to set Christ before us, and refer to Him in everything we do. Do we not feel when we have an honoured guest in our house, that we desire to suppress everything unseemly, and put ourselves, so to speak, on our best behaviour? And when are we on our worst behaviour? When there is no one, that is to say no one but God, to watch what we are doing. Do we really live as in the sight of God? To live in His presence is indeed an immense comfort in time of trouble. We turn to Him in time of danger, but if we turn to Him only then, is that really living the life that realises the presence of God? I believe those speculative difficulties, which have been raised as to the answer of prayer, are difficulties for which men who call themselves religious are often responsible. The priests of former days professed to be able to teach those who employed their services how by prayer they could gain for themselves the good things of this life. And now that men of science declare that they are able to teach better ways of gaining this end, prayer is put forward as a means of gaining the good things of another life. But if prayer is supposed to have no nobler end, we must expect men to raise questions as to its efficacy. Is the hungering and thirsting after righteousness, of which the Bible speaks, to hunger and thirst merely after the rewards of righteousness? What should we think, if we could go to another planet and hear a teacher enforcing the duty of eating and drinking, and informing the people how the tissues of the body are wasted by work? Should we not say that the men, for whom all this was necessary, had no conception of what hunger and thirst was? If we try to bring Christ before us, and live close to Him, we shall feel how far we are from being like Him on many occasions, and we shall feel a longing hunger to be more like Him. To realise the Incarnation is, I must say, the necessary antidote to the progress of physical science, which impresses us with the pitilessness of physical force, and almost renders us incapable of conceiving God as a God of love, unless we know Him as manifest in the flesh. Remember then, that we deepen the spiritual life every time the thought of Christ puts from us one temptation. Every time that an impure thought is suppressed by the thought of His purity; every time that an unkind word or angry speech is checked by the thought of His meekness; every time that some self-indulgence is put aside by the thought of His self-denial, in this way too, not by prayer or devout meditation only, do we deepen the spiritual life.

The Rev. W. D. Maclagan, Vicar of Newington.

I would gladly have made way for those who have not yet had an opportunity of speaking at this Congress, but in compliance with your Lordship's request I will say a few words. Leaving the great principles of the spiritual life which have been laid down for us by the speakers who have preceded me, I shall try, as a plain parish priest, to offer some practical suggestions as to how those principles may be brought to bear upon the daily lives of the people whom God has committed to our charge. But there is one practical

aspect of those principles of which I would wish to say one word. Thank God, we live in days when the great doctrine of conversion is more freely and fully preached than once it was—when we hear from the pulpit, from men of all shades of theological opinion, the enunciation, in various forms, of our Lord's own words, "Except ye be converted, ye cannot enter the kingdom of heaven." But along with deep thankfulness for this, one cannot shut one's eyes to the danger which accompanies it, and that is the danger of regarding conversion, not as it really is, the beginning, but as the end of the spiritual life. It is the starting point from which our spiritual life must begin—the foundation upon which our spiritual life must be built up. And again, thank God, for more of teaching concerning the personality and work of the Holy Spirit. And yet, are the hearts of our people drawn towards that Blessed Being in real affection and devotion as they ought to be drawn? Even in souls that are full of love to the Lord Jesus, is there anything of a like personal affection to the Holy Ghost? Ought not this teaching to be brought to bear upon the flocks committed to our charge? Ought we not to remind them in Whose blessed fellowship God grants them the privilege of walking from day to day? into whose charge they were each one confided when they were received into the arms of the Lord, and sealed with His seal in Holy Baptism? Ought we not to help them thus to realise the "Communion of the Holy Ghost" and to walk in the Spirit. Again, in speaking of the spiritual life, I trust that we shall never forget that what we want is a spiritual life suited not only for the cloister, or for educated people, but for toiling men and women, such as those amongst whom my lot is cast or the toiling men and women of your great city here. It must be no exotic spiritual life, but a real manly sober Church of England spirituality which we must try to develope in our people. And that spiritual life must have its roots in the Cross of Christ, a truth which is too little touched upon in our pulpit ministrations. Having spoken for a moment or two of the practical aspects of our subject, let me make one or two practical suggestions as to the way in which we may bring them to bear upon our people. One great hindrance to the spiritual life of our people has been the want of opportunities for private prayer. In a large populous parish, with men and women living in crowded houses, I wonder that more of our churches are not left open from day to day, that, leaving the narrow limits of their own homes, they might find a quiet corner in the House of God where, in prayer to the Lord, they might deepen their spiritual life. But again, another great hindrance is the imperfect preparation for the Holy Sacrament. Thank God for the increased number of our communicants, but the more they increase the more earnestly ought we to see that they come rightly and thoroughly prepared for that Holy Ordinance. And again, I ask, what likelihood is there of due preparation in those crowded dwellings of the poor? It is an admirable opportunity for encouraging them to make use of the House of God as their oratory—to suggest to them to come to Church to prepare for the Holy Communion, and use their little manuals of devotion there (and I would they were more simple than many of them are), in making ready for the Holy Sacrament. Again, another great hindrance to the growth of the soul, is want of freedom in intercourse with God at the throne of grace. We ought not only to teach our people to pray, but how to pray; gather them together in little groups and then, before them, pray to God, and ask them to pray for themselves. Persuade them to get over that shyness in speaking to God in the presence of others, which is one of the great hindrances to family prayer; and I am sure there is no parish priest, who would not have his soul quickened, as mine has been so often, by hearing the earnest and simple utterances of a working-man, as he kneels beside you in a little meeting for prayer. Again, there is another great defect in our spiritual life among all classes. I mean the want of realising the communion of saints. Yet this may well be done by drawing men into little societies, call them guilds, or brotherhoods, or what you will, so long as the work is done, and binding them together with the one great object, of attaining to a higher spiritual life, making them pledge themselves to help their clergyman and one another, endeavouring in all things to walk worthy of the children of God, and of the high vocation wherewith they are called.

I believe by such means as these we may do much towards the deepening of the spiritual life of our people. Something has been said to-day about retreats, and no one can feel more thankful than myself for the good these retreats have done, not only for the clergy, but for the people committed to their charge; and although it may not always be easy to arrange for a special season of retirement like this, particularly in our large towns, yet our Church has provided us with one great yearly retreat, which, if only we used it more faithfully, might be greatly helpful to the deepening of our spiritual life. If in our Lenten sermons, instead of preaching merely about repentance, we were to direct our people more plainly as to their prayers and Bible reading, and all the means that exist for the deepening of the spiritual life, we should do much to attain the desired end, for what our people want is less of general teaching, and more of special guidance in the details of their spiritual life. Above all things, we want more prayer and more faith. If spiritual life is to be deepened in the Church it must be by the prayers of the faithful, and if we had more prayers, not only for conversion, but for the growth in grace of those who have been converted—if only all of us in this vast assembly were to pledge ourselves before God, to use one day in every week—and what better than this day of the Cross—in making supplication to God, for the deepening of the spiritual life of the people of the Church of England, we might, before another Congress meets, have even greater cause for thankfulness to God than we now have, for all that He is doing among us in these days.

The Rev. Canon Walsham How.

If others who have preceded me have said a word in deprecation of themselves, feeling their unworthiness, what should I say? I must say nothing. This subject, my Lord, and let us all thank God for it, lifts us far above even the echoes of those clamours of yesterday, of which I have heard but one opinion from many of my brother clergymen, and notably from a working-man by whose side I sat last night, and that opinion was an expression of great sorrow, if I may not say shame. And, if on a subject like this before the Congress to-day, we hear things said with which we cannot concur, nay, even if those things run counter to the deepest convictions of our hearts, may it not be better—truer, wiser, humbler—to say to ourselves, Perchance the Holy Spirit of God may be accepting and blessing means for the deepening of the spiritual life which we do not understand. I sent in my card mainly with the purpose of saying one thing, which thing has, however, been admirably said by another. I would only ask permission in just a word or two to enforce what he said. If I do it in the presence of several Bishops of our Church, I would pray them to take the earnestness of my conviction as an atonement for the presumption of what I say. I do want to urge what I have felt for many and many a year, that at least the two last Ember days of that solemn season, when we dedicate ourselves to Almighty God in such a manner as we have never done before—when we seek a grace for our holy work, which assuredly we need not scruple to call supernatural, for all grace is supernatural—I say that at that time, when we ought to be fullest of holy thoughts, most separated from all distractions, it would be a most blessed thing for our young clergy to have their spiritual life deepened in themselves by a time of devotional retirement, accompanied with instruction and private advice and consultation. This could surely be done, if the examination, with all its distractions, could only be got over a day or two sooner. I must, my Lord, be allowed to say it—and I know I shall be echoed in many hearts—that our day of ordination, which we have long looked forward to as a day to fill us with deepest emotions, to set us, as it were, with our souls naked before the very throne of God, has come to us at last as a chill and disappointment; and I think, although this may be to some extent inevitable, still, some such plan as Mr. Pigou has recommended, and as I am recommending, may lessen this chill and disappointment. I do feel most deeply that, if the spiritual life of the Church is to be deepened, it

must be deepened first in ourselves. How are we clergy to lift souls up if we are not lifted up ourselves? I have spoken of a matter affecting the clergy: I will say one word, in the few minutes which remain to me, about one special means of deepening the spiritual life in our people, namely, the devotional study of Holy Scripture. We want to trust more in the power of the Word of God. We preach a great deal about the devotional study of the Holy Scripture, and tell our people to practise it. But do we show them how? Could we not sometimes, instead of the stereotyped sermon, stay in our prayer-desk, or go to the lectern with the Bible before us, and show what a Meditation means? Could we not there read some passage from the Word of God, interspersing it with the very simplest explanation, but far more with devotional application, interspersing it with prayer, too, so that people may know what we mean when we recommend a practice which they often wish to understand, but do not, namely, the devotional reading of God's holy Word. I have but one word more to say. We are met here to promote, as far as we can by common counsel, the welfare of the Church of England, which we love so deeply; but we shall promote that welfare, I feel sure, best of all by proving, not in speeches at Church Congresses, but each in our own homes, our own parishes, our own circles, that the Church of England can lift souls nearest to Christ, and nearest to heaven.

The Rev. Canon Sale.

There is amongst the admirable arrangements which conduct our proceedings on this occasion, one rule which I feel deeply at the present moment, and that is, that if we are to address a meeting we must send in our cards early in the day. I confess that if I had known all that I have heard this day, before I presumed to stand before you, I most certainly should not have presented myself. I have listened with the deepest thankfulness to all the remarks that have been made to us this day, and I only pray that God may be pleased to impress more deeply upon my own mind the great principles which have been so ably inculcated upon us. There is, however, one remark which I may be permitted perhaps just to touch upon, because I do not think previous speakers have particularly dwelt upon it. We must all feel that Christ is the foundation and source of spiritual life. Christ is our life, and the growing in spiritual life, means growing up into Christ. Meditating upon His life and character, and what He has done for us will be that which will have a more and more constraining influence upon us to raise us above this world. Whatever may be our differences with reference to the mode in which this spiritual life is to be quickened, I think there is one point we shall all agree upon, that inasmuch as the world is the great hindrance to our spiritual life, and inasmuch as the world presents to us so much in the present day of self-indulgence, we must practice self-denial. And, now in order that we may grow up into Christ, we must surely look at Christ's example, and, as has been previously mentioned much better than I can, this requires deep and frequent self-examination, in order that in drawing upon the source of spiritual life we may know what the peculiar hindrances are that our own temperament, and position and situation present. Therefore, self-examination must accompany, as I think, real effectual prayer. We must watch unto prayer. And, I am about to say that which the experience of my own defects urges me to say, and that is, that those of us who are engaged in the laborious work of the pastorate of a large parish find that the world, and, if I may use the expression, the temporal accidents of spiritual things come in upon us, so that if we do not secure some portion of our time every day for secret communion with God we shall not grow in spiritual life; and this should be early in the morning, before we enter into the world, in order to lay the foundation of growing up into Christ and honour Him in the daily pursuits of our life. For this, we have the example of our Great Master Himself; for of Him we read that He rose up a great while before day, and went into a mountain and prayed; then He came to His disciples, when toiling on the

rough sea with contrary winds, and cheered them in their distress. And I believe if we, too, engaged in the ministry, were to undertake more self-denial in this respect, and by that self-denial were to secure to ourselves an hour for intercourse with our Great Master, we should come down to our work and our intercourse with the people better able to sympathise with and help them in the difficulties of life, in which they are engaged. This is the only point which I have noted down which has not already been taken up by other speakers; and, therefore, I will trespass upon the time of the Congress no further.

The Bishop of Carlisle.

I should not have asked permission to say a few words upon this occasion had it not been for the pointed reference that has been made by two speakers to the practice of the bishops with regard to the candidates for holy orders. As no one else of my brethren appears to be desirous to say a word upon this occasion, I think it only right that something should be said with regard to the important subject which has been alluded to. And I am quite certain I shall have the entire sympathy of every bishop, English or otherwise, when I say, that it is our great desire that the preparation of candidates for the great work of their ordination shall be as little as possible intellectual, and as much as possible spiritual. But there are, as none know better than Mr. Walsham How, himself a bishop's chaplain, practical difficulties which interfere very much with our carrying out that which we would desire to do. Even the mere question of expense is one that it is impossible to put altogether out of mind. It is a very serious thing, in my diocese at any rate, with regard to young men, whose means are extremely limited, to require them to make two journeys to the cathedral city. Then it is an important question how the bishops are to ascertain that the young men who come up for ordination, have had that preparation, and that knowledge which they ought to have, especially in these days. If it were possible, as it has been talked about, that there could be any test produced in any other way—if we could have a good certificate that in certain subjects these young men are thoroughly prepared, no one would rejoice more than the bishops themselves. I hope that this is not chimerical, but that the plan which has been talked of by the Divinity Professors of Cambridge may some day be adopted, and that the bishops may be able to throw out of their examination lists some of the subjects in which they now think it their duty to examine. But let it not be supposed that the matter is one of hard intellectual examination. I do not wish to speak of myself, but I am compelled to do so, and in my treatment of candidates for examination for holy orders, it is by no means a simple question of hard, intellectual examination. My habit is to collect the young men for the celebration of the holy communion before the time comes for their ordination. I have them every day in my private chapel, where they join together in a solemn Litany, and where, to the best of my ability, I expound to them the solemnity of the work they are about to take in hand. I take them from my own house to the cathedral on the Sunday morning, where everything is done to make the service as solemn, imposing, and impressive as that grand service can possibly be made. I then take them home again to my own house; we join together in the service on the Sunday evening; and I have that last opportunity of impressing upon them the solemn duties of their office. I wish them good-bye on the Monday morning, and send them, with God's blessing, into their future spheres of work. Now I do not mean to say that this is all that one would desire to do. I wish that more could be done; but of this I am certain, that as much is done as we find, in existing circumstances, it is practicable to do; and if conditions are so far to be altered that we find more can be done, then no one will rejoice to carry out those plans, which have been suggested this morning, more completely than the bishops themselves.

The Rev. G. Everard, Wolverhampton.

May I ask this Assembly, this morning to join with me for one moment in the beautiful collect of our Church Service, seeking the increase of spiritual Life."

"Lord of all power and might, who art the author and giver of all good things; graft hearts the love of Thy Name, increase in us true religion, nourish us with all goodness, and of Thy great mercy keep us in the same; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*"

By all means we, especially of the clergy, ought to seek to deepen the well—take pick axe and spade, dig deeper, go lower, then will the Water of Life spring up, more pure, more fresh, more abundant. But what is this well? Our Lord has said it: "The water that I shall give him, shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life." And it is this water of life, the grace of the Holy Ghost, pervading all the faculties of the soul, the mind, the memory, the imagination, and thought, and will—this is the spiritual Life of which we are speaking this morning. Shall I be thought presumptuous if, in all humility, I ask my reverend brethren whether we are, one and all of us, in possession of spiritual Life. I cannot forget that amongst the twelve apostles there was one Judas. And is it an impossible supposition, that in this vast assembly of English clergy there may be some who possess no true spiritual Life within the soul? I have heard of a collier, after a colliery accident in which many were killed, ascending to the surface of the mine, and, finding it impossible to carry the corpse with him—finding it impossible, with the use of one hand, to reach the surface—take the hand of the corpse he was carrying, and put it through the ring of his Davy lamp, and so ascend to the surface of the mine. Is it possible that there may be here those who are carrying the Lamp of Life, and yet their own souls are dead in trespasses and sins? May God help you and me to say to ourselves—"Search me, O God, and know my heart: try me and know my thoughts, and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting." But I trust, my Lord—and I am sure that it is so—most of us are looking for more of this deepening of the spiritual Life. How shall we obtain it? May I say, in no spirit of controversy, but because I believe it is urgently needed, that we must put no confidence in unscriptural expedients. I shall not enlarge on that idea, except simply to say that the Spirit of God is the Author of the spiritual Life in the Soul, and the Spirit of God is the Author of Holy Scripture. I believe that Spirit will not bless other means than those he has appointed. He has given us the Holy Scripture, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works. I do not believe that habitual confession to a priest—("Oh!")—permit me to mention my own conviction—I do not believe that habitual confession to a priest, I do not believe that retiring to monasteries or sisterhoods, with monastic vows, deepen, but that, on the contrary, they weaken the spiritual Life. Permit me also to add that we should endeavour to avoid all that impedes, and to use every rightful help for its increase. I have read, in the history written by one who has been present at this Congress, of two ancient rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris. One of them, the Euphrates, loses a large portion of its waters in the marshy lands through which it passes; and the other, the Tigris, receiving tributaries as it journeys along, increases in depth and volume until it reaches the sea. And is it not so with two Christians? In the case of one Christian, how much of spiritual Life is lost in the marshy lands of worldliness—constant hunting after preferment, constant dining out, constant taking wife and children to parties where he would not go but for them; aye, and let me say, the use of conversation in the Vicarage on the Sunday unsuitable to the sermon in the pulpit—conversation of a secular character—hunting, farming, and a thousand things which it were better to cast aside—to the ruin of their own souls and the ruin of the souls of others. On the other hand, take the other character, the one who uses all the lawful means of grace. Let us value what we have heard on the necessity for earnest prayer; and, oh, may I say to my brethren in the country, that I believe they lose much by neglecting to lift up their hearts in prayer when they are walking about in the quiet lanes of their country parishes. And also, might

I say, let us encourage the rightful use of the Holy Communion, not making an idol of it, Nehushtan (2 Kings, xviii. 4), not putting it as if it were, in itself, infinitely superior —in a way that is not spoken of in Holy Scripture—to all other ordinances. I believe the Holy Communion to be a most precious means of building up the souls of God's children; but sometimes it is spoken of too exclusively, as if it were almost the only means of grace. Let us use these means of grace, and then the spiritual Life in the soul will be deepened. One word more, and I have done. My friends, there is a beautiful prayer, by the Apostle Paul, I should like to leave with this meeting. I rejoice that we have had it in our opening service (at the Parish Church). What better prayer for this Congress could have been read than that in the second lesson? There, without any reference to any ordinance whatever, the Apostle Paul offers prayer in the name of the Lord Jesus; and his prayer is—"I bow my knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that He would grant you according to the riches of His glory to be strengthened with might by His Spirit in the inner man, that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith: that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints the height, and depth, and breadth, and length of the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge: that ye may be filled with all the fulness of God." That will be, surely, the deepening of the spiritual Life, when we drink deeply of the Spirit of Christ.

Plenteous grace with Thee is found,
  Grace to cover all my sin;
May the healing streams abound,
  Make and keep me pure within.
Thou of life the Fountain art,
  Freely let me take of Thee;
Spring Thou up within my heart,
  Rise to all eternity.

The Rev. T. J. M. Townsend, Vicar of Searby.

My Lord,—Like one of the last speakers I have listened with great thankfulness to all the addresses delivered to you this morning. Rejoicing in this, I rejoice more especially in the manner in which one subject bearing upon the increase of the spiritual life has been treated by them, and received by you. I speak of confession and absolution, which has presented in Church Congresses, as elsewhere, though less conspicuously at Leeds, this remarkable phenomenon. Those who have spoken of confession and absolution as unfavourable to the promotion of spiritual life, appear, so far as we have been able to gather from their words, to have done so from theory, whereas, those who have recommended it have, invariably spoken from their own experience. Now, if there be one present who, being a member of the Church of England, and having had experience of confession and absolution either as a penitent or a priest, nevertheless regards it as unfavourable to the growth of spiritual life, let him come forward and state his reasons. But if, in all this vast assembly, there is not one such to be found, then I would claim the verdict of this grand jury, though by the rules of this session they are not permitted to express it; a verdict in favour of that ordinance instituted by Christ Himself in His Church, in pitying love to sin-convicted souls, when He breathed on His Apostles and said, in the same words which have been pronounced by every bishop of the Church of England over each priest whom he has ordained: "Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them: and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained."

The Rev. Canon Hoare.

My Lord,—I am almost the last speaker at this profitable and deeply interesting session of the Congress, a session which, I trust, we shall all remember with thankfulness to

the end of our lives. I think I should ill fulfil my duty, as almost the last speaker, if I were to enter upon a controverted point. I am perfectly prepared at any time to speak, not merely from theory, but from experience, upon the subject of confession. I entertain the strongest possible opinion on the subject, but, at the same time, the spirits of the prophets are to be subject to the prophets, and I feel it my duty, under present circumstances, to restrain what I may term the combativeness of my disposition, and, more than that, to hold in check the desire which I feel to maintain what I regard as a most important principle of truth. I therefore allude no further to the subject, and will at once endeavour to direct attention to the subject under consideration—the deepening of spiritual life. Now what is the perfection of the spiritual life? I believe it may be summed up in one definition, viz., that it consists in the holy likeness to our blessed Lord and Saviour. If we approach His character, we approach the perfection of the spiritual life, and it is just in proportion as we have the mind of Christ that we have any real spirituality in our life. Now the question is, how this likeness is to be promoted, and there are one or two suggestions that I would venture to throw out. In the first place, there must be an acquaintance with God's character. God's Word, that reveals it, must not be read cursorily or idly, and in the midst of other engagements, or when the wearied brain is worn out at night. God's Word must be deeply studied, and prayed over, and passage compared with passage, if we would become familiarised with the character of the Lord. But I am prepared to go a step further, and to say that out of the knowledge we obtain from God's Word, there should arise a personal intimacy and acquaintance with the blessed Lord and Saviour. It is a very easy thing to know about Him; but a very different one to know Him. We want to know Him in personal intercourse, to walk with Him, to converse with Him, to cultivate an intimacy with Him, to be able to go again and again to Him with the words of the Psalmist, "Say unto my soul, I am thy salvation." And now I come to another point, and that is, that in seeking His likeness, in cultivating His friendship, in making ourselves acquainted with His mind, there is one great principle to be observed, a principle which I believe has brought life, peace, and happiness to thousands of souls: it is that we must observe the order of God's gifts. The natural heart when first awakened, invariably places the spirituality first, and the forgiveness and acceptance second. Most men, when they first begin to think, would be naturally disposed, had they been entrusted with the composition of the 130th Psalm, to have written it, "There is forgiveness with Thee, if I can but fear Thee better." But mark how God puts it, "There is forgiveness with Thee that Thou mayest be feared." The whole of that holy fear, the whole of that spirituality, the whole of that reverential obedience to our blessed Lord, is the result of the forgiveness freely granted; granted because, as we find in the seventh verse of that same Psalm, "With Thee is plenteous redemption." Now if this order be observed it follows that the sense of defect does not keep us at a distance from God; but being reconciled, and being forgiven, we may go close to the Saviour to invite intimacy, even at the time of our deepest humiliation, and seek His likeness in the confident hope that the day will come when that passage will receive its complete fulfilment, "It doth not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when He shall appear we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is."

Rev. H. Temple, St. John the Evangelist's, Leeds.

One single word from a comparatively young member of this Congress to his brethren of the clergy. I have felt, and you have felt, deeply interested in nearly all that has taken place within these walls during this memorable week; I have been and you have been profoundly impressed with the whole tone of thought which has exhibited itself in this assembly this morning. I see before me, at a rough estimate, the accredited tenants of at least a thousand pulpits, and I am one of those who most fully, and in my heart, believe in the pulpit's God-given power. Let us put the thoughts we have received together, and

remember when we go back to our homes, to carry with us, not only some of those deep intellectual thoughts which have been suggested by the proceedings of the Congress, but very much of that intense devotional feeling which every speaker this morning has tried to excite in our breasts. If we, of the clergy, all try to do this, I believe that, with the presence of the spirit of God in our ministrations, we shall be able to show that the power which we verily believe to be in us, has been mightily stirred up, and the glorious meetings of this week will not have been held in vain.

The Dean of York.

After the very able and impressive discussions to which the meeting has listened, I would not have presumed to speak on this occasion, if it had not appeared to me that one point has been omitted, a point without some reference to which the discussion would, I think, be incomplete. A great deal has been most ably said with regard to the deepening and strengthening of spiritual life among the clergy. Something has also been said with regard to the spiritual life of those who are about to take upon themselves holy orders; and the deepening of the spiritual life has been alluded to in very general terms; but I do not gather that more than a very little has been said on the important point of the deepening of the spiritual life of the young men of the laity at the present moment. There never was a time in the history of this or any other country when greater perils beset the paths of the young men of the day Perhaps it is a law for which we must be prepared, because as civilisation, luxury, and wealth increase, so will those particular perils increase which beset the young men and young women of the laity at the present time. I will, therefore, briefly say in the few minutes which the President has so kindly allotted to me, that if there are any young men present belonging to the laity—and I include the young men of the upper as well as the young men of the middle and lower classes—they should go home and consider this discussion which they have heard this morning, and pray on their bended knees, before they close their eyes in sleep, that henceforth, their spiritual life may be deepened, and that their religious principles may be strengthened, and that they may go forth and do battle with the world, praying for the grace of God to guide them in all their ways.

The Right Reverend the President.

This is the last occasion upon which the Congress will meet, as a collective body, within this hall. Before we separate, I wish to ask your permission to be allowed to say a single word. I desire to thank the Congress for the kindness with which they accepted, and have acted upon the suggestion which I ventured to make at the commencement of this, deeply interesting, and, I trust, profitable meeting. I desire still more to ask the Congress to unite with me in thanks to God, who has graciously vouchsafed to us such manifest tokens of His presence amongst us this morning. I desire further to make one remark, by way of removing what might possibly be a misapprehension in the minds of some. There was one speaker—one of the later speakers—I am sure he will forgive me for alluding to it, who bordered upon what was irregular in this Congress, when he claimed to have a verdict in favour of a particular opinion, because no member of the Congress lifted up his hand to protest against it. I ventured to say, in my opening address, that no member of Congress was committed to any opinion but that which he himself conscientiously holds and maintains. It is wisely arranged that in these meetings of the Church Congress we should come to no vote, and, therefore, no verdict is or can be pronounced by the Church Congress. Now, only one word more, with regard to what has been the great subject of our discussion this morn-

ing—the deepening of spiritual life. I yearn for the deepening of the spiritual life in the souls of us all. I wish, before we separate, to leave this one thought, that I believe the great means for deepening spiritual life is to drink in more and more of the fountain of revealed truth. I recollect how the Psalmist said, "Thy word hath quickened me;" how the Apostle exhorted his converts—"Desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby;" and, above all, how it was the prayer of our blessed Redeemer—"Sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth." The more nearly we come to Scripture the nearer we shall come to Christ; the nearer we come to Christ, the true centre of unity, the nearer we shall come to each other; the nearer we shall come to holiness and to heaven.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, 11*th OCTOBER.*

The Chair was taken by the Right Reverend Bishop Ryan at Two o'clock.

CHURCH SCHOOLS: HOW TO IMPROVE AND SUPPLEMENT THE TEACHING GIVEN IN OUR SUNDAY SCHOOLS, SO AS TO MAKE MORE INTELLIGENT AND ATTACHED MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH.—THE CHURCH'S PRESENT DUTY WITH REGARD TO ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, AND THEIR INSPECTION IN RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE.

The following paper, by the Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor, was read by the Rev. F. J. Wood:—

OUR SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

It has been stated more than once, and sometimes by those who are entitled to speak with authority, that Sunday Schools have proved to be a failure. I cannot concur in this opinion: it appears to me that too much has been expected from their operation.

It is quite obvious that the Sunday School cannot be relied upon as sufficient for imparting even religious instruction with anything like completeness, and it does not profess to deal with any other subject. The object of the Sunday school is two fold:—

First.—To withdraw the children from the evil influence of idle hours spent with such associates as they are likely to meet with in the streets of our great towns, and

Secondly.—To impress upon their minds the instruction which they may have received during the week in the Bible, or in subjects connected with religion either at a day school or in their homes, if they be the children of religious parents. It must be remembered that the elder

children of a Sunday School have already entered into the business of life, and have been withdrawn from the instruction of a day school.

The importance of the first object will be acknowledged by any one who has had the smallest experience of the mode of life of the children that are in populous districts on a Sunday, the streets in such districts are usually filled with boys playing at games of chance, or molesting the more peaceable classes by their rudeness and insolence, not unfrequently of a blasphemous character. A well ordered Sunday School will always be subject to regulations by which punctuality, cleanliness, order, and obedience are insured on the part of the children, thus the habits of their lives are gradually formed, the good effects of which habits may not unfrequently be traced throughout their lives.

As regards the second object, the impressing of Religious Instruction on the minds of the children, the teacher of the Sunday School is placed in a position of great advantage; in the first place, it is the one business of the School, so that nothing need distract the attention of the boys from his teaching: in the next place, as regards the upper classes of the School, the teacher will find boys older by one or two or even more years than those ordinarily found in the day school. By judiciously mixing them with the most forward of the younger boys, he will be able to make use of their intelligence in conveying instruction to the whole class, which he might find difficult to impart without the co-operation of the elder boys. The answers of their fellow pupils are often more intelligible to younger children, than the direct teaching of the master.

The very circumstance also of its being known to the boys that their teacher attends gratuitously and solely from a desire to promote the improvement of the children, will, with those who are in the higher classes, have a considerable effect in inducing them to attend to and profit by his instruction.

I think, when the above circumstances are considered, we have no reason *a priori* for supposing that Sunday Schools form an ineffective portion of the educational resources at our disposal. I have never yet seen any detailed statistical account, which indicates a failure of interest in such Schools, on the part of the parents of our poorer classes, or any account of the Schools themselves having become useless. It will certainly surprise me if such should be the opinion of the Clergy or Laity in the north of England. I remember myself to have seen some years ago at Leeds, a meeting under the auspices of my friend, the then vicar of the town, now Dean of Chichester, of six hundred Sunday School teachers who were engaged in the tuition of about 12,000 scholars. Speaking from my own experience, I have found no reason to be dissatisfied with the result of the thirty-five years working of a Sunday School with which I have been connected. I have seen many former scholars become teachers in the Sunday School where they were first instructed, and I have had to teach many of the children of my own first scholars. These facts shew that the impression made on those taught in the School was durable. Every one must be perfectly aware that in Sunday Schools, as in all other Schools, many will neglect the opportunities afforded them, and disappoint those who have taken the pains to instruct them; but if an institution is to be condemned, because it fails to insure equal success

in all which it undertakes, there are very few which could escape such condemnation.

I will say a few words on what seem to me to be the points most worthy of attention in a Church of England Sunday School.

First.—The Incumbent of the Parish should show his direct personal interest in it by visiting it, not unfrequently, and, if possible, always himself opening it or closing it with prayer. In very populous parishes, this must be undertaken more frequently by the Curates as their regular duty, but the Incumbent should at all events be occasionally present.

Secondly.—The Incumbent should himself select the teachers, and where he has not reason from their position to be satisfied of their intelligence and their soundness of faith, should take care to inform himself fully on these heads. It is desirable, as far as possible, that the gentry and other well educated persons, should bear a considerable proportion in these Schools to the total number of teachers.

Thirdly.—I think there should never be more than twelve children in a class, ten are preferable, being quite as many as the teacher can keep ordinarily attentive to his instruction.

Fourthly.—As to the matter to be taught, it ought to be borne in mind that, in early childhood, the memory is far more vigorous than the understanding, and this observation affords a sufficient justification of the course ordinarily adopted of teaching young children not only the Catechism and Collects, but also Hymns, which are above their complete comprehension, as lessons to be learnt by heart. I think the objection to such a course is of a very fallacious though plausible character. It is stated in Dean Stanley's Life of Arnold, that that most distinguished instructor sent his own boys to Winchester College, where he had himself been educated, mainly on the ground that part of the Winchester course of instruction consisted of learning very large portions of the writings of the Classical Poets by heart. I can myself testify to our having there learnt much more than at the time we were able fully to understand, but I have never regretted the early impressions on the memory of that which we were afterwards able to appreciate and enjoy. I would therefore strongly recommend that the Sunday School lessons should always include the learning by heart of the Catechism, and at least the Collect of the day, and one Hymn on each Sunday. I think also that one hour is sufficient for actual instruction in the morning, and one hour in the afternoon. The children usually attend Church both in the morning and afternoon; it may perhaps be worthy of consideration whether this double attendance should be required.

As regards the first two classes in the School, I have found that in London the age of boys in the first class is usually from fourteen to fifteen, and in the second, from twelve to thirteen,—the more advanced boys in the first class are often necessarily drafted off to teach the little boys in the lowest classes—perhaps not a bad lesson for themselves.

To these two classes I confine the observations which follow.

I think that the teacher should be careful at all times, as far as possible, to draw out the thinking faculty of the boys, and for this purpose rather to teach by questions than by direct statement in the way of information. After hearing the recital of what has been learnt by heart it may be

expedient to inquire of the boys what they understand by what they have just said—if the answer be, as it often is, very absurd—then to put questions to them how they suppose that their answer fits in to the rest of the subject, and by degrees make them arrive at the true meaning, not allowing the elder or cleverer boys to answer until the comprehension of the boy first addressed has been exhausted, and then to end by giving a short statement of the subjects that have been recited by heart as a whole, and the next Sunday to ascertain by questions how far they recollect the explanation. As a short statement of what I mean by an explanation, I would deal, for instance, with the Catechism as follows: I would show them how very clearly it is divided into precise parts—first, as to how they become Christians; secondly, the necessity of Faith (as exemplified in the Belief); thirdly, the necessity of Duty (as exemplified in the Commandments); fourthly, the necessity of Grace for the continuance of their Faith and the performance of their Duty, and of Prayer for the obtaining that Grace (for which we have the Lord's Prayer), and of the Sacraments as a means of supplying the Grace, to which the last portion of the Catechism is directed.

After the repetitions, the children should read, verse by verse, a portion of the Gospel Lessons for the day, upon which they should be likewise questioned, to ascertain their own ideas. In this reading, the teacher cannot be too careful in ascertaining that every difficulty is made clear to the child's mind, and he can hardly take anything for granted on first instructing a new pupil. For instance, I found that in a class of twelve boys not one had ever seen a seed of any kind, and consequently that the frequent reference to seed in the Parables had to be explained very fully, and as a first step towards it, some seed should be shown to the boys. In like manner the question what was a "yoke," was answered by several that it was the inside of an egg—by one only that it was what the milkman carried his pails with.

After this reading it is well occasionally for the teacher to direct attention to the simplicity of the Gospel narrative, and to point out the differences of the several writers, both in general character and in that which they omit or alone supply, as contrasted with each other. For instance, the peculiarities of St. Mark, as indicating the minute personality of an eye witness, will be found interesting. He alone mentions that our Lord was asleep in the ship "on a pillow." Again, in the Miracle of the Loaves, he mentions that our Lord commanded the multitude to sit down on the "green grass;" this may be contrasted with St. John, who alone tells us that the miracle occurred about the time of the Passover or in spring—when alone the grass on a mountain in that country would be green. He also adds that there was much grass in the place. St. Mark abounds in such minute observations.

It is very important also to call these points to the attention of the children, in order to give a life-like impression of the events narrated in the Gospels, and to show that the apostles and disciples, however eminent in their piety, were men and women like ourselves.

The superstitions of the Middle Ages for a long time, even after the Reformation, impressed on the minds of the people a notion of the preeminent sanctity of the apostles, which made them appear almost as beings of another world, just as the painters of the same

epoch represented them moving about with a halo of glory round their heads.

Lastly, I think it will be found convenient to allow five or six minutes of entire rest of mind before the School is left for the Church. In this interval I have myself left it to the boys to ask any question they pleased upon any subject with the most perfect freedom. The questions are somtimes quaint enough—usually upon the topics of the day—such as the last remarkable murder and the like—sometimes on the differences between the Church of England and other religious communities. On one occasion I was asked my opinion on the state of the Osmanli Empire—this I found to be due to my interrogator being employed during the week as reader in the Printing Office of Messrs. Spottiswoode. I may mention that those gentlemen most kindly take several of the boys from our Sunday School into their office—a circumstance in itself worth mentioning when the utility of such Institutions has been questioned—for other employers also have regarded the Sunday School as a useful test in the selection of children for their service.

The one concluding observation I wish to make is, that the teacher should throw himself heartily into the work, have a lively sympathy with the children he instructs, and make them thoroughly understand that it is out of regard to them that he teaches as a friend and not with the necessary strictness of the every day instructor. Punishment in a Sunday School should never go beyond withholding privileges.

I have thought it unnecessary to dwell in this paper upon the vital truths which I assume every Sunday School Teacher will impress upon the children, namely, the natural propensity to sin, the necessity of an Atonement, and the fulfilling of God's Will and Commandments in a spirit of love and not in that of bondage.

The Rev. Canon Melville read the following paper:—

THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH IN REFERENCE TO CLAUSE 14.2 OF THE EDUCATION ACT—COMMONLY CALLED THE COWPER-TEMPLE CLAUSE.

Whatever may be said for a secular system in itself, or as the ultimate solution of all the difficulties which beset the task of teaching our masters their letters, or whatever may be advanced in favour of the entirely separate functions of Church and State, the lines of Church and State must touch somewhere. They are, in fact, but as the warp and weft threads of the web of national character. The degree of mutual influence may turn on the degree of mutual recognition, but the fact of inter-penetration remains beyond the power of estrangement, so that whether that character is religious or irreligious affects probably the origin, certainly the issue of the gravest political problems.

The Church's success, in fact, is the State's security. For the State, that is the authoritative control and directions of human action for the temporal well-being of the community, must address the springs of that human action, and the source whence they derive their motive

power; and the Church, under whatever aspect or condition, is but the authority which informs and stimulates human action for the duties of life. Morality is the highest attainment of Statesmanship, and morality, as yet at least, rests on theology. Take a patent proof. The State imposes an oath as a condition of testimony, and rests that oath on divine sanction. It even, in case of doubt, tries the conscience and intelligence of the witness as to the meaning and value of the words used. Here, then, in one of its most important functions, the State recognises moral and spiritual elements, or the Church's province, as parts of its own machinery, and that divorce declared in the current phrase—"The school for the State and the Church for God"—is proved futile in fact.

This truth, or truism if you please—which only means this very true truth—that is, that secular government and religious influences cannot absolutely ignore each other, finds its special verification in the work of national education, and the *moral* duty of a National Church is clear, whatever *positive* duties the State may or may not impose. Nay, the *moral* duty is only, perhaps, intensified in proportion as the *positive* duties are relaxed. History or example presents the relation of the Church to popular education under three aspects—two extremes and a mean. The Church absolute, or the Church disowned; the Church everything, or the Church nothing, they are the extremes. The Church and the State in harmonious but modified relation, that is the mean. The first extreme, absolute control, is hopeless; the other, total severance, is disastrous. Have we, then, still a Concordat under which we can act? And if so, what is it? and what should be our conduct under it?

Before I address myself to the single, but momentous point of this question, to which I presume to ask your attention, let me lay down three postulates, not in order to beg the case my own way, but to economise time, and bring the point proposed directly into the field of vision.

1. That if the religious and secular knowledge are as the warp and weft in the web of human character, they must be interwoven. It will not do to add the first as a fringe or superficial ornament.

2. That the pastoral and educational offices are not identical—that is, that the measure of what may be a duty in the one case is no fair measure of duty in the other. The use of a formulary for Christian education, which was meant in its integrity to be an element of pastoral preparation, may have fostered the confusion, and led to the idea—held I know conscientiously by many—that the two are commensurate and convertible. But strictly and truly this is not so; and it will tend to the more intelligent instruction of the young, and the more due estimate of the teacher's province on the one hand, and the pastor's responsibility on the other, if our present circumstances put this matter in a more true light.

And then, thirdly, That the Church would best discharge its *moral* duty as the religious instructor of the people by fulfilling its *positive* duty to the State, and giving that instruction under such conditions as the State sanctions, rather than advance a secular system by its refusal to co-operate.

Now, to bring these principles to a point, the point, namely, of the

Church's duty with reference to the kind and degree of religious instruction in public elementary schools.

And assuming that the nature of the different schools, with the conditions for religious teaching in each variety of school under the Act is now well understood, I shall confine myself entirely to Board Schools and the legislative regulation for them. In fact, the clause 14.2 of the Act commonly known as the "Cowper-Temple Clause," is my thesis.

In Church Schools proper, recognised by the Act, the duty simply is to use the liberty of teaching, which we still have, in all earnestness and sincerity.

In one of the educational debates an eminent secularist likened the religious element, and the contest about it, to a bed of nettles in the corner of a field, over which a herd of bullocks were fighting, to the neglect of the rich pasture elsewhere. It is the prime duty of the Church to disprove that figure. What he mistook for a bed of nettles, misled by the rank growth of passing polemics around, is really a pool of fresh living water needful for the digestion and assimilation of all food; and if this *is* no longer channelled over the whole field of education, but stanked up in one corner for such use—this was by no act or choice of the Church—which knows, and will know, no strife but that of making this necessary of life as pure, as copious, and as free as the conditions imposed on it will allow.

If the Church would fulfil the hopes of its friends, and the fears of its foes, she will beware how she is betrayed into mere pugnacity. The Education Act is not wisely made an occasion for Judah and Ephraim to vex each other; jealousy and bitterness must be, sooner or later, their own avengers. A denominational Shibboleth can but, by its awkward utterance, betray the Church to its ruin. If we meet strife with strife, and narrow hate by similar counterworks, this imitation of our opponents' policy will beget for the Church naturally and necessarily a sectarian character, and a passing success be at the cost of ultimate influence. The Church, for instance, may find a higher principle and a wiser policy in the abeyance rather than in the exaction of clause 25 of this Education Act, however right and equitable its provisions may seem.

Before I leave this topic let us be glad here, in Leeds, to except from the allusion just made to some Nonconformist tactics one* honoured name, its representative in Parliament, who has had the wisdom to discern between the true and the false in this matter, and the courage, at whatever personal cost, to stand by principle and forego party.

And now to turn to the point to which I desire exclusively to ask the attention of this Congress.

I fix upon it because of its importance, and because of its heretofore neglect. The religiousness of the national system of education depends upon it, and yet it has never been closely and manfully regarded. At two previous Congresses it has been glanced at, but never scrutinised; touched, but never handled. The difficulty or the unpleasantness of a minute dissection has been escaped under a generalism, or an euphemism, and already we are paying the penalty we so often pay in grave

* E. Baines, Esq., M.P. for Leeds.

matters for want either of intelligence or courage. The bold and unscrupulous have begged the question, and the unthinking and timid have let it be so. The matter is drifting into a conclusion, as so many matters do drift in Church and State, simply by default; and "fear" here, as ever, "is the betrayer of the succours which reason offereth."

Now what I would like to advance as the primary duty of the Church herein is an unflinching, whilst honest and just, interpretation of the law, as to what it does and does not allow. And first, let us have no misunderstanding as to being fully under, and committed to, the law. Not only has the Act of 1870 not been repudiated by the Church as a whole, but the Church as a whole must stand committed by its acceptance of it in detail. Seats on school boards, and over school boards, have been everywhere sought by Churchmen, and the highest ecclesiastical authorities have often advised, never condemned, such candidateship. With that the Church is committed to read the Act wisely, and carry it out honestly. Now, has it ever fearlessly and judiciously faced that clause—known as the Cowper-Temple Clause (No. 14.2)—which limits the exercise in Board Schools of its own special function? It has put itself forward as the administrator of Board Schools, and yet neither as a body, nor through its representatives on school boards, has it yet closed with what that clause means, or under what provisions it is to be realised. Meanwhile, those who are concerned to minimise its religious capacity have not been slow to foreclose its intention and opportunity. No board has yet dared to prescribe a system of religious teaching in conformity with the provisions of the Act. No authoritative mind has weighed or voice declared what those provisions do or do not admit. Why should not a Church Congress address itself to the work? Can the Church have a more pressing duty than to prevent the indefinite in the religious element of education drifting into the secular through vague uncertainty? A board school may be secular if the board will. But, if it is religious, it can only be so under the restriction of the Cowper-Temple Clause. Of course it were easy to show the mistake, if not the imbecility, of such restriction. Probably not only is sound teaching merely crippled, but the very end desired is hindered, not advanced, by leaving personal teaching free, whilst documentary teaching is tied. A formulary is safer than an individual, not only for soundness, but also for inclusiveness. If you want narrow exclusiveness, then rest the religious teaching on the possibility of *viva voce* extravagance. The guarantee for substance and moderation is an external rule. Yet, the Act having that provision, only the more urgent on that account is the Church's duty to examine closely the real intent and force of the provision, in order to extract the least evil and the most good of which the restriction admits.

Now, let us take this clause, and treat it as an earnest inquirer would treat a specimen which infolds the destiny of his problem. This is not the way it is ordinarily treated. It is generally treated as a condition to be disregarded, or as a condition to be evaded, or as one to be repealed. The first two modes of treatment can but precipitate a secular system. They are now doing so in some degree; and to agitate for its repeal, by raising necessarily the whole religious question, could only issue in worse terms. Priest and Levite have looked on it, and have passed by on the other side. There may be yet more life in it than one thinks;

anyhow, let us lift it up, and try to quicken and stimulate what life there may be, For surely the Church's direct duty, after adopting as it has the Act of 1870, is to show intelligence, honesty, and earnestness in the interpretation and use of that clause, which prescribes the exercise of its own special function.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this step. It is most urgent, practical, and momentous. The time of controversy is passing by, that of experience will succeed. Mere question-mongers and agitators will then give way—workmen will be in demand. There is a great and good work to be done, and good workmen will command confidence. The religious character of the national education, on which the nation, however informally, is determined, may be fixed now by those who by their honest capacity can win the direction of school boards—or it may be lost now, and the true religious character of our education lost with it, by want of precision and decision. To win the honest confidence of school boards now might be, through clause 15 which allows the delegation of management, to win the whole direction of the Act, and secure thereby for religious instruction those two elements necessary for all instruction, be the subject matter what it may, namely—a fixed and formulated process or method ; and the opportunity to test, or try it, or inspection. The clause runs as follows—I repeat it for the closest adherence to its exact terms is of the greatest importance : —" No religious catechism or religious formulary, *which is distinctive of any particular denomination*, shall be taught." Now let us take the words themselves, in the first instance, as conveying their own meaning and intention, and then, corroboratively, such light as the mind of the Parliament which passed, or the legislator who proposed the words, may afford. A high legal authority has laid down*—" If the words of a statute are themselves precise and unambiguous, then no more can be necessary than to expound the words in their natural and ordinary sense." But he adds also :—" The rule for the construction of Acts of Parliament is, that they should be construed according to the intention of the Parliament which passed the Act." Now, can it be questioned that the plain language would seem to exclude those formularies, and those formularies only, as means of instruction, which mark off and distinguish separate religious bodies, as such, and do not exclude anything which two or more hold in common. The word " particular," as well as " distinctive," would seem to qualify the noun " denomination " in the phrase—" *which is distinctive of any particular denomination* "—so as to confine it to each single and separate example, and not make it comprehend in itself any collective number. This *prima facie* direct meaning of the plain words is confirmed when compared with a rule of the British and Foreign School Society, from which it would seem to have been adopted. The rule runs exactly as the clause in the Act, except that " peculiar " to any denomination, in the Society's rule, is enlarged into " *distinctive of any particular* denomination " in the Act. Surely this change of terms was to make the words, as clearly and strongly as can be, except and exclude only those formularies which stamp and designate religious sections distinctly and singly as separate

* Lord Chief Justice Tyndal to the House of Lords, as the opinion of the Common Law Judges.

bodies. The intention of the legislature, as rendered in its language and votes, is at one with the plain meaning of the clause. The Premier in his speech, June 16th, repudiated for the Act that merely undogmatic determination into which some attempted to fix it. And the House confirmed this view by decidedly rejecting Mr. Jacob Bright's and Vernon Harcourt's amendments, which sought to make the clause exclude all religious creed or formulary whatever. But this clause rejoices in a patronymic. I cannot say whether he whose name it bears can through it claim that wisdom which proverbially is said to belong to parents and offspring mutually cognizant, but at least we may presume he knows his own mind and intention in it, and no one could so well aid at its interpretation, and supply the design and purpose he had when he proposed and carried it. I had a note from Mr. Cowper-Temple, on March 13th, 1870, wherein he says :—"I am going to introduce words into the Bill to prohibit the teaching of any catechism or "formulary *belonging exclusively to one church or religious denomination.*" But, when lately I wrote to him for permission to make his words to me public, he gave these words even fuller significance in his reply, for he says not only that the words he had used to me convey his meaning, and that of the House which accepted them, but farther, "I proposed them "as an amendment to Mr. Harcourt's motion, that the schools should be "'unsectarian,' and I argued that instead of adopting a vague adjective "we should prohibit what would mark a school as belonging to the "Church, or to the Wesleyans, or to the Roman Catholics, or any body "that has a *catechism belonging to, and distinctive of, itself.* I mentioned," he adds, "the Apostles' Creed, as a formulary that would not "be prohibited by the words as I understood them."

Thus, then, the text itself of the statute, and such commentary as the mind that proposed and the parliament that enacted the clause, can furnish, conspire in this conclusion as to its meaning; that the religious teaching of board schools, like the schools themselves, must not significantly belong to any denomination as such.

But the Church has never thus marked its schools. They are always called the national schools; and the organisation within itself, specially charged with its educational works, yet retains that title. Let then the policy pursued prove its right to it. That educational system under the Act, which has assumed much, and must assume more, of a national character, needs having its most precious element underpinned by a fixed basis. The only direction within the Church ordinances which indicates what this should be, fulfils the conditions imposed by the Legislature, and, by a happy but undesigned coincidence, the Church and the State may be at one in that which shall give form and substance to their will and intention.

The Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments are part of Holy Writ, add to these the Apostles' Creed, as included by the author of the clause himself, and you have as wise, and sound, and comprehensive a framework for teaching little children Divine Truth, as perhaps could be conceived. To love God, to obey God, and to know God, would seem the order or process of religious education, and these forms of sound words would suggest themselves as the best instruments whereby to shape and substantiate this progressive work. If I am right as to the true render-

ing of this clause, the Apostles' Creed is clearly within both its letter and spirit; for who would presume to designate that creed as "distinctive of any particular denomination." Who would dare so exclusively to claim or disclaim it? If it truly is a Catholic, that is every one's creed, and merely tabulates those historical things about Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in the simplest, best, and most Scriptural way which can meet the young intelligence and train its dawning faith, why should not the Church vindicate itself, and the truth of that creed with which it is charged, from all sectarian and denominational character by it is freest and most general use. To think we can teach children religiously without faith objectively and subjectively, that is, without an outward object for their inward reverence, were indeed to imagine a vain thing. This must be fixed, definite, clear, or we shall pass through mirage into nothingness in our religious teaching. What then better, larger, truer, than that form which, preceding all divisions of Christendom, recognises none, but only expresses and proves that comprehensive truth, in promoting which school boards would best fulfil the nation's desire. At present school boards have got no farther than a regulation that, "The Bible shall be read, and suitable explanations and instruction in the principles of morality and religion given." A shadowy outline at best, wanting, almost asking, a definite filling-in!

Even this outline runs the risk of being washed out by words of more sound than sense, which have been brought to bear upon it. For "an open Bible and a free teacher" are dangerous words to the unthinking in their very attractiveness. "An open Bible," may after all be but a closed book; and "a free teacher" the likeliest way to make it so. The spirit of freedom,—a very different thing from the freedom of the spirit,—may only be the charter for eccentricity or unbelief, and though, doubtless, these words have been used to secure sound teaching from interference, they equally secure unsound, and so may only bar the little human soul from all ingress to the region of light and life.

What has been advanced now is to secure the widest influence of religion as an element of the nation's education, not the widest influence for any religious body, though if the work is wise, and right, and true, it will not fail in being thus blessed to those who promote it. Let me close with two reflections, one special to the subject: the other ranging wider. The special point intimately involved in fixing the religious teaching of board schools on as sure a basis as the Act permits is our training colleges and our teachers. For the Church to make both as nationally useful as may be, is for the Church to retain them. It is wise to stretch the capacity of our training colleges just now to the utmost. The Act has called into existence two new colleges under the British and Foreign Society, and one under the Wesleyans. The former claim to be the sole legitimate supply, under the restriction of the clause we have been considering. The National Church should not allow such assumption. If as I maintain, the clause sanctions such an educational basis as has been suggested, why should not the Church directly train its students to teach according to it? Possibly the existence of our colleges, so far as that depends on national funds, may be secured by such adaptation. Anyhow, the retention of the teachers they train may do so. Schoolmasters are just now getting very independent of church allegiance.

They will join board schools; unless they find therein a continuous bond, they will simply break entirely free, and unless the Church which trained them has supplied the chart and compass, which is to guide them in their new course, the religious teaching must be wrecked.

The wider point is more political. Society is fast disintegrating. Everything tends to separation rather than concert—to discord rather than harmony. At all events we are passing more and more out of national life. Patriotism and national religious sentiment are not on the increase. The lower classes are becoming a nation within a nation. Coincidently their political power is vastly augmented, and the attitude of the country on all questions may depend on their direction.

Problems of great depth and magnitude may thus be given over to power without intelligence. The deeper parts must be beyond their comprehension, but not beyond their influence. How patriotic then at such a time, besides its elevating wisdom, to give a rallying centre to the religious element of education. It may be the only chance of still uniting national religion to national life.

These then are the grounds on which I have challenged this Congress to this consideration :

1. That the Church may not become a denomination with the narrowness and jealousy that attaches to a denominational, as distinct from the national attitude.

2. That the new system of popular education may not drift into a cold and cheerless secularism.

3. That our training colleges may continue in their actual and potential usefulness as national institutions.

4. Above all to secure to our dense and politically-powerful masses such measure of Divine light, which, if not lit through *daily* systematic school teaching, may never for them be lit at all.

At the late Wesleyan Conference mere Bible Schools were denounced as Secularism in disguise, and it was maintained that for Methodism to adopt such would be to augment incalculably the influence of the Church as the Defender of the Faith. The Church may verify the prediction by supplying a religious back-bone, firm, simple, and symmetrical, to the daily routine of the national system ; a basis which, whilst in conformity with legislative enactment, is (1) enforced in her own formulary, written over all her Church walls, and (2) echoed in the manual for religious instruction for the Church of Scotland, which has been (3) less grudgingly left to it still by the Scotch Education Act recently passed.

The prime duty of the Church, then, in this matter, I hold to be to fulfil thus practically the three postulates with which I set out.

For, if the State *has* adopted the child of her love, like the Jewish mother of old, the Church should still linger near, anxious to render such nursing offices as she may, even as the State's handmaid.

1. The end of the Baptismal Service, where an educational basis of Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments is laid down as distinct from the pastoral preparation for confirmation.

2. The Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, are given at the end of the shorter catechism, with this comment :—"And, albeit, the substance of the doctrines compressed in that abridgement, commonly called the Apostles' Creed, be fully set forth in each of the

catechisms, so as there is no necessity of inserting the Creed itself, yet it is here annexed, not as though it were composed by the Apostles, or ought to be esteemed Canonical Scriptures, as the Ten Commandments or the Lord's Prayer, but because it is a brief sum of the Christian faith, agreeable to the Word of God, and anciently received in the Churches of Christ."

3. The proposition made by Lord Roseberry to insert the Cowper-Temple Clause in the Scotch Education Act was not even seconded.

The Rev. Canon Prescott read the following paper:—

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 has, and must have, a vast influence upon religious teaching in Church schools. Whether that influence be in the main for evil or for good, it is not within my province to discuss here. Still, I think, we are, as churchmen, apt just now to ignore the undoubtedly good effects which it will have. On the other hand, we are perhaps too ready to lament the probabilities of evil instead of taking additional steps to counteract it. So far, the Church of England has been the real mother of education among the lower classes in this country; and henceforth there will be a greater number of scholars in the schools she keeps open, their attendance will be more regular, and before long they will have been compelled to reach a higher standard of knowledge and intelligence. But so far also she has, like a true mother, instructed her infant children in the vital truths of religion. Is she to cease doing this, and to become a mere secular guardian? If not, how can she overcome the difficulties which, necessarily or unnecessarily, have been thrown in her way? The chief of these difficulties are (1) the withdrawal of all parliamentary grant of money in respect of religious subjects; (2) the relegating religious instruction to the mutilated beginning or the very fag end of school-time. You may have religious schools, but in that character they shall not receive State aid. You may teach religion, but you must do it at times when those taught will profit least by the teaching. I am not going to dwell further upon this hard measure which has been dealt out to religion.

> "There is some soul of goodness in things evil,
> Would men observingly distil it out."

A great problem is before us, one which will tax all the talent, and the earnestness, and the filial love of English churchmen; but one which I believe they will solve. How can we keep religious teaching alive in our day-schools? I shall confine myself to a single process, which appears to be absolutely necessary to the solution. The inspection and examination of schools in religious subjects is indispensable. What, then, is the best system to adopt? Allow me to sketch one out and submit it to you.

It shall be no Utopian scheme, nor have many novel elements. I will assume the system of examination to be diocesan. First, then, there should be a Diocesan Inspector to visit each school annually, to examine the children *vivâ voce*, and to report generally upon the religious instruction given in the school. Secondly, there should be an

Examination Committee, consisting of men acquainted with educational matters, conversant with examinations, and willing to give of their time and of their labour. Such men, probably old university examiners, I cannot but think could be found in every diocese. The main duty of the committee should be to examine the schools by means of printed papers despatched from a fixed centre, also to report in conjunction with the Diocesan Inspector. These two examining powers should be the agents of an Education Society, having the Bishop of the Diocese as its president. This society should supply the requisite funds, give prizes and certificates of merit, and generally act as the governing body.

It will now be necessary to enter a little more into particulars, however dry these may be. The Examination Committee fix a day on which they will hold an examination throughout the diocese; they publish a list of subjects; they receive the entries of such children as are capable of undergoing a written examination; and then they proceed somewhat after the manner of the successful Local Examinations held by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Thus, they appoint local superintendents to conduct and overlook the examination in each school-room, an excellent way of using in a parish that which is always most cheerfully and profitably given—viz., lay help. These local superintendents receive the examination papers by post from the committee, and give them out in each school at the same hour of the same day, and for the same period of time, throughout the diocese. The papers on which the answers are to be written have the questions printed upon them. These papers, when finished, are collected by the local superintendent, and returned by post to the committee with a signed certificate that the examination has been fairly and properly conducted. The committee then go on with their work in looking over the papers sent in; they pluck some candidates, they pass others, and such a proportion of them as they think fit they arrange in order of merit. When all is over they issue a list of successful candidates—a list which cannot fail to be received with interest over a wide area, not only by the children, but by teachers, managers, parents, and all in the diocese who are interested in school affairs. The Education Society is then brought into play. On the results thus obtained the society should give among the children numerous prizes, and comparatively few certificates of merit. In these prizes they will be liberally assisted by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. But that Society, it should be observed, will only render this assistance when the examination has been diocesan and central, such as I have described. With their principle I for one fully agree; because any comparison of the merits, whether of children or of schools, that is not founded upon simultaneous and identical examination, I consider to be all but worthless. I said comparatively *few* certificates of merit; their value is then proportionately increased; and if the Bishop of the Diocese can be induced to sign these certificates, the candidate has a testimonial for future use of the highest value, one given, unlike most testimonials, for real excellence, and after due investigation. If funds can be found, grants should also be made to the teachers of the schools in proportion to their success, the amount, as in the Parliamentary grant for secular subjects, depending upon the results obtained.

Simple prizes to the teachers, whether of books or of money, will not have the same beneficial effect.

Such an examination as this by an Examination Committee is very different from an ordinary Prize Scheme; but, of course, it deals only with the picked children of a school, those who are able to express themselves upon paper. And this will give a very good, though not perfect, idea of the religious teaching in that school. The milk cannot be very bad, if the cream be good. But, it is quite possible for the cream to be somewhat poor in both quantity and quality, and yet the milk to be excellent. Here, then, the Diocesan Inspector comes in to help us. He tries the whole of the bowl. He ascertains, besides the special knowledge, the religious tone of the whole school, also the moral discipline, as well of the teachers as of the scholars. Here his work is invaluable.

It may be asked, "Why, then, this complex machinery? Why would not an inspector alone suffice for the work?" The machinery, though at first sight complex, is really very simple, and works smoothly and easily, giving satisfactory results. An inspector, however able and active, cannot produce the same effect. I am aware that we are treading on somewhat delicate ground. An inspector may certainly set papers in a school as well as examine it orally. But, if the number of schools be anything like what it should be, he simply cannot do the proper amount of work; and, as all who are accustomed to examinations will allow, a written examination conducted by one examiner, and repeated by him year after year, can never reach a high standard of excellence. Moreover, the schools being examined at different times, there can be no fair comparison of the merits of their scholars. Thus that wholesome emulation, which promotes work and stimulates interest in religious matters, will be all but lost. And, once more, there is terrible danger of the teachers getting to know too much of the idiosyncracies of the inspector, and cramming the children with a view to meet them.

Now against this danger, the examination on paper by the committee acts as a sufficient defence. It has other important advantages. For instance, it bears upon those for whom it is even more needful to care than for the children, viz., the pupil teachers. It is not too much to say, that the religious instruction of the schools of the future is in their hands, or rather in their hearts. Whatever teachers otherwise trained may do, they, as the best taught, and being in the most influential positions, will have the most power for good. Whatever the clergy may do, they virtually will regulate the amount and the character of religious instruction in our schools. These pupil teachers the Examination Committee may examine in religious knowledge at the same time and place, and under the same local supervision as the schools to which they respectively belong, but, of course, with a different set of papers. Thus, without the risk and the expense of bringing pupil teachers together into groups for examination, as is usually done, you test them on one uniform principle, on the most economical plan, by the aid of existing machinery. The provision also of funds for the payment of, say, altogether, £400 or £500 a year to a Diocesan Inspector, is a subject of no small anxiety to those interested in

religious education. It is easy to say, "Let each school examined contribute its quota." But there are quite difficulties enough in getting managers of schools to submit them to religious inspection. These difficulties will, I am afraid, increase. And the payment of an amount, instead of the reception of a grant, will seriously weaken the attraction of religious, as compared with Government, inspection. Moreover, some here present will understand me when I say, that such a quota paid towards the stipend of inspectors has an injurious effect upon the estimation in which their inspection is held, and is strongly deprecated by some of the most able among them. Now the expence attending such an examination on paper is very small indeed. I could give particulars to any one interested in the subject. Thus, if it happened that any district was so unfortunate as not to be able to retain the services of its inspector, there would still be something to fall back upon. Religious inspection would not cease. The vessel would still go on. If the paddles fail, by all means have in reserve a screw. But the large vessel will go best with the two.

This brings me to what I cannot help thinking is the main advantage of such a scheme of inspection as that which I am advocating, viz., a Diocesan Society with the Bishop at the head, a Diocesan Inspector and a central Examination Committee, all working, not independently, but together. It is daily becoming more evident that corporate action is of great value, nay absolutely necessary, to the Church of England. This fact a Church Congress at any rate does plainly recognise. Now the parochial system with all its blessings has tended to isolation. The clergyman, the influential layman, the schools, have been parochial, so far good; but they have been this, and little more. They have been monads, so to speak, not members; not in the proper sense members of a National Church. Hence they have lost much of the assistance and spiritual strength which must proceed from union, from organisation, from true Christian brotherhood. An inspector one day goes in and visits a school; scarcely a soul in the parish hears of it; after a time a report is sent, which may or not be made public. Benefit there may be, and is, but it is local and partial. Now if, *in addition*, there be an examination day fixed in which all the Church schools of the diocese have a common interest, when they will all be doing the same work for the same objects, and if a list of results be published which covers the wide diocesan field, then the sense of isolation is lost, success becomes a hundred times more valuable, and, even by little children, the Church of England is felt to be a real Church, and not a parish congregation. Nor can can this be done without forming and strengthening those ties which should bind the parishes of a diocese together. The very machinery itself is invaluable as a means for facilitating communication. And, no trivial matter, the wealthy among us, influenced as they must be by more visible results, will be induced to give not merely the annual subscription to the parish school, but in support of more general and comprehensive efforts to make education religious.

It is only by such united action as this, and, above all, by producing a more wide-spread interest, that religious inspection can be kept alive in the schools of the Church of England. And on religious

inspection, except in a few favoured cases, I believe the very existence of religious teaching depends. We all of us have at times felt the need of some spur, something to prevent effort from flagging, and interest from growing cold, especially when the way was monotonous, and the wind blew hard against us. None require this more, as regards religious instruction, than school teachers at the present time. The same is, in a sense, true of school managers, and of the scholars themselves. Some power also is needed to guide and regulate the instruction—to prevent it, on the one hand, from being too elaborate, and, therefore, from falling to pieces; to raise it, on the other, from being poverty stricken and devoid of Church principle. Careful supervision and inspection can alone secure these things.

Surely, few more momentous subjects can engage our attention than this teaching to children the truth as it is in Christ Jesus and trying to make them grow up faithful members of our dear old Church of England. Teaching, let us observe, the children of those who are daily getting more power in the commonwealth; teaching, too, thousands who never go near a Sunday-school, who, perhaps, never elsewhere hear the name of God, except from the mouth of the blasphemer. Secularism and present advantage press one way; religion and the Christian feelings of the English people press the other. It remains to be seen which will gain the mastery. I believe in the cause of God. "The true religion," said Lord Bacon, "is built upon the rock; the rest are tossed upon the waves of time." Let us teach the coming people what that rock is. It cannot be done without effort, and united effort. But the effort must be made soon. *We* know that what we read and possess in the Word of God will strengthen us in life, and will remain when the world passes away. Let us give this knowledge, and with the knowledge, it may be, under God's blessing, the great treasure which it bears.

The Rev. Dr. F. Hessey, St. Barnabas, West Kensington, read the following paper:—

HOW TO IMPROVE AND SUPPLEMENT THE TEACHING GIVEN IN OUR SUNDAY-SCHOOLS, SO AS TO MAKE MORE INTELLIGENT AND ATTACHED MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH.

A great change has evidently taken place in regard to the position in public estimation occupied by *Church Sunday-schools*. A few years ago they were reckoned among the most promising fields of Church work; they are now counted by many Churchmen little better than necessary evils. The fact is, that too much was originally expected from them; and because such expectations have not been fully realised, they are now as unfairly depreciated as they once were overrated.

A Church Sunday-school ought simply to be a place where the young members of Christ may meet the Clergyman of their parish, or such friends as he can trust with their religious instruction, to spend a portion of the Lord's-day in acquiring, under his direction, such special knowledge of religion as may be suitable to their present wants, and useful in their future life.

In this short sentence, there are three points, which, in time past, have been too much neglected. First, that all that is done at the school has the *sanction of the Parish Priest;* secondly, that those instructed are treated as *Members of Christ already;* and thirdly, that the instruction given is *practical*, not merely theoretical.

As to the first. There are schools, called Church Sunday-schools, in which a Clergyman never sets his foot; or, which he just visits formally, and at long intervals; where the whole management is left sometimes to a committee, sometimes to a lay-superintendent, sometimes even to the parish schoolmaster or mistress. This ought not to be the case. The Clergyman is abdicating an important duty of his office, if he does not keep the Sunday-school in his own hands. He has baptised the children, and he has urged their sponsors to see them Christianly and virtuously brought up. In this good work, therefore, he is bound to take his part. In order to do this, he ought to be in frequent contact with their parents, where the size of his parish renders such contact possible, to suggest to them what he believes to be good for their children's spiritual welfare, and then to take care that the instruction given in the Sunday-school be supplementary to the home lessons which he hopes they have received. He must not, however, be too credulous, and take for granted that every home is what a Christian home ought to be: or he will be grievously disappointed. But he must be careful not to seem to withdraw the children from parental superintendence. He must, therefore, contrive that what he calls supplemental teaching be so full and complete, as in some cases, to take the place of a home teaching, which ought to have been, but has not been given. If he does this judiciously, he will find, in some instances, that the teaching of the Sunday-school will gradually influence the home; and that parents, whose responsibility has been thus insisted on, will be led to become, under God's grace, what they ought to have been long since—an example to their children. He must endeavour to be, as far as possible, personally known to the children, as well as to their parents; and that, not in the capacity of a kind friend only, but of the Minister of Christ, who has an account to give of their souls. When the Bishop gives notice of a Confirmation, the announcement should be as important in the Sunday-school as in the parish in general. From it the Parish Priest will have to select fit candidates, whom he can safely present, and whom he hopes to retain in the school, after Confirmation, as a Communicants' class. Indeed, such a class may be reckoned a very important division of a Sunday-school, and should be under his personal instruction. From it he will be able to draw Sunday-school teachers, and assistants in such other church work, as he may be able to delegate to faithful hands. And when the time comes, for the young people of the communicants' class to become heads of families themselves, he will have the satisfaction of seeing new households trained in God's faith and fear, from which a fresh succession of Sunday scholars may be continually poured into the school. Lectures on church subjects, concerts of sacred music, and other rational means may be employed, to keep afterwards together, those who have been brought up, though, perhaps, at long intervals, at a Church Sunday-school. There will then grow up a feeling, such as that which exists in the great Public Schools of our country,

among the pupils who have been trained there. "I was taught at such a Sunday-school," and that not merely as a matter of personal gratitude to the clergyman, but as rather an acknowledgement of a link to the Church of the country and parish; not "at Mr.——'s Sunday-school," but "at the Sunday-school of the parish in which my parents lived."

What has been here described implies a constant superintendence on the part of the Parish Priest. But it is not more than may be easily accomplished by one whose lot has happily been cast in a country parish, such as are still the majority of our parochial cures; where the population is neither too numerous, nor too sparse, to be thoroughly visited.

In large towns, of course, subordinate agency must be extensively employed. The Parish Priest must do much through district visitors and Sunday-school teachers, which, if it were possible, he would gladly do himself. But in these cases he may still hold his school together, and systematise its work, by frequent conference with the teachers, and careful notice of the children whom they introduce to him. He will of course allow none to be teachers whose principles or conduct he disapproves, and, if possible, none but persons either confirmed or desirous to be confirmed.

Some Clergymen have given regular instruction to as many of their Sunday-school teachers as are willing to come to them, on an appointed day in every week; and others, as for instance, those of one of the rural deaneries in the Diocese of Manchester, have induced them to enter upon an organised course of study, with the view of passing a regular examination. The advantage of this plan, where practicable, is obvious to all.

The series of lessons for a Sunday-school, where the clergyman is not able personally to teach, may easily be so arranged by him as to illustrate the Epistle, Gospel, or other Sunday Scripture lessons of the Church. Or they may prepare the children for understanding the subject on which the Sermon is to be preached. And thus, even in the largest and most overwhelming parishes, the Parish Priest will be able to let both teachers and children feel that his heart is among them, though his bodily presence is called for elsewhere. Nor will he fail, either in church or school, to catechise his Sunday scholars from time to time, and thus ascertain that the school is doing its work. He will meet with frequent difficulties, perhaps, and great discouragements, but still he will have been doing his duty, in seeking to make more intelligent and attached members of the Church.

My second point is that, in a good Church Sunday-school, children are treated as already *Members of Christ*. And this is a very important consideration. There are Church Sunday-schools, in which the pupils seem to be treated almost as heathen children, who have to take their choice between the Christianity of their teachers, and the heathenism in which they are supposed to have been brought up. The utter corruption of human nature is insisted upon, without any sufficient mention of the blessings of Baptism, in which the children of wrath have been made children of grace. The teachers *preach* to their pupils, rather than *teach* them. They hold out the Gospel as something entirely new to them, instead of the system in which they have been nurtured hither

to, and are to be educated still. Now this is surely what St. Paul protests against, as laying again the foundation, instead of going on to perfection. It is putting children in the position of judges, between truth and error, instead of bringing them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. This may be partly due to the example of those Dissenting Sunday-schools, in which the attempt is frequently, though perhaps unconsciously made, to draw children, who have been under Church teaching, to the profession of the peculiar views of some sect of Nonconformists, among whom the efficacy of infant baptism is not acknowledged. Partly, also, it springs from the inexperience of teachers, who having been won late in life to the truth, are disposed to think that the same crisis, that they themselves have undergone, must be, in like manner, experienced by all Christians. It will be the clergyman's duty to obviate the evil, by insisting on *teaching* rather than *preaching* on the part of his teachers, of building up rather than pulling down, of edification rather than controversy. And children are certainly happiest under an instruction which draws forth what they know, continually adds something to it, and treats them as Christians already, instead of repeatedly trying to make them so. How valuable in this point of view is the Church Catechism! What a storehouse of Church teaching does it unlock, when used by a judicious teacher! What a regularity and system does it give in the pupil's mind to the religious knowledge that is communicated in connection with, and in reference to it! It will, indeed, be a sad day, when its use is discontinued in our Sunday-schools.

But the error of forgetting that Sunday scholars are members of Christ already, shows itself in another form. A Sunday-school is sometimes dealt with as if it were a portion of the world's society, rather than of the Church. Various good objects are advocated in it, not as incumbent upon *Christ's people*, but upon inhabitants of a *civilised country*, without sufficient reference to Christian obligation. Thus, for instance, instead of intemperance being discouraged, like any other sin, as being a breach of God's law, inconsistent with the love of Christ, and unfitting to those whose very bodies are temples of the Holy Ghost; children are enlisted in juvenile temperance societies, which are bound together by engagements having the nature of vows, which foster a pharisaical spirit, and which lead to dissensions in families, and even schisms in the Church. The Baptismal Vow, which, as rightly explained, promises temperance, soberness, and chastity, ought surely to be regarded as far more binding than any engagement to a "Total Abstinence Society." And those children will be safer in the world, who have been taught to resist temptation by the help of God's blessed Spirit, than those who are kept back from evil simply by a vow, not against a *sin*, but against the *use* of that whose *abuse* alone can constitute a sin. So many excellent men have declared themselves in favour of what is called the "Temperance Movement," that it is not without great reluctance that the Writer of this Paper ventures thus to express himself. Some remedy must doubtless be devised for what has grown to be a national vice. But it is more than doubtful whether that remedy is to be found in inducing the children of our Sunday-schools to enrol themselves in a "Band of Hope," or even in a "Guild of Church of England Abstainers."

Serious evils have certainly arisen from such a step. Within the knowledge of the Writer, young people have refused the Holy Communion, as involving the use of wine, even though the Lord has commanded it to be received. And he cannot but fear that those who are encouraged to hold their own juvenile meetings, independently of the larger Guild or Association to which they are attached, may be easily led on to the formation of leagues for other, and perhaps less, innocent purposes.

As members of Christ, the children of a Sunday-school should regard the Church as the Great Temperance Society of the world, the Body, of which they rejoice to be members, Jesus Christ being the Head; and, under this idea, they regard Christ's Minister among them as their best friend, by whom they have been admitted to Christ in Baptism, taught in the Church School, and eventually prepared for Confirmation. To him they should look for direction in their difficulties, and, under his guidance, they should be ready to be employed in any Church work for which he may find them fit. Of this they may be put in mind by the certificate, that is given them on leaving school, which may contain, as in the form provided by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (No. 1657), not merely the date of Baptism, Confirmation, and first Communion, but also a place for the entry of any field of Church work which they have been allowed to undertake.

But my third point is, that the teaching of a good church Sunday-school is practical, and not merely theoretical. The teaching of the Church's Services is evidently such; and to it the teaching of the Sunday-school is, as I have said, simply supplemental. Those who have studied the Epistles and Gospels, which for so many centuries have formed the basis of the Church's preaching, will remember how completely this is the case; from the first words of the Epistle of the first Sunday in Advent, "Owe no man anything, but to love one another," to the last words of the Gospel of the last Sunday after Trinity, "Gather the fragments together, that nothing be lost." There is no Sunday, on which a definite moral lesson is not brought forward in combination with a Gospel narrative. And a good Sunday-school teacher need be at no loss to point such a lesson, and illustrate it in a manner interesting to his pupils. This will, however, be the easier, if during the week the Sunday-school teachers have met their Clergyman to consider with him the topics of next Sunday's instruction. I do not mean that the Epistles or Gospels should form the only Sunday reading. The first and second Lessons will also suggest instructive courses; and now and then a series of selected subjects unconnected with any of them, such as those provided by the Sunday-school Institute, will interest the children.

A good Sunday-school teacher will also know his pupils out of school as well as in it. He will, however, take care that it should be felt by them that he visits them at their own home only at the clergyman's desire; and he will refer them in matters of practical difficulty to the clergyman for his advice and assistance. Such intercourse as this will be profitable both to teachers and pupils, and will tend to keep alive church feeling in the country. Another practical link between the Sunday scholars and the Church will be the holding of periodical Missionary meetings, at which their voluntary contributions may be

received; and information may be given of the Church work that is going on in distant lands in connection with the Church at home. It will not be easy for young people to be really interested in the Church abroad, without feeling, in a higher degree, their membership of the Church at home, and of the Church Catholic which embraces both.

It is also a good thing for Sunday scholars to be early introduced, where it is possible, to such associations for mutual advantage as are carried on under the clergyman's direction; such as benefit clubs, coal and clothing clubs, and so on. By this means they may be kept from the temptation to join mixed societies formed for similar objects, which not only may be less secure, but also may have the disadvantage of meeting at public houses, in the midst of associations by no means suited to temperance or morality in general.

It cannot here be necessary to enter into any particulars as to the management of a Sunday-school. On this subject some brief suggestions are to be found in the "Hints for Sunday-school Teachers," issued by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and very full information is furnished in Mr. Cachemaille's "Church Sunday-school Handbook," published by the Sunday-school Institute.

It is to be hoped that the clergy in general will look with no favourable eye upon the proposal often urged upon them to introduce secular instruction into Church Sunday-schools. The time available for Sunday-school lessons is sadly short, and in the day-schools the opportunity for direct religious instruction is already circumscribed, and is likely still further to be reduced. The Church must, therefore, make the best of the time she has for training her children in God's faith and fear, and must endeavour so to give her lessons as to cause no weariness during their continuance, and no desire to break away from them as soon as possible.

There is, however, no possible objection to the gathering on some week day, of those who form a class together on Sunday, at the house of their teacher, or at any other place, for the communication of secular knowledge. A judicious teacher has thus sometimes made the wonders of the microscope or telescope, or even the study of a foreign language, the means of drawing round him during the week the members of his Sunday class. But what is wanted, above all things, is *personal interest in the pupils* on the part of the teacher. Great abilities are not nearly so valuable as this. Whether it be the Clergyman himself, or the Churchmen and Churchwomen, whom he has invited to teach in the school, their heart must be in their work; and the pupils will feel that such is the case, and be influenced accordingly. Pupils must not be allowed to leave the Sunday-school with the feeling that the teacher will think no more of them till next Sunday. They must be led, if possible, to know that their teacher is really interested in their welfare, and that he will not fail to pray that his instructions may be blessed; and they also must be encouraged in like manner to pray that he who has watered others may be watered also himself.

ADDRESSES.

Mr. Hugh Birley, M.P., made the following address:—

When the Elementary Education Act was under discussion in Parliament two years ago, one of the main objects of the promoters and advocates of religious instruction was to secure for schools, established by private effort, impartial treatment with regard to the administration of the Parliamentary grant, as compared with schools that might be established by the school boards. This object was secured, together with many other objects, in favour of our private schools, by which I mean schools established by private efforts. What was done placed these schools in less peril than was at one time feared with regard to their future. Yet there are many reasons which have excited apprehension on the part of the managers of the schools, lest they should hereafter subside into a secular system. I admit there are many grounds for these apprehensions, but I insist that, if the matter be rightly regarded, we shall find that we have still the means before us of avoiding the dangers which are feared, and that so far from reducing the measure of religious training now afforded, that religious training may be actually strengthened. It may also be observed that, while we are loudly crying for fair play and our just rights —and rightly so too—we forget, or overlook the advantages and the opportunities of usefulness which we enjoy. I believe that now, although to one looking at the act it would seem as if there were danger, lest religious instruction should be entirely removed, and that the want of a Government inspector examining in religious education would weaken the interests of the masters and mistresses of those schools in training the children, still we can introduce another system which may be found a more powerful and vital agency than we had before. The writer of one of the papers to-day has rather deprecated the appointment of a diocesan inspector, but his objection seemed to be founded mainly upon the consideration of expense. I, for one, admit that the expense ought not to be chargeable to individual schools, but should be borne by the diocese at large. I also admit that a system of examination committees might very well be tried where there is difficulty in appointing a diocesan inspector, or where, from local circumstances, such a system would have a probability of being a more successful one. From my own experience of the Diocesan Board of Manchester, there is reason to believe that the diocesan plan would prove largely beneficial. But I look mainly for improvement of religious training in the schools to the action of the clergy themselves. I am of opinion that they should be regular officers of those schools—not that they should be present on every occasion of religious teaching, but their visits should be regular; the teaching should be systematic, and equal to the capacities of the children they have to educate. They should also take in hand, if possible, the training of the pupil-teachers in religious knowledge. Through them they would produce the most valuable impression upon the minds of the young children. It is said often of many of the clergy, and by many of the clergy, that they are too busy to do this. Well, there are two sorts of busy men. There are busy men who never seem to have time for anything, and there are other busy men who seem to have time for everything, and the clergy know, and we know, that there is no place, excepting, perhaps, the Church, equal to the school, in which clergymen have an opportunity of addressing a large number of the souls committed to their charge. With regard to the lessons that they should inculcate, it is not my part, nor would there be time for me to enter into it; but it must be manifest that the teaching in Sunday-schools should be the same as a pious and earnest parent desires to inculcate in his children. Then there would be trained up what this country most imperatively needs, and that is, amongst the working classes, a race of men who would be the best religious teachers of their children. Then, again, I think we must look to the training colleges to send out God-fearing and pious masters and mistresses. In saying that, I do not desire in the least to disparage or undervalue what has hitherto been done. Indeed, I believe the school-

masters and school-mistresses are a most estimable body of men and women, who do their work fairly. Yet, it is undeniable that there is room for improvement, both as regards training, and in the system of teaching and inculcating religious knowledge. At present, the system is too much one of routine, and the change imperatively necessary may remove much of the evil. As regards Sunday-schools I shall touch but little upon that subject now; but I believe it is of the utmost importance to bring them into harmony with the teaching of day-schools. And, referring for a moment to some observations that have been made, I would say that all those Christian duties referred to in the Catechism—temperance, soberness, and chastity, and the like—are perhaps not sufficiently impressed upon the elder scholars of Sunday-schools, who are exposed to peculiar temptations. Dr. Hessey has deprecated Bands of Hope, but Dr. Hessey must be aware that Bands of Hope were only established in Sunday-schools, because it was felt by many of the teachers that as soon as the elder scholars passed away from their influence and teaching they were led astray by the besetting sin of our countrymen. I have little doubt that if the duty of temperance and soberness were more insisted upon, there would be less cause for supplementary effort in the shape of Bands of Hope and the like. This difficulty and others cannot be evaded, but must be fairly grappled with. Why is it said that Sunday-schools have been a failure? Is it not because we find that the young trained there have been too apt to be led away by temptation? And I will especially ask here why so few of them appear either at the Lord's table, or even at church? When I say this, however, let me not fail to express my firm conviction that much good has been done by the Sunday-school system. Let us not say, because it is mixed with evil, therefore it is not worth while to continue it, or allow indolence or indifference to take the place of our plain duty. We must all know that Sunday-schools have furnished real lessons to many who have since grown grey,—grown grey perhaps in apparent indifference of the duties of religion. The system has at any rate maintained in this country something of a religious feeling, and has prevented the mass of the people from sinking into infidelity or worse. Let me, then, earnestly urge upon all the clergymen here, and all managers of schools, to take heart, and to determine that whether they be Sunday-schools or week-day-schools, there shall be, as regards their individual efforts, a resolute determination to bring them to the highest state of efficiency.

The Rev. W. Cadman, Marylebone, made the following address:—

The subject before us this afternoon divides itself into two parts—elementary schools and Sunday-schools, and the religious instruction to be given in them—what deficiencies there are—how we may supply those deficiencies, remove the difficulties, and supplement what is already good. This is a very exhaustive subject, and many of the points have been treated most admirably in the papers read. I know I am to be succeeded by others who will probably dwell particularly upon elementary schools. I propose, therefore, myself merely to refer to them for a moment or two and then to pass on to Sunday-schools. With reference to the subject generally, I feel an increasing responsibility upon the clergy of the land, for if religious instruction is to be given in our schools the clergy must be first and foremost in the determination and zeal to give it. Indeed we cannot escape—I might say no true consistent Churchman can escape, but much more may I say that no clergyman can escape, from the obligation of giving religious instruction. Remember that infants are presented to our blessed Lord and Saviour, according to His own command, in holy baptism, and when received by the minister and admitted to the blessed ordinance, are they not given back to their parents—given back, I may say, to the Church, and given back with this charge to those who have made a profession of faith in their name—"Remembering always that baptism doth represent unto us our profession; which is, to

follow the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to be made like unto Him"—and so on. And then you are to take care that these children be so instructed as to be brought to the Bishop to be confirmed by him. You are to take care, in short, in order that those who have been baptised in the faith of Christ shall now be trained and educated for Christ, and in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. To the mind of any Churchman, I feel sure, if this thing be properly considered, it is utterly impossible to advocate secular as apart from religious instruction. And this becomes, as I was saying, a matter of increased responsibility to clergymen, because as it is now the difficulties are very great. You must recollect that there must be two hours of secular instruction in an elementary school, and whether you say that the religious instruction is to be given before or after the commencement of the school, a moment's consideration will show that it is exceedingly difficult to communicate those details of principle and of duty and privilege which we feel it is most incumbent upon us to do. The difficulty I know not how to meet, except by the personal presence of the clergyman in the school. Where it can be done it is most advisable that the clergyman should every day be seen in his school, and should be there as one taking a deep interest in the instruction given there. Sometimes we hear about the unwillingness of people to come to church, and of the difficulty of the clergyman in getting a congregation. But he has always a congregation in his schools, and can always be teaching there what he is bound to teach as an ambassador for Christ. The appointment of diocesan inspectors helps to meet the difficulty for the present. I think that the personal presence of the clergyman, where the children learn to love and trust him, will result in his being able to persuade them voluntarily to come to him probably after school hours; and that they will be induced to do so by the knowledge that the inspector will have to come round to examine them; and if he could get subscriptions amongst his people so as to have a number of prizes for those who pass the most satisfactory examination, something may be done still to retain that influence which the clergyman ought always to have in the schools of his parish. As to the details of the diocesan inspection, I feel it would be premature for any one of us now to lay them down. The system has not been tried long enough for us to be able to form any detailed plan, but after we have had more experience we shall be able to speak more definitely. But religious instruction in these schools must not be thus dismissed. There are special services for children which they very much enjoy, which the clergyman may have in church; and I must say that the parents of the children, too, enjoy those services, and are very often induced to come to church that they may hear such lessons as a clergyman preaching to the children will give in the questions he will ask. A sermon to children should be a catechetical sermon, and the children should help him to communicate the great truths of the Gospel in their answers. The practice of catechetical instruction in the truth I should like to be universally revived, for I feel it is one point in which many of us have been deficient; and we never can hope that our rising generation will be rooted and grounded in the faith and established in the faith, so as not to be blown about by every wind of doctrine, until there is a much more frequent use of this catechetical instruction in the Church. By this means, too, there will be much better preparation to hear ordinary sermons, for who amongst us does not know that many of the common expressions we use in our discourses are altogether misunderstood simply for the want of that elementary cross-examination—question and answer which would lead to the meaning of the terms employed. I hasten now to speak upon the subject of Sunday-schools, and to offer a few suggestions with reference to them. There is no question, let me say, that our Church Sunday-schools need very great improvement. If there were one weak point in our parochial system upon which I would lay my hand rather than another, it would be the Sunday-schools. Nonconformists beat us out and out in our Sunday-schools. The proof is that many children who come to our National Schools for weekly instruction are induced to go to Nonconformist Sunday-schools, and in many of our parishes there is not that sufficient influence put forth by members of the Church to look after the children which would prevent them being led away to other pastures. I think the faithful members of the Church need to come forward in

greater numbers than they do at present in order to look after the children, and, under the direction of the clergyman, induce them to attend the Sunday-schools, and do all that is necessary to keep them in communion with the Church. I am very glad if this be not a weak point in Leeds, but I am convinced that the clergy generally need to look up our Sunday-schools very much indeed. They need looking after, for first of all the children themselves must be got into the school before we can expect to do them any good, and in large populations the fact is that parents feel very little care about this. They seem to manifest perfect indifference as to whether their children go to school or not; and, therefore, first of all we have that duty to perform. Then teachers themselves need to be taught. When a teacher is in charge of a class, and has got through half an hour of teaching, he sometimes has said all he is able to say, and the next half-hour is spent idly and unprofitably. You cannot say there will be efficient teaching in such a case as that. I know not how to overcome the inefficiency, except by the clergymen becoming a teacher of the teachers, and having classes of instruction weekly for them specially. As to the training of Sunday-school teachers, there is a plan in some schools which works well. To every class, and I quite think there should not be more than ten or twelve children in a class, there is not only a responsible teacher, but an assistant-teacher appointed, while one of the elder children acts as monitor. Both the assistant-teacher and monitor are expected to be with the chief teacher while he is teaching, and the assistant, if not the monitor, ought to be with him while he is preparing his lessons of instruction. As to supplementing the instruction in Sunday-schools, I think when children arrive at a certain age they ought to be instructed in adult classes in a separate room. At least we find this is best in the place where my lot is cast. Lord Chancellor Hatherley has been a noble example of Sunday-school teaching in this way. In an adjoining parish to my own Sir Roundell Palmer has done the same thing; and, as in duty bound, I wish to state that the right hon. the Lord Lyttleton is employed in my district in the same way. It is by the interest taken in the subject by men like these, that we may hope to extend an interest in Sunday-schools amongst other classes, and the time may come when we shall supply some of our wants and repair some of our deficiencies. We have not only to cast the Sunday-school net into the sea, but we have to take care to mend our nets before we cast them in.

DISCUSSION.

Archdeacon Anson.

There is one point referred to by Dr. Hessey, which makes me feel I am not altogether out of place in standing before this company—I mean the point of having an examination for Sunday-school teachers. A trial has been, to my knowledge, made in at least one rural deanery. Having had to take part in the examination, although it has so lately taken place that we have not the results yet laid before us, still there does seem to be ample ground to come to the conclusion that, with great care and consideration, where, as Dr. Hessey has said, it is practicable, the plan may be of the very greatest service. Of course, we cannot expect Sunday-school teachers, all at once, to come forward to submit to an examination unless it is carefully and tenderly put before them. If we desire, as most assuredly we all do desire, the prosperity of our Sunday-schools, we must all of us have noticed that the great want, which comes out prominently at all our meetings, is the want of suitable, devotional Sunday-school teachers. It does seem worthy of the consideration of those who earnestly give their minds to the work, whether such a system of examination may not be established and carried out to a large extent. The question, of course, comes whether this plan, which we are considering, will be a plan to repel or to attract the teachers, and it is, as you must agree, a question of very great importance.

The answer to this question, I think, will come in this way: it depends entirely upon the manner in which that plan is brought before the teachers how it will work. In my parish I can certainly say it has exercised a most healthful influence. I do not say that we have yet succeeded in inducing all the teachers to come to an examination, but those who do come enter most cordially into the system of preparation provided for them, and it has given them a deeper interest in the welfare of the school than ever they had before. Many of those, who at first stayed away, were stirred up by what they heard from others who had come, and there is very good ground for anticipation that all will eventually come. I need not, in an assembly like this, say anything with regard to the advantage of having a definite plan for raising the standard of teaching amongst our teachers, or that it may best be done by inducing the teachers themselves to obtain an exact, clear, definite, practical, and devotional knowledge of God's Holy Word. Conceive the state of things in a number of rural deaneries, where there is a large body of teachers eager, not only in their interest in the work, but in the power of reproducing the knowledge they have obtained, in order to become the good instructors of others. I hope that, whatever is done, the result will be that we shall be able to keep our classes of young people longer than we do at present. For my own part, I have a class of grown-up men, many of them fathers of families. It is, as has been already pointed out, a most serious thing to consider that our scholars often leave us just at the time when it is most important they should be provided with some stimulus, some really true interest, to keep them safe amidst the temptations of life. If they are kept in connection with the school, any classes which they might form should be held, no doubt, in separate rooms. Another point I should like to mention to the Congress is this:—I hear from my brother clergy, who have large parishes in populous districts amongst the masses of the people, that the difficulty is continually increasing of obtaining suitable teachers, because the suburban districts are absorbing them. Now, in my own parish, there is a good woman who taught in one of the poorest parishes in Manchester: she came some two or three years ago to reside in the suburbs; but she has never ceased to come back every Sunday to that poor school. May I say I do not feel out of place in urging this? My deep interest in Sunday-schools was gained just twenty-nine years ago, in one of the poorest districts of this town, and, I trust, it will last to the end of my days. Remembering my first experience, I can say that the devotion which was shown by teachers, who came from the west-end, the pleasant part of Leeds, giving up their time and leisure to districts like Marsh Lane and York Road, gave me an impression of the earnestness which was poured out in this work, which, I believe, has been, by God's blessing, a great means of preserving truth, faith, and Christian sympathy amongst the masses of our people.

Mr. Powell, M.P.

It has been on many occasions my good fortune to address meetings on this great subject of education; but I never had the misfortune to be compelled to condense my observations within the space of ten minutes. I therefore hope I shall receive your indulgence if, perchance, some of my sentiments are expressed in more rugged phrase than would be the case if my minutes were not so few in number. I shall say nothing respecting the Cowper-Temple Clause of the Education Act, to which reference has been made, except to remind the meeting that the Scotch Education Act of 1872 contains no such clause, and to remind you, too, of the second fact—that we are told by cabinet ministers, philosophers, and others, that Scotland is far ahead of England in the matter of education. I hope in the fulness of time, as the cause of religious equality makes progress, England, in this matter, will be equal to Scotland, and that the verdict of the British Parliament, speaking of the English schools, will be in accordance with the sentiments expressed by a Scotch nobleman, who said, when opposing the Cowper-Temple Clause for Scotland—"It was an

affair of liberty and of justice, and it was an act not in accordance with religious freedom to prevent the teacher from making use of the Catechism if he desired it." And now, with reference to Church schools. I consider they might rightly be divided into two classes—Church schools that exist and Church schools that do not exist. With reference to the former I advise you to keep them. Do not make use of that most marvellous clause in our most marvellous statute-book, which enables trustees for the year to transfer ancient endowments to school boards. I know not how the clause found its way into the Act. I rejoice that I myself had no part in the matter, and I hope the time is not far distant when, the first heat, glow, and fervour having abated, the matter may be reconsidered in cool moments, and that the quicksand which is now placed at the foundation of every school in the land will be removed by the abolition or modification of that clause, and that each school may thus stand upon a sound, solid, and permanent basis, not upon a treacherous substructure. I advise all friends of Church education, not only to keep their schools, but on every occasion to build new schools. I do not say proceed to work like madmen, in a fever of enthusiasm and wildness, but as you see opportunities and have the power. I say further, do not be frightened by school boards. School boards just now are in a state of financial exaltation. They have received estimates; they are advertising for tenders; but they have not heard of the extras, and they have not paid for the estimates, the original contracts, or for the extras. Depend upon it, however, a cold fit is sure to supervene upon the hot fit. When I was in Philadelphia last year I called at the school-board office, and found every one solemn, gloomy, sorrowing; nay, I think one of the gentlemen wept. What was the reason? Because the taxing authority of Philadelphia had refused a grant of thousands of dollars required to complete schools which had been already begun; and I have in my hand the memorable words of caution which appeared in the report of the school board of the city of Boston, in Massachusetts, for the year ending last December. They were a note of warning, and as follows:—"There is no country in the world where there is so much enterprise in educational matters as in America, and yet this enterprise is not so fruitful as it might be made. It is an enterprise too generally accompanied by wastefulness. The most obvious proof of this assertion is in the recent American school architecture; but lack of economy in erecting schools is of trivial importance in comparison with the waste of educational affairs in the school-room." Now, if I had the honour of addressing a school board I should say—"Gentlemen, place in one of your rooms, and observe and practise this adage, 'Waste not, want not.'" You may depend upon it that ere long this exuberant desire to spend the money of the ratepayers will cease—that the hour is fast coming when the school boards will want; and depend upon it what they will want will be the friends of the existing schools; what they will most desire to have is the co-operation of the Christian people that have built our schools; and the last thing the school boards will be willing to lose will be that vast educational machinery which has been so nobly constructed. I wish to jerk out, if I might so say, another idea. There is in England, rightly or wrongly, a great desire for compulsory education. In many cases school boards have been constructed in order that compulsory education might be produced. What I wish is, that we could immediately accept the fact that there is that desire, and that, while accepting the fact, we could introduce into Parliament at the beginning of next session a bill given to some local authority, either to the magistrates or to some body representing the ratepayers which already exists—not one created for the purpose—the power of passing compulsory bye-laws. Those compulsory bye-laws will receive in every case the sanction of the Privy Council. They are assuming more and more each day, as any person who gives himself the trouble of reading the bye-laws will discern, a uniformity of tone and language. Therefore there will be no difficulty whatever in sanctioning bye-laws so framed, being framed as they must be in accordance with precedents already in existence. I do hope this matter will receive practical attention, and that when Parliament meets a bill may be introduced establishing throughout England bye-laws to carry out that compulsory education, which I know to be in accordance with the wish of the English people.

The Rev. Canon Barry.

I appear before you to-day in a character which is not considered highly ecclesiastical—the character of a member of a school board, and, moreover, a member of the London school board, which is, I fancy, at this moment, one of the best abused bodies in existence, especially in Church circles. But, at the same time, as I became a member of the school board, not only because I was deeply interested in education, but also because I wished to keep that education religious, and because I emphatically desired that Church education should have fair play, perhaps you will allow me to make a few very brief and general remarks upon the subject. There are three points which I would wish to bring before this meeting.

The first is this:—Speaking to those who are managers and directors of Church schools, I would press upon them most earnestly to keep those schools in their own hands. I say to them—"Do not, on any account, if you can possibly help it, allow them to fall under the dominion of the school boards." I will tell you why. In the first place, we on the school boards have as much and more than we can do already. In the next place, your schools, as places of religious instruction, if they do their duty only moderately, will have enormous advantages over ours. In the first place, they can teach with a definite creed,—a power, which I am afraid is denied to us. In the next place, they can teach with an authority, their teachers being, as it were, ministers of the Church, which no ministers of the State or servants of the rate-paying community can possibly command. Again, there ought to be, and generally is, in the management of a voluntary school, an amount of friendliness, good feeling, and union, harmony of action of all classes of the community, which can seldom be secured in any merely legal system. But I say further, these schools, not merely for the sake of the schools themselves, but for the sake of ours also. Where schools on the system at present established, and under the ordinary reading of the Cowper-Temple Clause, cover, as in America, the whole area of education, they are apt to fade gradually into mere secularism; but where our Church schools exist side by side with them as places of distinct religious tone and definite religious teaching, then, if only by the contagion of an honourable example, they will, while the English people desire religious education, contrive under all difficulties to give it. Therefore, the first thing I would say is this—Make any sacrifice to keep your schools. I know it is hard. It is what men of the world call against human nature and impossible; but the Church has shown the world before, and will show it again, that she can do what it deems impossible, because she has certain powers not dreamt of in its philosophy.

I would venture to say, in the next place, that our school board system, at least in the minds of most of us, postulates the Sunday-school system as its most needful complement. These Sunday-schools, very necessary under any circumstances, are especially necessary in the prospect of a large extension of our school board system. I believe there is a great future before the Sunday-schools of the Church of England, if only they will remember one important thing—that Sunday, after all, is a day of rest, and that it must not be made a day of drudgery to the children. I am not speaking merely of those wretched arrangements by which children are dragged from school to Church, and from Church to school, until they hate the very name of Sunday. What I mean is, that there is in all learning what may be called a receptive attitude and an active attitude. The latter is the attitude of work, and the former of rest. In all true education they must be mingled in the learner's mind; but if the Sunday is meant to be a day of rest to the children, what I call the receptive attitude, which receives impressions, must be the prominent one, and not the spirit of bustling activity and hard work. Much depends, no doubt, upon the intellectual teaching in the Sunday-schools; but very much more depends upon the tone created by them, and the way in which they are made a bond of religious union between the classes of the community.

Lastly, may I say a word in relation to our school board work? I do most earnestly hope that there will not grow up a feeling of hostility and antagonism between the two

systems of education which are now working side by side. I grant that those who direct Church schools may have been put in positions of difficulty, may have had provocation; but I entreat them not to get into a position of antagonism from which it will be almost impossible to recede. I have seen some growing antagonism already. I have not been surprised at it, but I have seen it with great pain. I fancy I have sometimes traced it, not merely in individual feeling, but in the direction of the National Society for Promoting Church Education. This is a great misfortune. We are labouring under great difficulty to keep our school board schools places really of religious tone; but if there is this feeling of antagonism created, you may depend upon it that you will throw the school boards into the hands of the secular party, and that you will spoil that great and most difficult experiment which is being tried now. I believe it is an experiment which never ought to have been tried, because I believe that to take the Bible without the Church is to take the Bible as God never gave it to the world. Nevertheless, we are forced to try it; and the alternative is, will you have these board schools secular, or will you have them as really religious as under the circumstances they can attempt to be? I ask you for that tenderness, that consideration, that willingness to overlook defect, which I think all may in some degree claim who are engaged in conducting an experiment of great difficulty, and yet of most unspeakable importance.

These are the points which I would beg to urge upon the attention of this meeting; I believe they are points of great moment and of some urgency; and I trust, therefore, that briefly as I have been able to state them, they may supply food for serious consideration, and, if they be found true, for practical fruit.

The Primus of Scotland (Bishop of Moray and Ross).

I venture to address a few words to you on this occasion, remembering what I was myself doing twenty years ago as a priest of the Church of England. Finding that Sunday-schools formed a subject to be brought before this Congress, I thought I might bring before you some impressions with regard to Sunday-schools, which were made on my mind when engaged in work in the Church of England. I became strongly impressed with the feeling that we had omitted to use the Sunday-school which the Church itself had instituted, and that what had led to the adoption of our present system of Sunday-schools was the universal neglect of the Church's order for catechising after the Second Lesson. Had that been carried out, I believe the necessity for Sunday-schools would not have arisen. I remember reading a passage in the life of Bishop Fleetwood, in which he mentioned that, while travelling in England, it was his lot to rest for a Sunday in a small country village, and on attending church in the afternoon, he was surprised to find after the second lesson a large number of adults standing up and submitting to be catechised. He was much struck that persons of that age should be willing to submit to this kind of instruction, but upon inquiry he found that some good man, many years before, had directed the distribution of so many loaves every Sunday evening to as many adults as would be willing to submit to catechetical instruction. And, as the good Bishop said, this was a gift intended to do good both to body and soul. But as catechetical instruction had been given up (although, I thank God, it is being very generally revived, and I hope it will spread through the Church), the necessity for Sunday-schools arose. My own experience, however, was this—I had a parish of less than 2,000 (and therefore I do not speak with reference to Sunday-schools in large towns and cities, where I believe they are absolute necessities), but I am speaking of smaller places; and I found, as many of my brother clergy found also, that as soon as boys were old enough to leave the Sunday-school they were missed at church, and I found that when I did not require them to attend, there was nobody to require it. I found that they went out on Sunday bird-nesting, and occupying themselves with matters they had much better have left alone. So I began to reflect, why was this? Have I done right in taking

those children to church every Sunday? Ought I to be *in loco parentis* on the Sunday as I was willing to be during the week in having them at the day-school? It then occurred to me that the parents were the proper people to take their children to church on Sunday, I resolved to consult my parishioners on the subject, and I represented to them what their duty was. I pointed out that, in consequence of my having undertaken their duties, both they and their children had lost the proper sense of their responsibilities. I well remember the remark of one of my fishermen to whom I spoke on this subject. I had observed from the first time when I entered upon the work of the parish, that he always sat by his aged mother in church. When I had mentioned to him my impressions that it was *his* duty to take his children to church, he paused for a few moments, and then said—"You are right, sir. I remember always going to church with my mother; and I never could have thought of not going to church with her." The man was forty years of age at that time, and had always gone to church with his mother, but after this he was invariably found with his own boys, as well as his mother, sitting together in church. I throw this out as a suggestion to my brother clergy in country parishes, to consider whether it might not be better to use the Sunday School-room as a place in which to collect those children only whose parents will not take them to church, in order that they may attend Divine worship, and when there to catechise them after the Second Lesson, and thus teach the older members of the congregation over the heads of the children. It is of the greatest importance that the parental tie should be cultivated, and parents be made aware of what is required of them towards their children. In conclusion, let me briefly remark that there is one obstacle in the way of schools, whether day or Sunday-schools, accomplishing the good which many hope and desire from them. I allude to the dwellings of the poor, in which, through no fault of theirs, female modesty, one of woman's greatest safeguards, is early and rudely destroyed, and the sense of shame is almost annihilated in the family. If schools and churches fail in checking the torrent of iniquity, let not the first stone be cast at the clergy and school teachers, and least of all at fallen women. Mischief, in many cases irreparable, has been already caused through the neglect, indifference, or thoughtlessness of the owners of cottage property, even before the little children are sent to school, or are old enough to come to church. And this mischief cannot be counteracted until the owners of house property awaken to a sense of their responsibility, and take care that the dwellings which they provide for the Christian poor of this land are something better and more decent than the wigwams of the Indians.

Mr. Collins, M.P.

So much has been said by Mr. Powell and Dr. Barry in accordance with my own views, that I hope I shall succeed in saying what I have to say within the limit of ten minutes. I shall say nothing whatever upon Sunday-schools, or the mode of inspection in our Church schools, but shall treat upon this subject—the duty which Churchmen owe to schools connected with boards and schools in the hands of voluntary managers. With reference to board schools, I hold it to be the duty of Churchmen to do all they can in board elections; first of all, to elect those persons on school boards who will be favourable to give fair play to the old schools; and, secondly, to secure as far as possible that in board schools the education given should be of a religious character. I was very glad to hear the explanation that has been given—namely, that the Cowper-Temple clause did not prohibit —was not intended to prohibit—the use of all creeds and formularies, but prohibited the use of only such creeds and catechisms as were peculiar to different denominations, such, for instance, as the Confession of Westminster, which was peculiar to the Presbyterians, the Church Catechism, peculiar to Churchmen, and the Creed of Pope Pius, which is peculiar to the Church of Rome. There was no intention on the part of Parliament to prohibit the teaching of the Apostles' Creed. So far was that from being the case, that a motion made by Mr. Jacob Bright, that no teaching whatever of a denominational character

be allowed in schools was rejected by a majority of, I believe, two to one. Therefore I consider the school board, though they may be acting in the interests of their constituencies, are certainly not doing what was necessarily intended by the Act when they refused to admit even the teaching of the Apostles' Creed in board schools. This is a subject more important in its bearing upon the future than upon the present. Very likely we shall some day have school boards in every district, and we may have to make up our minds to compulsion in every district. That being so, we have a right to ask that the same justice shall be dealt out to Englishmen as was dealt to Scotland last session. We Churchmen who acquiesced unwillingly in this compromise, on the understanding that our old schools were to be let alone, and the grant increased—we acquiesced, in this compromise, which interferes with the principle of local self-government and civil and religious liberty—we acquiesced, I say, in this as a compromise; but if we are to have board schools everywhere, then I claim, on behalf of the people of the Church of England, what has been given to the people of Scotland, that the managers of schools, whether or not in the hands of boards, shall not have their hands tied behind them, but if they think fit they shall teach religion in that form which best commends itself to their wisdom. There is another point which we, as Churchmen, have a right to look to. We have a right to look to the principle embodied in clause 25, that is, that the right of the parent to select where his child shall be sent shall never be taken away from any Englishman. It is a right conceded to the meanest criminal in a gaol to choose of what chaplain's religious services he will avail himself, and we ought not to put the poor of our country, in reference to their children, in a worse position than that of felons in our gaols. Another thing Churchmen may with advantage agitate for is this—that the parents of children who cannot perform what the State says is their duty, and cannot afford to pay for their children's education, shall be treated as we provided for Scotland in the last session of Parliament. We have said that school boards shall have nothing whatever to do with providing education where the parent is too poor to pay for it, but that such payment shall be made by the parish authorities; and there is a great advantage in this, because their duty does not clash with that of the school board authorities. Those guardians can therefore have no jealousy, whether the child of the pauper goes to a board school, or non-board school. In this system, which ought to be applied to England, it would simply be given as relief to the parents in respect of his child, whom he cannot provide educationally for, leaving it free to the parent to choose any school that he thinks fit. With reference to voluntary schools, I think the advice given by Dr. Barry and Mr. Powell is the wisest and soundest that can be given to any body of Churchmen—that is to say, not only keep what schools you have got, but extend them, and insist upon the principle that they shall have fair play by the State, and that there shall be no endeavour to prevent their increase; that they shall always be held to be the best pattern of a school, and not be treated as an inferior order of school, but rather that the board school is an inferior order, and merely of supplemental nature. The intention of Parliament was not to supersede, but to supply existing deficiencies. And Churchmen have been placed in this very unfair position, though perhaps it was a necessity of the case having been placed in this position, that they have to keep up their own schools, and pay rates to keep up, very likely, schools practically based more upon the British and Foreign type than the Church type. I think I am justified in saying, that whilst on the one hand it is very rare for trustees of any Church school to be willing to transfer their school to the board, it is no uncommon thing for members of Nonconforming communities to transfer their schools to the boards, and get a very good rent for them, and utilise them for other purposes on Sundays. I do not complain of this, but it ought to be widely known that the Education Act, which Churchmen are ready to work honestly and fairly, does not act justly towards the Church; and that if any alteration is to take place in that Act the change must be in favour of the Church, doing for her what has been done in Scotland, transferring at once the relief of these poor children to the boards of guardians, and getting rid of the iniquitous Cowper-Temple clause, which is an invasion of our civil and religious liberty, and that loca self-government of which we have so much reason to be proud.

The Bishop of Manchester.

On the other hand, Mr. Collins has told us he believed the time would come when school boards would be spread over every corner of the land. That may be so; and if so, I do not know that Churchmen need dread it. I, for one, regret more than anything else the prospect that opens before us of intensifying the bitterness that at present exists between the different religious denominations, in consequence of the question as to the amount of definite religious teaching which it may be possible to get into school board schools being left open. I have no belief myself in the modern nostrum of putting the Bible into the hands of the teacher with the simple direction that he is at liberty to explain it at his own sweet will and pleasure. I am aware that it is the fashion to call this "unsectarian teaching;" but I am quite sure, from what I saw in America, that it would be likely to lead, not only to sectarianism of the intensest kind, but to a sectarianism which, as each successive teacher took charge of the school, would vary in its character, and thoroughly perplex the minds of the children. But if it were possible for school board schools to accept as the basis of religious teaching the Apostles' Creed, which I believe is recognised as the basis of faith by all orthodox Nonconformists; if they would consent to teach the Lord's Prayer—as they could hardly refuse to do—to those young children who are committed to their charge; and if they would teach the Ten Commandments, and allow the exposition of them in the simple, practical way in which they are explained in our Church Catechism, then it seems to me we have a solid, sound, and sufficient basis for the definite religious education of all the children of the land, even if school board schools should become universally prevalent; and Canon Melville has told us that such an interpretation of the language of Clause 14 of the Education Act is not only legitimate and logical, but was the actual sense entertained of its language by its propounder. I have noticed at school board elections—I know it is so in my own city of Manchester—that they are more and more assuming the character of partisan controversies. I was invited in Manchester to a meeting of Churchmen to consider what steps they should take as Churchmen to secure the election of Churchmen to fill up vacancies which had recently occurred in the school board. Now, I hope, indeed I know I am not indifferent to the religious opinions of those who are elected to fill school board offices, but I do honestly say that I would prefer a man of strong denominational bias to a simply earnest and religious one, so long as he was a man who was intelligently acquainted with the phenomena of education, and was content to take his stand on the basis which Canon Melville has sketched out. It would be a miserable thing if, in addition to all the elements of disintegration of religious belief existing at the present moment, we were to impart into the school boards this partisanship and denominationalism which are dividing us, as I am afraid, more and more one from another. Anyone who looks at phenomena with a calm and unprejudiced mind must see that this is so. The great Nonconformist body, the Wesleyan Methodists, are wavering at this moment on this vital question. The matter has been referred to a committee. We do not know what the issue may be, but we do know that the question was raised in the Wesleyan Conference, by one of their most active and most respected members, whether the Wesleyans should not accept the programme of the Birmingham League; and I, for one, feel that the question is standing on a very perilous foundation at the present moment. If, then, we could only persuade school boards to agree to accept in all schools, which are taught under the Cowper-Temple Clause, the basis indicated by Canon Melville, I think we shall have secured a definite basis for religious education, which Churchmen, at least, can heartily and cordially accept as their standing ground. I am inclined to think that it is a question even more important for school boards than for Churchmen. For I fancy that school boards will very soon find themselves in a position of considerable embarrassment. The London School Board is contemplating the building of schools for a hundred thousand scholars, and those schools will require to be managed. It is an old axiom that as the teacher is so is the school. I do not know whether the axiom is as old, but I think it is equally as true, that as mana-

gers are so will be the school; for managers select the teachers, and superintend the teachers, and thus it is remotely through them that the teacher influences the school. The twenty-seven—or whatever the number may be—of the members of the London School Board cannot hope personally to take the management of the schools containing those hundred thousand children. I know that by the 15th clause of the Education Act they can delegate the management to others, but where are the others to whom to delegate that management? Those who for love of the cause have undertaken the management of the schools hitherto would be alienated, or at best indifferent, if those schools became mere seminaries of secular education; and, therefore, I believe that school boards will, in their own interest, be glad to recognise a basis of definite religious teaching upon which they could secure the loyal and hearty co-operation of religious men and women, whether Churchmen or Nonconformists. Reference has been made to the increased responsibility which the Education Act has thrown upon the clergy. I hope the clergy will recognise that increased responsibility. I am not satisfied that in the last ten years the clergy of the Church of England have shown as deep and active an interest in the welfare of their schools as they did five-and-twenty years ago. Their attention has been occupied by other and, I venture to say, infinitely smaller matters. If there is one matter more vital to us as a Church than another, it is that we shall not lose our hold upon the consciences and intelligence of the young. I will try to confine myself as closely as possible to the subject to which I wish to ask the attention of the meeting. If Dr. Barry had not left the room I should have ventured personally to thank him for the parting counsel he gave us, to avoid the semblance of antagonism between Churchmen and school boards. I further cordially endorse the suggestion which, I believe, was originally made by Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, at a meeting at Haslingden last year, which I attended—that the operation of the 25th clause had better be left in the hands of boards of guardians than of school boards. Having said this, I will confine my remarks solely to the important subject which has been laid before us in the able paper of Canon Melville, which I should be very glad if the Church Congress would print at its expense, and distribute to every school board in the country. The Cowper-Temple Clause might, perhaps, be described by a somewhat extravagant flight of rhetoric as an "iniquitous clause;" but if we could empty it of its iniquity, and make the schools established by school boards still places of religious education, we should be doing good service both to the cause we have at heart and to the school boards themselves. I am not in the habit of indulging in vaticination before I know. Amongst the contradictory prophecies put forth by different speakers, Mr. Powell apprehended the decay of the school boards, and their rapid extinction, failing supplies. Now I believe the ratepayers have no power to withold the supplies if the school board issues its precept.

Mr. Powell, M.P.—Allow me to explain. What I said was that the disposition to spend money extravagantly would cease, and would give place to undue economy.

Sir John Pakington, Bart., M.P.

Even the few brief moments which yet remain in the course of this session will, I think, be sufficient for me, at least, to declare the deep regret and dissatisfaction with which I regard the operation of the great Act of 1870, so far as it relates to religious teaching. We have been told to-day, and no doubt with much force, that we must rely, in compensation for that part of the Act, upon the action of Sunday-schools. I am quite aware that the natural effect of the Education Act will do much to stimulate the action of Sunday-schools, and I hope and trust they will rise to the duties which will be imposed upon them. But I, for one, am not content that the teaching of the rising generation, in matters of religion, shall be left to the action of Sunday-schools. This leads me to express my strong belief that the portion of the Act which relates to religious teaching is not in harmony with the public opinion of this country. I believe Parliament wrongly read public

opinion upon this point. I believe the action of Parliament was influenced by that timidity to which my rev. friend, Canon Melville, has alluded, timidity of a double nature—timidity founded partly upon an erroneous distrust of the real state of public opinion, and timidity founded, secondly, upon that necessity, under which all Governments are placed, of remembering the obstructive power of minorities. Now, I think I can give a little proof, but I fear I may, in some small degree, differ in opinion from my right rev. friend who has just sat down. I will allude to a proof of the timidity of Parliament. On two occasions, while that Act was passing through the Legislature, I myself moved that the Holy Scriptures, of course protected by a conscience clause, should be taught and read in every school. I was supported by a miserable minority of less than a hundred votes. My belief is, if the House of Commons had voted upon the question by that ballot which is now so much in fashion, the minority would have been reversed, and that a large majority would have sanctioned the great principle, that the Holy Scriptures ought to be read in every school in this Protestant country. I told a Liberal member, a distinguished friend of mine, what I was about to do, and asked him what he thought of it. "Think of it," he said; "why I agree with you entirely." I said, "Then I presume I shall have the advantage of your vote?" He replied, "Oh, dear no. That is quite a different thing. That must depend on Mr. Gladstone." This simple fact may go far to prove what was the real influence which was acting in the House of Commons when they refused to sanction the reading of the Holy Scriptures. I now come back to the question—Is the present state of the law with regard to religious teaching in England in harmony with the nation and the public? My belief is that the great majority of Churchmen and Dissenters in this country desire a greater freedom of religious instruction. My belief is—if I am correct in that assumption—that, as in all other matters, public opinion will prevail. I do not believe that the British public will long be content that the rising masses of this country should be so restricted in religious teaching as they now are. In the meantime what are we to do? We must trust, as we have been told to do in some degree, in diocesan action. So far as the Church is concerned, and here I call to my mind my right rev. friend's suggestion as to the paper read by my friend Canon Melville—that even under the Cowper-Temple Clause, and those restrictions to which we are all subject, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer may be taught, and then, even placed as we are, we shall be enabled, to a great extent, to lay the foundation of religious teaching for our people.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, 11th OCTOBER.

The Right Reverend the PRESIDENT took the Chair at Two o'clock.

THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH IN WALES.

Mr. H. C. RAIKES read the following paper:—

THE position of the Church in Wales is, without doubt, one of considerable and singular difficulty. If the inevitable embarrassments which are created by the peculiar circumstances of the Principality had been in no way augmented by the past shortcomings of the Church herself, the obstacles which must be encountered by her ministers in the due performance of her service, would, in any case, have greatly exceeded those which hinder the usefulness of the clergy in other parts of the kingdom. A pious people, passionately attached to the main truths of Christianity; the employment, in most districts, of the bulk of the population in the innocent pursuits of rural life; the absence in all the counties but one of large masses congregated in great towns; the beneficial influence exercised by a resident and popular body of landowners; all these might be considered as matters tending to promote and to facilitate the successful working of the Church in any part of the country where they are found so largely as in Wales. But while parishes in England, where such elements of good are discoverable, only in a much smaller degree than in most parts of the Principality, can show a large majority of inhabitants belonging to the Established Church, there is perhaps not a single parish in Wales where Churchmen are not outnumbered by Dissenters; and as far as, in the absence of that national religious census which has been so consistently and with such obvious prudence opposed by Nonconformists, any estimate can be formed regarding the proportion of adherents to be assigned respectively to the religious denominations in Wales, there can be no doubt that the Church, though she may perhaps bear a favourable comparison with many, if not with every one, of her competitors taken singly, is yet in a decided minority when all their forces are reckoned together against her.

The exact proportion of the minority to the majority, though as might naturally be expected, a subject of eager and not always scrupulous controversy, is, however, hardly a topic which can be satisfactorily or accurately examined within the limits of such a paper as this. Whether the Church population of Wales is estimated, as there would appear to be some reason for estimating it, at some number not far short of one third of the whole; whether it may be taken, as I think Mr. Bevan, in his able pamphlets on the question is disposed to place it, at something between a fourth and a fifth; or whether we are content to accept such sources of information as satisfy some of our Dissenting friends that they

are warranted in proclaiming it as only a tenth of the inhabitants it is scarcely necessary to investigate on an occasion like the present. We admit that we are in a decided minority. We know that we ought not to be in such a position. Some of us at any rate are inclined shrewdly to suspect that it is mainly by our own fault that we find ourselves thus placed. And all are, I hope, equally resolved that it shall not be by any fault of the Church or of Churchmen if we are to fail in our efforts to convert that minority into a majority.

The most superficial observer of contemporary event sees, of course, at a glance, that the difficulty created by the co-existence of the two languages, Welsh and English, in almost every district of Wales, constitutes the most obvious and formidable hindrance to the exertions of a ministry which has not only to speak with two tongues, but to serve two masters. And the most indifferent reader of Church History cannot fail to be aware of the effect produced by the apathy of the Church in former times, especially during the eighteenth century, upon the emotional and enthusiastic temperament of the Welsh people. It is easy enough to enlarge upon these now tolerably trite topics; to dilate upon the hard lot of a Church which, called upon as I have said to serve two masters, has necessarily found herself constrained to cling to the one and despise the other. And it is not difficult to find in the defective organisation and imperfect appreciation of duty which characterized the Church in Wales a hundred years ago the materials for a self-complacent contrast with the energy and fervour which are displayed in her service in the present day. Yet to realise a difficulty is not quite the same thing as to surmount it; and it does not appear that the greatest possible energy and devotion displayed in shutting the door by which the steed has escaped is altogether tantamount to getting him back into the stable. It might almost seem that the recognition of the difficulty caused by the two languages had burst upon the rulers of the Church with undue force, so as to render them, in their anxiety to remove this stumbling-block out of their way, almost indifferent to the various minor embarrassments which were sure to result from inconsiderate action. It might be imagined that the bishops and the ministers of the Crown, as soon as they realised the fact that a Welsh-speaking population were scarcely likely to be greatly attracted to Church by services performed and sermons preached in the English tongue, exclaimed with one voice, "Perish all other considerations, we must have a Welsh-speaking clergy."

I do not wish for a moment to disparage a zeal which, if it had been long in conception, certainly went forth into the world with all the best disposition to make up for lost time. But while I most fully admit the necessity of providing for the Welsh people the ministrations of the Church in their own tongue, I may, perhaps, be excused if I endeavour to point out a few considerations which appear to me to have been scarcely appreciated by those who sought to recover the Church's hold upon the people by a Welsh ministry. The point of view from which I shall regard this question is naturally rather that of a layman than that of a clergyman; and it is, perhaps, because this subject has usually been treated by clergymen connected with Wales, as is, of course, natural enough, that such observations as I feel it right to make have not been made before upon such occasions as this; inasmuch as they are not the

most likely in the world to occur to, or to be entertained by, clerical minds. All that I can say is, that I ask pardon by anticipation if I shall offend any susceptibilities, national or personal, in what I advance, assuring those whom I address that any such offence will be due to this, not that I love the clergy less, but the Church more.

Nobody can question the great change for the better that is apparent in the organisation of our Church in Wales since the rule of requiring a Welsh-speaking clergy has been enforced. We have more clergymen, and clergymen much more zealous in the performance of their duties than in other times. We have more churches and more services in them; many more schools, and that element of hope for the future which cannot be wanting to a Church which has successfully grappled with her duty of training the young. But our progress, if we can call it progress at all, has been very slow. Why is this? Our clergy are, as I have said, pious, and devoted beyond all comparison with their predecessors, and they speak as their own the language of their humbler parishioners. But they are in a great majority of cases almost entirely without that influence in their parishes which their English brethren always enjoy, unless they lose it by their own fault. May it not be possible, then, that in their anxiety to provide a Welsh-speaking ministry, the rulers of the Church have not only disregarded some considerations that deserve recognition in every ecclesiastical system, but also overlooked some special circumstances connected with the Established Church in Wales which called for careful deliberation? Was not the very fact that in order to supply a Welsh ministry it became necessary to create Lampeter a reason for some circumspection before a policy was stereotyped upon the Church which made it necessary to depend upon Lampeter, not merely as a supplementary resource for a particular class of ministers, but as the main feeder of the ranks of the Welsh clergy? And should not the bishops, wherever they have left themselves any scope for discretion in the selection of incumbents, be careful not to subordinate every other qualification to an acquaintance with the Welsh language? I speak as a resident in Wales for many years, as a personal friend of many a Welsh clergyman, as a sincere admirer of the innocent lives and willing devotion to the service of the Church, which I know by experience to distinguish our humblest clergy in Wales, when I feel bound to confess that, if the Church is to recover her position in Wales, nay, even if she is to hold what she now possesses, we must find in future among her ministers men of more culture and wider experience than can be obtained by a farmer's son in two or three years at Lampeter. But it may be asked, is not the poor scholar, the picked man of the lower middle class, precisely the very material out of which the Church has coined some of her very greatest divines? Yes; but I must ask in return, are we so sure that we get these picked men, these poor scholars whom mediæval tradition has invested with so much interest, for the service of our Church in Wales? Let us just look at the probabilities of our obtaining such a result under existing circumstances. The Welsh gentry do not send their sons to Lampeter; let us consider the attractions which it offers to the sons of farmers and tradesmen. Take the case of a tolerably well-to-do farmer, himself most likely a Dissenter, or if not actually a member of any Nonconformist congregation, at least connected

with Dissent both by family ties and personal sympathy. Suppose such a man to have two sons whom he wishes to push in the world, both young men religiously brought up and sincerely attached to religion; suppose one of them to have those gifts which usually impel youths of promise into the clerical profession, an ardent temperament, a command of language, which may in time develope into oratorical excellence, a desire to obtain that influence over the minds of men which may be employed to the salvation of their souls; suppose the other to possess less shining parts, less ambition, less activity of mind, less eloquence. When these two young men reach the age when Lampeter is open to them, what are the prospects of life which the present state of society in Wales offers? They may choose between the lot of a Dissenting minister and that of an ordained clergyman. The former seems to promise opportunities for early distinction, a field for boundless popularity, and ever increasing influence—and this popularity and influence to be enjoyed in the very sphere of life most congenial to their own tastes and training. The latter holds out a much severer discipline, a longer novitiate, a small but certain income, which will not become smaller if sermons are dull, or duty somewhat slovenly performed, a system of promotion by seniority, or something very like it, which may bring a tolerably good benefice within the reach of a respectable man, if he will only live long enough to arrive at it, as well as a social advancement *ex-officio*, which an aspiring genius thinks rather a degradation than a preferment, but which is not without its charms for a humbler and more contented disposition. What, then, is the obvious consequence, the every day result, of such a choice being submitted to such young minds? The enterprising brilliant spirit, gifted with the tongue that will influence thousands of his fellow-countrymen, becomes a Dissenting minister. The respectable humdrum plodder, after a moment's hesitation between the farm and the Church, goes to Lampeter, is in due time ordained, obtains a curacy, where he conducts himself irreproachably; after a few years obtains a small benefice from the bishop, where he finds very little to do; and if he does not get into any particular difficulty or embarrassment with his parishioners, may hope before he dies to be again promoted by his kind diocesan to a really good living, where he may end his days in peace.

I do not of course pretend to say that the whole of the Welsh clergy are to be judged by this sample. They are not by any means all Lampeter men; nor are all Lampeter men like the portrait which I have endeavoured to draw. But the leaven of Lampeter works sufficiently to leaven the whole mass. And, although we have brilliant exceptions, the result of our present system is to provide a clergy not very unlike, as a rule, to the worthy man whom I have set before you as a type. I am not now going to discuss the question whether such a clergy as we have in Wales would have been able, had they existed in the days when the poorer part of the population was seceding to keep them within the fold. They might, or they might not. But what I wish to press upon public opinion, and upon those who sit in the high places of the Church, is, that they are powerless to retain the stray sheep; and to warn the advocates of Welsh speaking, as the one thing needful to a Welsh clergyman, that they do not, while powerless to recover the Welsh-speaking Dissenters,

alienate the English-speaking Churchmen. This is the great danger of the Church in Wales at this moment. It is not really a question of race so much as a question of culture. You have lost the masses, but you retain the educated classes. Do not, in your anxiety to provide pastors who could minister to the masses, if they could induce them to return, officer your battalions with men unable to influence that educated part of the community which still remains within your pale. As surely as the fox-hunting non-resident pluralist of another generation lost to the church the pious poor, so surely will the half-educated, stolid, unsympathetic divine, whose one qualification is a knowledge of a language in which few will come to hear him preach, alienate the interest which is yet warmly felt in church matters by the educated laity. I will be the first to confess that the Church should not, in any Welsh parish, leave herself without a witness to her divine mission, who can speak in a tongue understood by the people. But can it be right that in whole districts we should find ourselves without the presence of a single clergyman, who can meet the difficulties or argue with the doubts which perplex the more cultivated intellects of the day, or assert, with that modest firmness which belongs to and influences refined minds, the authority of his sacred office.

A movement has been lately set on foot, with the sanction of many eminent friends of the Church in North Wales, to provide additional Welsh services and Welsh-speaking curates for poor parishes; and, far from deprecating their objects, I think the movement one which may be directed to very beneficial results. But if to-day's discussion can serve to impress upon those who are at the head of it the importance of keeping in view, at the same time, two principal considerations, to which I will now invite attention, I shall esteem myself infinitely indebted to this Congress for the opportunity allowed me of bringing them under notice.

The two points on which I would lay stress are—

1. The institution of a subordinate order of readers, whose functions should resemble those exercised in our great centres of population by city missionaries, but whose operations should be directed, not by a mixed committee, such as those which superintend those excellent men, but by the bishop of the diocese; and—

2. The substitution, by a process similar to that carried on under Lord Westbury's Act, of lay for Episcopal patronage in moderate benefices.

It will be necessary that I should treat these two subjects, which may appear at first sight sufficiently distinct, to a certain degree together as parts of one scheme. What I wish to obtain for the Church in Wales is the service, on the one hand, of a class of men who now often become Dissenting ministers; and, on the other, of those belonging to the more educated and refined classes, who might, under more favourable circumstances, be found in charge of many a Welsh parish, but are now attracted into other professions; or, if they enter the Church, seek occupation and preferment in England. I do not say that the rule which is now followed, requiring a knowledge of the Welsh vernacular in clergymen instituted to Welsh preferment, can be or ought to be abandoned, until provision has been made for the service of a

genuinely-Welsh ministry. And I feel sure that a different order of ministers, trained in a different manner, with a view to different gifts, and on a different model from those now set up as a standard for the Welsh clergy, might achieve a success in the reconciliation of the Welsh poor to the Church not hitherto dreamed of in our Church's philosophy. Nor am I less confident that a change in the administration of patronage would not only create a fresh interest in the Church and Church affairs among the landowners of Wales, but would serve to bring into positions, where their presence would be of incalculable value, men of trained ability and intellectual distinction, to whom all avenues of promotion are now shut in Wales, by the double bar of a necessity of Welsh speech and a system of preferment, conducted in the main according to the rule of diocesan seniority. For let no one suppose that Wales is barren in theological capacity or ecclesiastical distinction. From the days of Pelagius to those of the late Vicar of Broadchalke, theological controversy has exercised singular fascinations over the acutest minds of the Cambrian race. And perhaps the most erudite of modern controversialists, whose return to our Church has been one of the most gratifying incidents in our recent Church history, as well as perhaps one of the most eminent of those university luminaries who have found a new sphere of usefulness in superintending and directing clerical education, are at this moment to be numbered among the clergymen of Welsh birth, though not among Welsh clergymen.

Although I am quite certain that many who are here to-day can treat both these points with much greater professional experience, as well as much more practical sagacity than myself, if they will condescend to discuss them at all, I suppose I am in duty bound to offer some suggestions as to the mode of carrying out the two projects of Reform which I have propounded. To be brief, then, I would suggest that the order of readers, who should be selected rather by a test of high personal character, and of oratorical power, than by those which most properly are applied to candidates for higher and more responsible positions in the Church, should be ordained by the bishop, somewhat after the rite already adopted by more than one of our prelates in establishing an order of deaconesses; that they should be supported by a diocesan fund, to be administered by the bishop or a diocesan council; that they should be licensed, but always for a fixed period only (taking in this a hint from the Wesleyan organisation which is so successful in securing able and devoted ministers), to assist the parochial clergy in districts where such assistance appears needful, but that such license should be liable to be revoked or extended at the discretion of the bishop; that in the parishes in which they should be licensed to act, they should work in strict subordination to the parochial clergy; that their functions should consist in visiting the sick, in holding mission services, in preaching either in school rooms or similar places, or even in parish churches, with the consent of the incumbent and churchwardens; in fine, that they should supply that element of enthusiasm so important in winning the confidence of an emotional people, but which is so sadly deficient in our present ecclesiastical system throughout Wales, and that they should carry the message of the Gospel to the poor, not only in their own language, but in their own way. But while I would thus

endeavour to enlist in the service of the Church men sufficiently numerous in Wales, for whom she has now no place, but whose co-operation is necessary for the evangelization of a people like the Welsh. I would urge no less the paramount importance of endeavouring at once, by such means as I have suggested, and by any others that may recommend themselves, to open another door of access to those divines of greater social and intellectual calibre than are commonly to be found among our present clergy, whose knowledge, tact, and influence would strengthen the Church among the educated classes, just as I hope the fervour of the readers would stimulate her exertions among the humbler population. But if the services of such men are to be procured, it will be necessary, not only to remove the proviso which makes every cultivated Welshman, who cannot speak Welsh (and those who can are unhappily comparatively rare), ineligible for preferment in his own country, but also to make the prospects of preferment at least as attractive as they are in England. I hope, at least, never to be counted among those ardent champions of episcopal order who usually signalise their devotion to this principle by contumacious resistance to their own bishop; but I feel bound to confess that I hold the great excess of episcopal patronage in Wales to be one of the misfortunes of the Church in the Principality. A bishop is not free to exercise his choice in these matters as another patron can be. He is the head of the clerical family and he has to reward merit, or where merit is not conspicuous, to recognise the claims of seniority to which no demerit attaches, as the principal title to promotion. He thus acquires a habit of looking upon the progressive scale of value among benefices as a providential arrangement for pushing on the deserving clergymen; and scarcely attaches due importance to the special circumstances of particular parishes, of which indeed he can scarcely be expected to have the same particular knowledge which may belong to a resident landowner, or even to a local Church committee. Besides, it causes stagnation, by discouraging the influx of new blood from other dioceses. How can a bishop, with scores of needy and excellent clergymen in his own diocese, be expected to bring over the border a stranger, whose appointment would at once be made the ground for a charge of favouritism? But if more of our Welsh benefices were in the patronage of resident laymen, not only would they have an inducement, too rarely to be found at present, to bring up their sons with an eye to serving the Church in Wales, but they might have the hardihood, where circumstances permitted the appointment of a rector, not specially qualified as a Welsh speaker, to a cure where a Welsh ministry might be provided by such another agency as I have already suggested, to reclaim to the Church in Wales some of those distinguished men whose abilities would influence the minds, as their reputation would kindle the sympathetic pride of their countrymen. At the same time, I should be most unwilling to despoil the bishops of all or even the greater part of their patronage. There are obvious considerations why the bishop should be the patron of small livings, which may reward modest merit in curates who might otherwise be without hope of advancement. And there are also, I think, sufficiently cogent reasons why he should retain as many of the great prizes of his diocese, as may happen to be in his patronage, to reward distinguished service.

but I do not see that the benefices of a medium value, say those between £300 and £600 a-year, are affected by either of these lines of reasoning. And I can see very good cause why the chain of promotion, which now connects together the whole system of episcopal patronage in Wales—at least as far as the expectations of the clergy are concerned—should be snapped by the removal of its middle links. These are the livings to which I would apply Lord Westbury's Act, laying especial stress upon that admirable provision contained therein, which applies to the augmentation of the benefice the sum paid for the advowson, reserving only, as I think might well be the case in Wales, a certain proportion of that sum as the nucleus for establishing a Diocesan Fund for the support of the Readers to whom I have already referred.

There are indubitably numberless other methods to be suggested for popularising and strengthening the position of the Church of Wales, and among them, as a subsidiary agency, may be reckoned the opportunity which the great and almost universal taste for music among the Welsh people, if properly appreciated, may afford to the Church to render her services attractive by a judicious employment of that sacred harmony of which she is the mistress. But these I must leave to others who can speak with more authority than I can upon the practical working of the Church from a clerical point of view. All that I can hope, as a result of suggestions which may appear to many to be crude, and to others impracticable, is that they may serve to obtain, not merely a bare recognition of the difficulties inherent in the problem of Church progress in Wales, but a fair consideration of a practical mode of meeting them. I have neither set down nor extenuated aught in malice, and if I have been too candid in speaking of some of the shortcomings of our present system, I trust that candour may be excused by the conviction that a layman may sometimes be called upon to say things a clergyman would find it more repugnant to his feelings to say, even if they appeared to him to require saying at all.

I hope I have said nothing to disparage a people innocent and pious beyond any parallel that can be found even in this Christian land; to hurt or depreciate a body of clergy as conscientious, as zealous, and as loyal to their Master's services as any in the world; to weaken or impugn the authority of the bishops, who would, in my opinion, be far more powerful and less embarrassed at the head of an army of such auxiliaries as they would find in an effective corps of Readers, than in the unthankful task of balancing against each other the respective pretensions of thirty third-rate men, to an incumbency of £350 a-year; or, above all, a single word that has not been dictated by the sincerest wish to advance the cause of our divine Master and His Church. When I see an excitable race drifting in too many instances into a strange counterfeit of religion compounded between fanaticism and hypocrisy; when I see an earnest and devoted clergy entirely powerless to recover lost ground to their Church; when I see the laity among the English-speaking part of the population (which is year by year increasing until it will be identical with the nation itself), losing heart and interest in the service of a Church, whose ministers are too often without that comprehensiveness of training which would qualify them to enlighten or direct educated minds, and the bishops and the leading laymen only competing in the

endeavour to put the saddle on the wrong horse, I confess that I should have held it a dereliction of duty to have spoken otherwise than as I have done. You require a ministry which you have not got at present, to reach the hearts of the alienated masses; you require a ministry of which too few samples are at present to be found to retain your hold upon the upper and middle classes. These facts are only too evident. My suggestions may not afford the best solution of our difficulties. But I shall be content if I may claim the credit of having honestly pointed out what some of our difficulties are, and of not having shrank from the responsibility of endeavouring to cope with them without fear and without favour.

Archdeacon Ffoulkes read the following paper:—

A paper on the Church in Wales would hardly have been desirable at a Church Congress, were it not that very exaggerated ideas exist in the country as to her position there. Wales is thought to be the most vulnerable part of the Church of England, because a large portion of the population is not in communion with her, and, therefore, the attack on the Church is expected to begin there. But, as the Church in Wales is an integral part of the Church of England, and has no separate national existence, it is no more possible to deal separately with her than with the Church in the metropolis or Yorkshire. Mr. Miall is well aware of this, and, therefore, does not encourage any special measure for our Welsh dioceses. There does, however, exist in many persons' minds a feeling of uneasiness with regard to the Church in Wales. I do not, therefore, regret that the subject has been proposed, nor do I despair of making out, however imperfectly on my part, a good case for her.

I will, at the outset, justify my opinion by quoting the words of the Bishop of Llandaff, in his Charge to his clergy in 1869. "People in general have so long been accustomed to talk of the low state of the Church in Wales, that it is now almost assumed, as an admitted fact, that she is little more than a skeleton, no longer animated with a living spirit; an institution, indeed, of the State, with its machinery and endowments, but one with which the inhabitants of Wales have no sympathy. I am fully convinced that the assumption is not justified, and that the picture of our helplessness, and of the antipathy with which we are supposed to be regarded, is entirely out of proportion to the reality of the case." Whoever has read the masterly article in the *Quarterly Review*, of April, 1870, by the present learned Dean of Llandaff, will admit that the Bishop's words are abundantly confirmed by what he states.

1. It would be impossible, in a short paper like the present, to enter upon the vexed question of the proportion of Church people to Dissenters in Wales. Most extravagant deductions have been drawn from the Census Returns of 1851, to prove the great preponderance of Dissenters in the Principality. It may be sufficient to refer to the able pamphlets of the Rev. W. L. Bevan, of Hay, "Exercises on the Religious Statistics of Wales," and of the Rev. D. R. Thomas, Cefn,

St. Asaph, "Remarks on the Nonconformist Statistics of Wales," to show the entire falseness of those returns, which, if they would prove anything, would show that more people went to chapel on the census day than there were people to go. The Principal of the Normal College at Bangor, whose zeal for Welsh dissent is well known, and who is intimately acquainted with almost every part of Wales, when examined before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1866, only claimed four-fifths of the population for the Nonconformists, instead of nine-tenths, which many wild enthusiasts have stated to be the real proportion. The *Cardiff Times* (of August 21, 1869), a consistent organ of dissent, was content to say, "According to the most reliable data that can be obtained, the dissenting bodies in Wales are to the Established Church as four to one." But when we find Dr. Rees, of Swansea, who is an equally great authority among the Dissenters, admitting that one-third of the population of Wales (400,000) speak the English language, and that in the thirteen counties of Wales (including Monmouthshire) there were hardly twelve or thirteen English congregations able to support themselves and help others, with barely twenty more able to support themselves, and that, unless the English population is laid hold of, Dissent must die out, we must believe that the larger part of these English-speaking persons must go to Church for English services; and, if these are added to the Welsh who still attend their parish churches, we might almost suppose that one-third, rather than one-fifth, was the real number of Church people in Wales,* though I believe one-fourth to be the truth.

2. But the number of chapels in Wales is often referred to as a proof of the immense preponderance and strength of Dissent. In reply to this, I will venture to say that this is not the opinion of thoughtful Dissenters. A Welsh writer† in the *Drysorfa* (October, 1852) says, "I have a word for you to utter to the Methodists in Wales, about multiplying small chapels without necessity. The Rev. Daniel Jenkins truly states that chapels have been multiplied to excess in our connexion, until it has become a cause of the feeble state of religion in many places. "I am not sure (he adds) that some chapels are not erected from desire of office and a spirit of ambition." A writer in an Independent Magazine says, "Were we to reject the assertion of the old people, that there was more spirituality forty years ago, with some hundred chapels less, still we could not deny the naked truth, that the multiplication of them is owing to the concurrence of mixed motives." "A fear of losing the people, anxiety on account of the influence of another connexion, this is the foundation stone of many a chapel." "Scarcely does one connexion find time to take the lead before the others become conscious of a like duty; the consequence is, that there is uneasiness in the whole camp, till one and all have got a tabernacle to represent them."

This, I believe, is a true statement; and hence that remarkable fact which the Census Returns bring out, that if the sittings in the different chapels of Wales amounts to a million, they are quite double the num-

* This is confirmed by returns from Unions, *e.g.*, Swansea, 82 inmates return themselves as Church people out of 222; Merthyr gives 72 out of 208.

† See Note. Bishop of Llandaff's Charge, 1854.

ber that could be occupied by the worshippers there. (See "Church in Wales," Rivington.)

3. As to the causes of dissent in Wales the same may be said of them that might be said of dissent in any English diocese. The Church there, as in England, had fallen into a lamentable state of ungodliness and indifference—"As with the people so with the priest"—and those earnest men, who like the Wesleys in England, rose up by the mercy of God to revive the spirit of religion in Wales, were, without doubt, actuated by the sincerest desire to win the masses to God. The Rev. Griffith Jones, of Llanddowror, writing in the last century, says that "it was not any scruple of conscience about the principles or orders of the Established Church that gave occasion to scarce one in ten of the Dissenters in Wales to separate at first, whatever objections they might afterwards imbibe against conforming. They dissented at first for no other reason than for want of a plain, practical, and pressing preaching, in a language they could understand, and freedom of and friendly access to advice about their spiritual state." (Quoted by Mr. H. Richard in his letter to the *Morning Star*.)

This is equally true of the mass of Welsh Nonconformists now, where they are uninfluenced by political agitation; and gives good ground for hope that they may yet be recovered to the Church. But for a while we have two great difficulties to surmount. (1) The existence of the Welsh language, which has a natural charm for the people, especially for the poorer classes, who find in the chapel-system a continual fervid appeal to the warmer sympathies of their nature; for which reason they cling to their chapel, while they say they have nothing against the Church. The Church, on the other hand, is hampered by having to minister in most places to an English as well as a Welsh population; so that until her resources, especially in South Wales, are increased, she cannot supply all that is needful for the spiritual wants of both. (2) The other difficulty arises from the pecuniary connection, which the middle classes have with their places of worship, on which they have advanced their money, and for which they often receive such good interest, that as soon as they are paid off they are glad to promote the building of a new chapel as a fresh investment—add to which, that these persons enjoy in the chapel a pre-eminence that they could not have in the Church—for they supply the class of local preachers, deacons, elders, class-leaders, and the like; which form the very back bone of the Dissenting system.

4 Yet, in spite of these obstacles, I confidently assert that prejudices against the Church are daily giving way, and a very different feeling rising up everywhere, so that the people themselves are beginning to think that there is more spiritual life in the Church than the meeting-houses (though the latter try to imitate the Church in everything), and hence the readiness with which many return to our communion. Again the line of demarcation between Church and Nonconformity has never been drawn very definitely in Wales; and, in the present day, the distinctive doctrines of the Independents, the Calvinists, and Wesleyans, are a good deal kept out of sight. The Baptists, indeed, in their peculiar tenets of Antipædo-baptism and immersion of adults, stand out rather in contrast to others; but when any members of the

other Dissenting communities return to the Church, they find no difficulty in accepting all her doctrines; so little have they been taught any specific dogmas of their own, in opposition to those of the Church. Many are conscious of a great decay in the spiritual life and teaching of their leaders and guides, and their own communities in general. They find their chapels used for social gatherings or political harangues, quite as readily as for religious purposes; and the bitterness of party spirit, which has been fomented in so many parts of the Principality of late, has made them doubt whether the spirit of Christian charity now rules their body, as once it did. Probably they are discovering in their various bodies much akin to that which was so forcibly expressed by the Moderator of the Scotch Kirk in 1862, Dr. Bissett, (quoted by the Bishop of Llandaff in his Charge of 1863.) "From the day that the apple of religious discord was cast among us, the noble fabric, founded by Master builders, began to be shaken as with a whirlwind. When the great schisms were consummated, the change in national morals and manners was so sensibly developed, as to be seen and read of all men. Since that time, notwithstanding the multiplication of our churches and services, and more fervent religious zeal, our declension in morals has advanced with alarming strides, so that from being the first and highest, we have fallen to be among the last and lowest of the Protestant states of Europe in respect of chaste conversation." And, he adds, "our conviction is clear, and the truth seems written as with a sunbeam, that until a way be bridged for our return to the ecclesiastical unity from which we have departed, our discipline and supervision and correction of manners will continue to be so greatly impeded as to be but the shadow of a name." Mr. A. J. Johnes, a late county judge, a gentleman of enlarged and liberal views, writing for the Eisteddfod prize in 1831, says, "I have frequently heard the early Welsh Methodists described as proverbial for simplicity, humility, and benevolence. Since their separation from the Church of England, a far lower tone of morality has prevailed amongst this body, which is in some measure ascribable to the inferior grade of preachers entailed upon them by that event."

5. Again, it should be remembered that the real schism from the Church was only consummated in 1811, when the Methodist clergy first undertook to ordain preachers; till that time the Welsh Methodists remained in communion with the Church, so that the generation has hardly yet passed away which remembers the meeting-house open for service only at a time when the Church was closed. Even to this day, in some parts of the country, the congregations leave the chapel in time to attend the service of the Church, which shows that their return to the Church is not yet to be despaired of.

6. But the thing which probably weighs with them more than anything else is the sight of the Church, which they have been taught to consider an effete body ruining more souls than it saved, reviving in every part of the Principality, and offering to them and their children all that is needful for them here and hereafter. And the sight *is* very striking, even to those who are most familiar with it—still more to those who believe that the Church in Wales is in so miserable a minority. For the smaller her numbers, so much the more amazing the work she has accomplished in the last ten or twenty years. Time would fail were I

to attempt to state what has been done in that time in the matters of church building and restoration, schools and parsonage houses. I believe that if I were to guess the outlay at a million of money I should not be far wrong, probably much within the mark; and it is still going on by tens of thousands every year. Hardly can we find a place in any of the four dioceses, where such works are not in progress, except indeed it be where they have been completed. And what is still better, in every case, we find restored and free seated Churches filled by much larger congregations than ever were known to assemble there before.

7. In the matter of schools we have the testimony of Her Majesty's inspectors, that our Welsh schools will bear favourable comparison, *cæteris paribus*, with those of England. Mr. Forster, to whom the statistics of Wales were thoroughly known, has, by his Education Bill, borne witness that our church schools are acceptable to the people, except perhaps in a few localities, where, from some cause, the people have been prejudiced against them. Even where British schools co-exist with National schools in the same parish (and it must be borne in mind that British are not always dissenting schools), it is a fact that children of dissenting parents are found quite as much in National as in British schools, in some places the former are decidedly preferred; as at Llanfyllin, Mold, Cardiff, Pembroke Dock, Ystrad-gynlais, Bangor, and Dolgelley. (See remarks on the Nonconformist Statistics in Wales, page 8.)

In fifty-six of the chief towns of North and South Wales, where the two schools exist side by side with above 19,000 children in them, the majority are in the National schools.

In country places nearly all the children are educated in church-schools, and the religious difficulty, of which so much is heard in theory is in practice never found to exist. In confirmation of this assertion, I will quote the speech of the present Prime Minister, at Ormskirk (as reported in the *Guardian*, October 28, 1868). He says:—"There is no hostility to the Church establishment in Wales, and nothing to produce painful and irritating feelings, speaking as a general rule, among the Nonconformist portion of the population. Look at the work of education—who are the class that have, for the last thirty years, borne the burthen and heat of the day in England and Wales, with respect to the education of the labouring classes of the community—I say they are the clergy. The education of the labouring classes has been conducted under the superintendence of the clergy, and with the co-operation of the clergy, and, in a considerable degree, at the personal cost of the clergy; and it is owing to their devotion and zeal that the children have been collected in the day schools throughout the country; the overwhelming portion of the work has been in their hands. That is the great moral strength of the establishment even in Wales." (Quoted by the Bishop of Llandaff in his Charge, 1869.)

This, I believe, is felt by political Dissenters; hence the *furor* that was excited when the Education Bill passed, and it was anticipated that school boards would everywhere be called into existence. Somewhere about 120 have been set up in Wales, and it might be supposed, from the alleged power and numbers of the Dissenters, they would have fallen into their hands exclusively. This *is very far from being the*

case. In some towns churchmen have been returned at the head of the poll; in some places they actually form the majority of the board; while, as a rule, it may be said that, in country places, where the boards consist of five members three may be Dissenters and two Churchmen. In towns where seven form the board you have three or four Churchmen to four or three Dissenters; and it must be remembered that as a rule boards are formed where dissent is strongest and the church weakest, so that it is satisfactory, under such circumstances, to find the Church fairly represented. At Bedwelty in the south, and at Bangor in the north, the Church has achieved a great triumph. The *Merthyr Express*, speaking of the former, says, "In a parish where the population counts five to one as Dissenters, a school board has been elected upon which there are six Churchmen and Roman Catholics, and the minority, except one, does not include a man who may be said to be really representative of Nonconformists." When it adds, "It is no triumph for the Church; but a victory snatched from the Nonconformists, through their folly," it does but testify to the divisions of Dissenters among themselves, and the manner in which the different sects strive for the pre-eminence rather than unite for the public good.

But, it is instructive to notice that, after all this exhibition of zeal on behalf of school boards, a great change has come over their advocates lately. It is some months now since we heard of the formation of a new school board. Several of those that have been formed are doing nothing, while others are vainly begging to be released from their own acts.

Meanwhile the Church is steadily pursuing her course of building and improving her schools in every diocese,* and providing energetically for the religious instruction and examination of the children in her schools. Our training colleges at Carnarvon and Carmarthen are fuller than they ever were, with promise of still greater increase, the former having 52 students, 36 of whom are Welsh; the latter 50, several of whom are children of Dissenters, and who, on becoming acquainted with Church doctrine, have declared their opinion that "the opposition made to the Church in Wales is due to ignorance and a want of care in instructing the people in an intelligent way."

At the last Christmas examination, at Carnarvon, 78 per cent. of the students appeared in the first and second classes, an average equal to that of the larger colleges of York and Durham. The college was also one of the few that passed every candidate under the new system of religious examination, while Carmarthen passed 23 per cent. of her second year students in the first class, no other college in the kingdom passing more than sixteen per cent. This gives great promise for the future of our national schools in religious teaching, while there are not wanting signs that teachers of British schools are beginning to transfer their services to Church schools, and students at the British Normal College are turning their eyes to the same, rather than to British schools.

A word must be said about our Welsh Grammar Schools, twenty-one in number, which are fairly spread over our different counties. All are

* Thirteen were built in Bangor Diocese the last two years; the same in St. Asaph, with sixteen others enlarged; much the same in South Wales.

wonderfully improved during the last twenty years, and are now doing excellent work under able teachers; some of them providing superior classical education for our young men. This is exactly what the Principality wants. I trust no Churchman will be taken in by the so-called University of Wales. G. T. Clarke, Esq., of Dowlais, in an unanswerable letter, has shown the utter fallacy of such a proposal, and the positive disadvantages of such an institution. It now comes out in its true colours, with a Calvinistic minister as its Principal, and will take its proper place hereafter as one of the Dissenting colleges of Wales.

In many other respects the prospects of the Church in Wales are brightening daily. Choral festivals and harvest services are attended everywhere by enthusiastic congregations, in which Dissenters of all shades of opinion, and even their ministers, are found. Many of them subscribe liberally to the restoration of their parish churches, and are seen at our consecrations and openings, at our confirmations, and even at meetings for church extension; and if anything causes them to leave their own sect they almost invariably return to the communion of the Church. The Bishop of Llandaff tells us in his Charge (of 1869) that as many as 546 of the Baptist sect had been reported to him as having been received back into the Church in six years.

The clergy, as a body, are greatly improved, and for the most part diligent in their several spheres of work and earn the respect of Dissenters of all parties. Many dissenting ministers have been ordained, and many more would receive orders, but unhappily are not equal to the examination they would have to undergo. In the Diocese of Llandaff four clergy are engaged as missionaries amongst its dense populations, and the reception they everywhere meet with, even from Dissenters, is most cheering, so that we may almost believe that the words of the founders of Methodism may prove really prophetic. For example, Daniel Rowlands, of Llangeitho, who on his death-bed declared himself firmly attached to the Church, said, "True religion has begun in the Church and into the Church it will return." Still more remarkable are his words to his son: "There will be a great revival in the Church of England: this is an encouragement to you to stand by it; I shall not live to see it, but you may live to see it." In 1810 the Head of Trevecca College said to a visitor, "The revival of religion began in the Church in the days of Howell Harris, and I think it is beginning in the Church now." To the same effect was the remark of the Patriarch of Welsh Methodism, on hearing the sermon of an eloquent clergyman: "Have you many such to beat the pan? If so, the bees will all return to the old hive again."* Many other points to be noticed must be left to those who come after me, but a word must be said as to the future, suggestive of improvements.

1. We want better trained clergy to cope with the difficulties of our day. We have to train men for all the work they have to do in common with their English brethren, but we have to train them also to officiate in two languages. Therefore, we must begin early with them. I rejoice to see that in the Diocese of Llandaff there are six exhibitions offered this year at our Grammar schools for boys who will remain there to prepare for college, with a view to Holy Orders; and it is a notable sign that twenty-eight candidates presented them-

* See Dissent in Wales, by A. J. Johnes, Esq., p. 157.

selves for them. In the Diocese of Bangor a fund is being raised for a similar purpose.

Meanwhile, we shall do well to receive readily to our ministry, as the Bishop of Bangor has recommended in his Charge this year, men of devoted lives, with many good qualities, and experience, and power of preaching, though they have never received an University education. Many such are doing effective work in the Dioceses of England as well as Wales, while, through the neglect of drawing such men to us, many have fallen away into the ranks of Dissent.

Some means, however, must be devised for the theological training of our future clergy, and this, I think, may be accomplished to some extent, even under our present circumstances, if done wisely. But then we must have thorough church teaching, no carrying of the meeting house into the Church, but the Church into the meeting house. We must have the Prayer Book taught honestly in all its fulness; no hiding of the powers of the ministry; no reserve as to the fulness of sacramental grace, or the people will never discern the real difference between church and chapel. We must teach them that we have to give them that which they cannot have in an unauthorised ministry. We must tell them that they may, and that the Church does invite them to come to us to open their griefs, and that we have the "benefit of absolution" to offer them if they desire it. We must not speak with stammering lips, as if apologising for the body to which we belong, but set forth our ministry to them as being a delegated power, issuing forth from the Incarnate Son of God; so that we are in the truest sense "Ambassadors for Christ," "in His stead," "sent" by Him, as He was by "the Father." For it is impossible to think of a commission given to convert the world in all ages, as limited to thirteen or fourteen men, who were soon to pass away from it. What they received then we have now, and our people should know it fully to their souls health and comfort. To this end we must not only use all parochial appliances, but have also our missions, going out into our lanes as well as the alleys of our towns to reach those who are in ignorance and sin, as well as those who are alienated from us; gathering around us for this end fellow-helpers from all classes,* district visitors and bible women, brotherhoods and sisterhoods (if God will give them to us); that by their loving help we may carry Christ's gospel into every corner of our land, and show that in it is to be found sympathy and relief for all the sorrows and sins of men. For the spiritual aid of our clergy let us have our retreats (call them by what name you will); going aside from the world, and even from ministerial duties, for a time, for prayer and meditation, and the deepening of our own spiritual life, that we may return to our duties with renewed vigour, and make our sermons to our people more earnest and heart-reaching. For secular aid let us make a better use of the press, which we have most unwisely neglected; that our people may be disabused of the gross falsehoods that are continually circulated, through hostile publications, to an extent that is little imagined; and also that they may be provided with pure

*An association of laymen for church work did much good in the Diocese of Bangor some years ago, and in the Diocese of St. Asaph, laity are found united with the clergy in Ruri-decanal Chapters, and have issued some very valuable reports on different subjects.

and wholesome literature for light reading, with sound church teaching for their spiritual edification. Let us make our sermons as instructive and effective as we can; but let us remember that our people will read for themselves. The sermon will not work the wonders it did in years gone by.* We must pay attention to little things as well as greater ones. Our Sunday-schools must be real nurseries for Confirmation and communicant classes afterwards, and for careful training of our children in the knowledge of church ordinances, and the practice of Christian duties. The mere reading of the Bible, and learning verses by heart, is useless without this. We must teach our children from their earliest years to love the Church as their Mother in Christ, and I do not fear they will then leave her. With such efforts as these we have every hope for success in Wales, far more so than our brethren in the large towns of England. Humanly speaking, I would venture to say all rests with the bishops and clergy. If they will rouse themselves for the work God has put in their hands, the result cannot be doubtful. The Welsh are a quiet, trustful, religious-minded people, free from great crimes, and greatly attached to their betters, and the old families of their country. There are chords in their hearts to be struck that are not to be found, to the same degree, elsewhere. There is a warm, loving disposition in most of our people; let us meet them with love and tenderness, not upbraiding them with their dissent, but rather looking upon them and treating them as sufferers from our fathers' neglect of them. Let us only show them the treasures hidden in the ministry and ordinances of the Church, and I confidently believe they will then part with all to gain them.

Mr. Townshend Mainwaring read the following paper:—

I beg to preface the remarks I have to make by stating that the President of this Congress requested me to give a layman's views as to the present condition of the Church in Wales. At the time the Bishop of Ripon wrote to me I was slowly recovering from a dangerous illness, and on that account I declined to comply with his request; and, indeed, I should not appear before you now, for I am little equal to the task, had I not lately read a letter in the *Times*, written by a venerable Archdeacon, who tells the world that the Church in Wales is well nigh lost. It is with a view of refuting this assertion that I, as a layman, who has resided long in Wales, have prepared this paper. Before I wrote it, I invited the Archdeacon to visit me, and learn what life is still to be found in the old British Church. Had he accepted my invitation, I would have shown him signs of vitality, such

* See the *Drysorfa*, August, 1852. "The time was in Wales when all religious instruction proceeded from the pulpit. But by this time things are greatly changed. The young people are being nurtured in our day-schools in a knowledge of the elements of various secular arts, and brought up by thousands under religious instruction in our Sunday-schools. The great increase in our weekly, monthly, and quarterly publications may be mentioned as an additional advantage of the age. All these movements show that the age to come will be much more under the influence of the press than the present. Should the press thus take possession of the nation, as the present signs of the times give reason to believe, and its taste be as low and corrupt as it now is, our end will certainly be worse than the beginning.—*Bishop of Llandaff's Charge*, 1854.

as our Cathedral of St. Asaph, admirably restored, as the other cathedrals in the Principality have been; I would have shown him numerous new churches, some of them not inferior in richness and beauty to any in the kingdom; I would have shown him large parishes, recently divided; and I would have put into his hand a letter, published by Mr. Pryce, the Vicar of Bangor, a minister so learned and discreet that he was much spoken of as a fit successor of the late excellent Bishop of St. Asaph, Bishop Short. These I would have shown the Archdeacon, and possibly he would have addressed you to-day instead of me, and told the world how much he had erred. I beg your attention now to some passages in Mr. Pryce's letter, addressed to the editor of the *Standard*, and written to combat a statement made in the *Daily News*, which the Archdeacon may have read. In the 6th and 7th pages of Mr. Pryce's letter, which has been republished, he writes :—

"But to imagine that this estimate, given in 1866, continues still in force, is to ignore the deepening of religious feeling which the last few years have witnessed in the Welsh Church. I could tell you of places where in 1866 the Church was unfelt as a spiritual power, and where you may now see on a Sunday evening labouring men hurrying to church, *carrying with them their own chairs, in anticipation that the seats are already occupied.* It is no exaggeration to say, that whether we regard the intense earnestness which in many parishes is stirring the deepest feelings of Welsh Churchmen, or the effect that it is producing upon the people, *we can only find its parallel in the early history of Welsh Methodism.* This revulsion of feeling in favour of the Church is at present non-political, and from its consequent unobtrusive character is apt to be underrated by the world at large. Still, its influence was felt and acknowledged at some of the recent elections of school boards. We find at Carnarvon the Church is represented by three communicants at a school board of seven members. At Beaumaris four of the five members are Churchmen; while at Bangor, after a severe struggle, in which each party put out its whole strength, the Nonconformists only succeeded in electing two of the candidates: four Churchmen headed the list; next to them stood a Roman Catholic; and then came two Nonconformists. It should be added, that, to the credit of the Welsh press, no serious attempt has been made to weaken the importance of those results by attributing them to any influence save that naturally arising from the rapid growth of Church feeling in the diocese of Bangor."

Now, I would ask any one present if he can point to any part of this kingdom and show the place where a more healthy church feeling exists than Mr. Pryce has spoken of.

But I may possibly have misunderstood the Archdeacon: he may have alluded to a slumbering spirit which he may suppose affects us churchmen in Wales, and that we are not up and doing, as he would have us, to stay the stream of innovation, which is to make the Church, as he says, scarcely worth the saving. My belief is, that we are, or anyhow wish to be, as conservative of all the Church teaches us, as other persons, but we are not in a fuss. What would happen if it was ordered that the Athanasian Creed was to be omitted from our services I do not presume to predict; but if it were, I feel sure that few church-

men in Wales would, in a moment of irritation, pat Mr. Miall on his back. I have read to you what Mr. Pryce has written respecting the revival of church feeling in the Diocese of Bangor: now let me show you that we churchmen have not been idle in the Diocese of St. Asaph since 1866. It is a matter of history, and, therefore, I may remind you that, at the general election in 1868, several members lost their seats in consequence of their disapproval of Mr. Gladstone's policy for disestablishing the Church in Ireland. We knew that as the principle had been laid down, that the question of disestablishment was to be determined by numbers, the Welsh Dissenters would claim that Wales should be put upon the same footing as Ireland. No one could find fault with their logic, and it was useless to groan over our defeat. So we did what was better, we took what steps we could to win those who had defeated us. Some of us Churchmen, with one Wesleyan, held a rustic congress, and our conference resulted in a petition to Convocation, which I beg to read. I may mention that it was presented by the Bishop of Winchester in the Upper House, and by Canon Williams, the Proctor of the Clergy in the Diocese of St. Asaph, who moved for and obtained a committee to inquire into the state of the Church in Wales. The petition was certainly peculiar and suggestive, and I will show you, as I read it, how far the prayer has been attained.

I must state that, at the request of the meeting, this petition was presented in my name.

THE PETITION.

"Your petitioner earnestly desiring to promote God's glory and the good of His Church, prays that he may have your counsel and assistance in the efforts which he and other lay members of the Church desire to make, in order to win back largely the affection of the people in Wales.

"With this object in view, a large and influential meeting was held in the parish in which your petitioner resides, to consider questions relating to the Church's welfare, and your petitioner begs permission to lay these questions before your venerable and reverend House."

1. "Whether bishops, setting forth God's true and holy word in the language of the people, and administering His Holy Sacraments, aiding by their counsel and advice both the clergy and the laity in each parish, would not greatly conduce to the Church's benefit?"

Since our petition was presented, we have had a Welsh bishop appointed, and not only are our thanks due to Mr. Gladstone for the great pains he took in seeking for a fit clergyman to be appointed, but our congratulations also for his success.

The next question was whether facilities for the retirement of clergymen on account of age and infirmity, as well as on account of self-felt inaptitude, should not be provided. Such facilities have been given.

2. "Whether some of the resources of the Church could not be well applied towards the instruction of candidates for holy orders, in practical work before entering on parish duties; and whether an account

should not be taken of those resources which could be applied to that purpose."

We have reason to believe that a good theological and pastoral education will soon be provided in the St. Asaph diocese for young clergymen.

3. "Whether the stipends of the clergy are insufficient, and how they can be increased?"

This has been effected in more than one parish, and from a source which had been breeding disaffection.

4. "Whether it would conduce to the benefit of the Church if parishioners had some voice in the appointment of their ministers?"

This arose from an idea that a clergyman had been appointed who had not a sufficient knowlege of the Welsh language.

5. "Whether the Statue 25, Henry VIII., cap. 8, Premunire, is injurious?"

This question involved that of the congé d' élire—as nature abhors a vacuum, so ours abhorred a sham; and there were peculiar circumstances at the time our petition was framed which made it necessary that we should touch this difficult question—as the policy of Mr. Bright for the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland (for he was the real author of it) was likely to be adopted by Parliament. Had Mr. Bright been ambitious, he might have vaulted into the saddle, and the comical spectacle might have been seen, and worthy of Mr. Punch's pencil, of a Quaker Prime Minister making bishops. I only present the ridiculous aspect; probably Mr. Bright would have done his duty in this matter. Possibly he would have applied to deans and chapters to send him a list of three fit clergymen, and possibly he would have advised the dean and chapter to call to their aid an equal number of laymen. Had he done this, my own opinion is that he would have materially strengthened the Church, for the laity would have had probably a voice in the election of a Proctor of Convocation, and thereby the influence of that body would be increased.

6. "Whether a reform in our Cathedral establishments is needed?"

7. "Whether residentiary Canons being absent from their parishes is injurious?"

One of our Archdeacons has, I believe, answered this question affirmatively in his Charge.

8. "Whether conferences of the clergy and the laity, and some combined action of both, in the management of church and parochial matters, would not be beneficial?"

An union of three rural deaneries around St. Asaph has now been formed, and with good effect.

9. "Whether the services of the Church cannot be rendered more acceptable to the congregations?"

This has been done in many parishes, and is going on.

10. "Whether an easier method of obtaining Church discipline is not needed?"

If any of you had read a correspondence between the Bishop of St. Asaph and one of his clergy, who inserted it in a local paper, I have no doubt as to the answer you would give to this question; and here I would suggest, that if the laity could sit in a court of arbitration with the Dean and Chapter, to assist a Bishop in such cases, much good would result.

11. "Whether the seats in our churches should not be free and unappropriated?" The pew system has driven numbers from our churches.

Such were the questions we submitted to Convocation, and I have good reason for my belief that our efforts were applauded by Nonconformists. But I must honestly tell you that the battle is not yet won; how it is to be gained is a question I would very diffidently attempt to solve; but let us consider how the Dissenters' hearts were won. During the last half of the last century, and the first half of this, the Church was losing ground, and why? Because there was a coldness, or even deadness, in the preaching of the clergy, whilst the fervour of Dissenting ministers, who were in well-known instances clergymen, kindled the warmth of Evangelical truth in the hearts of their hearers, who were grateful. Then commenced an active co-operation of members of the various denominations with their ministers, and knit their bodies fast together. Could not we do the same? Should not the minor orders in our Church be revived, such as sub-deacons and readers? If they were revived in Wales, I believe that well-qualified persons could be found to perform the duties of such offices. In our towns and large parishes such men might be of essential value. But leaving this to the consideration of others more able to form a correct judgment, I will conclude by making one suggestion. I have given you my reasons for believing that the Church in Wales is far from lost. If she has been, as we admit, sore smitten, and still wants refreshing, I would ask the members of the Church Congress to come to us next year and help us. We would rear for you, as we do for our bards, temporary buildings to hold the meetings of the Congress. The genius of hospitality still dwells amongst our hills as warmly, we hope, as when Thomson wrote his Seasons. Railways would joyfully convey you to Rhyl, if you would select that place; it and other watering places on our coast would gladly welcome you. Our good Bishop's eloquence would delight you, and our Cathedral of St. Asaph would proudly show you what its Dean has done. Ireland is near to us, and some of its clergy might be with us to tell how their Church—alas! severed from its relations with the State—now fares; and let me add, the Prime Minister lives amongst us. Come, then, to see with your own eyes and hear with your own ears, whether our Church is almost lost. Come, and if you find her healthy, rejoice with us; if cast down, help to raise her up. My belief is, you will find life, stirring vigorous life, in the ancient bulwark, which of yore withstood her potent foes, and, with God's blessing upon her, we trust that she will enjoy her green old age, notwithstanding the assaults of her avowed enemies, and the zeal of her venerable friends.

The Bishop of Brechin.

I do not think that a Scotch bishop needs to claim any indulgence for expressing his deep sympathy with the Church in Wales. When I consider that, perhaps the most flourishing portion of modern Scotland is a part of that great Cambrian kingdom which has occupied such a position in the history of our country, no apology on my part is necessary. I am sorry to say that my acquaintance with Wales is rather speculative and antiquarian than personal. I have studied the ancient laws of Howel Dha. I have given much attention to what are called the four ancient books of Wales. I have also some acquaintance with that remarkable picture which we possess of the history of the Church in Wales, in Giraldus Cambrensis; and also the *Liber Landavensis*, a knowledge of which we owe to the skill of our friend Mr. Haddan. In alluding to these old things, what strikes me is this—in the midst of the utmost barbarism of the middle ages there was in Wales a recognition of the supernatural which exceeded the recognition of almost every kingdom of the earth. We find, in the midst of violence, rapine, and murder, and even the violation of sanctuaries, a sense of the superintending providence of God, a recognition that He will by no means clear the guilty; that He has marked out for Himself certain sacred things and certain sacred persons whom to injure is to injure Him. Although we have very little remaining to us of what I may call the devotional literature of Wales, we find the effect of that devotion showing itself in every epoch of its Christian history; in successful missionary labours in America, Ireland, and even Italy; and I, as a Scotch bishop, must speak with deep gratitude of the great movement of Christian civilisation which we owe to St. Kentigern, of Llanelly. St. Kentigern, the patron saint of Glasgow, who, next to St. Columba, is the greatest name in our Scotch hagiology, came to preach to us, to crush and expel heresy. But we have not to look so far back as these ancient times to find evidence of a strong spiritual instinct amongst the Welsh. I have been told by those who have only recently gone to their rest, that about ninety years ago the Church feeling throughout Wales was very strong. Before the prevalence of Calvinistic Methodism, when the Bishop came to administer confirmation, the people, as in the ancient Church, used to come and kneel down and crave his blessing. In short, many of the elements that were good in the old Church life still prevailed amongst them. I mention this because I believe that the cure of our evils in Wales will be by carrying out the Church system in its integrity. As I believe the Church in Wales has suffered morally from the schism that has been caused by Dissent, we must preach that high exalted morality which seeks its inspiration from the Person of Jesus Christ. I feel that we must place before our people such an affective and emotional religion as has always spoken to the Celtic mind. I feel that we must produce before the Welsh mind the Church in all her poetry, and in all the strength of her high moral position. I am sure that if, by God's blessing, the doctrines of the Church of England are taught in Wales distinctively, yet tenderly and wisely, there will be a very different state of things twenty years hence.

ADDRESSES.

The Rev. H. T. Edwards, Vicar of Carnarvon, made the following address:—

My Lord,—I venture to think that the fact of this meeting being held to-day in this Court may well be regarded as an omen, indicating, perhaps on one hand, that the Church in Wales is on her trial; and on the other, that she is about to receive that which during the last 150 years she has not received, namely, some measure of justice. I am very sorry that I am utterly unable to agree with the previous speakers in the estimate which they have formed of the *power and extent* of that Church revival which is said to be now pro-

gressing in Wales. I speak from an intimate knowledge of Wales and the Welsh people; and I am bound to state in truth and honesty that there is not as yet among the masses that *great and powerful* revival of feeling towards the Church which has been described. To compare the present revival to the revival that marked the days of Rowlands and Howell Harris, is a gross exaggeration. What are the proofs that have been adduced? We are told that cathedrals have been restored, and many new churches erected. That is doubtless true. If stones and mortar constituted Church life, I acknowledge that the revival of the Church in Wales has been great and general. But what is the real significance of these erections? The higher classes in Wales are generally attached to the Church. They use the English language, and, being also the owners of wealth, they contribute the money expended in restoring the cathedrals and erecting handsome churches. But the native Welsh-speaking masses do not in any great numbers habitually frequent those cathedrals, or worship in those churches. The alienation of the native masses from the Church still continues to a very great extent.

The elections of some of the School Boards in Wales have been brought forward to prove the force of the Church revival. As the election of the Board in my own parish has been mentioned, I am bound to state that it cannot be regarded truly as any great evidence of Church revival. The motive by which a large number of Nonconformists in Carnarvon were led to support the Church candidates was simply the desire of avoiding the burden of the school-rate. These elections, while proving that the Nonconforming masses are actuated by no deep hostility or doctrinal distrust of the Church, cannot be regarded as indicating any active revival of Church feeling. I am deliberately of opinion that it is better to state the naked truth, however unwelcome, than to exaggerate the significance of favourable symptoms. When the truth is known we may hope for the application of wise remedies, and the dawning of better days.

I must briefly allude to a proposal which Mr. Raikes has made for the regeneration of the Church in Wales. He has told us that young men of ability are not at present generally attracted into the ministry of the Welsh Church. If a farmer, he informed us, has two sons, one of brilliant ability, and the other somewhat dull and ungifted, the latter enters the ranks of the clergy, while the bright youth of enterprising spirit and high ambition is irresistibly attracted to the pursuit of popular fame and position in the Dissenting ministry. This happens now, Mr. Raikes tells us, when the Church offers to the clergyman fair prospects of preferment. To remedy this evil, Mr. Raikes proposes to create a body of clergy to labour specially among the Welsh-speaking masses, and who are to be regarded as a kind of inferior caste. Does he for a moment suppose that the young men of ability who now resist the attractions of the best prizes that the Welsh Church can offer, would be attracted into the ranks of that lower clerical order which he proposes to create? No man who knows Wales could for a moment imagine that the adoption of such a proposal as that would tend to give strength to the Welsh Church. On the contrary, such a course would reduce it into the position of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, by making it the Church of the thin upper-crust of society. As a Welshman I protest against the doctrine that the Welsh-speaking farmers who pay into the treasury of the Church the revenues by which the clergy are maintained, are to pay the tithes to a body of clergy whose mission shall be to minister, not to the masses of the people, but to the English-speaking members of the upper classes.

I do not think that we can understand the present position of the Church in Wales, unless we trace to their sources those evils which have so long paralysed her life. The Church, as we have heard from the Bishop of Brechin (and I take this opportunity of thanking him most cordially for the words which he spoke), was strong in Wales, as long as she approached the people of Wales in the apostolic spirit, by making herself to the Welsh as Welsh, in order that she might gain the Welsh. But under the Norman kings was introduced the fatal and wicked policy which subordinated spiritual interests to the pursuit of political objects. The intrusion of the Chancellor Bernard into the See of St. David's, in 1115 A.D., was the consummation of that policy. What was the conse-

quence? During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in which the English kings continued to seek political objects in their Church appointments, the Church lost well-nigh all influence over the people of Wales. There are many passages in the poems of Ionas Athraw, Sion Kent, and Davydd Ap Gwilcym—the popular poets of the age—which clearly proves that the clergy as a body were the objects of hatred and contempt among the masses. Upon the accession to the throne of a descendant of the Welsh Prince, Owain Tewdwr, the evil ceased, and appointments were made with a just view to the spiritual welfare of the people. Consequently, during that period, until the year 1700 A.D., the Welsh people were pre-eminently loyal to the Church. Throughout the days of the Commonwealth, the whole influence of the Puritan Republic failed to impair that loyalty. In 1700 A.D., the Dissenting chapels of Wales were only thirty-six in number. At the present time, in consequence of the disastrous appointments made over 150 years to the Welsh Sees, there are probably not less than 3,000. Why were those appointments made? At the date of the Hanoverian accession the Welsh squires, unfortunately for the weal of the Welsh Church, were staunch Jacobites. With a view to counteracting their political influence, English statesmen sent into Wales, as Bishops, men who were utterly ignorant of the language, feelings, and traditions of the people. The mission of these dignitaries was not to seek first the extension of the kingdom of Christ, but to strengthen the position of the Hanoverian dynasty. What are the results? During the last 150 years the native people of Wales passed almost entirely from the reach of the Church's influence.

I will endeavour to explain to you the process by which this result has been unfailingly brought about. The three forces that mainly influence the mind and heart of Wales, at the present time, are, the press, the pulpit, and the Eisteddfod. I regret to witness evidences that some of those who are present do not sympathise with those forces. But I am sure that every man who knows Wales, and the Welsh language, will agree with me when I assert that the Eisteddfod represents a great power in Wales. When I say that within the last two months I have seen not less than 6,000 of my countrymen assembled, out of all parts of Wales, at an Eisteddfod, my hearers will readily be able to conceive that an institution, which gathers together twice the number of people assembled in this great Congress, is an institution which exercises no trifling influence upon the Welsh people. Now the Church has lost the command of the forces which it represents. Why has it done so? Because, during the last 150 years, the rulers of the Welsh Church have systematically discouraged the use of the Welsh language. For my own part, I earnestly wish to see the people of Wales able to speak the English language. I yield to no man, in the desire that my countrymen should be admitted into the full enjoyment of all the glorious treasures of the great imperial world-language of England. But it is one thing to allow a language to yield to natural causes; it is another thing to make use of unnatural means to destroy it before its time. I will add, that the Church is the very last instrument which ought to have been employed for the accomplishment of such a work.

Let me ask again, What has been the effect upon the pulpit of the policy I have described? Among the dignified and richly-beneficed clergy we have had no great preachers in the Welsh language during the last 150 years. The great preachers of that period who live in the religious traditions of the Welsh people, have been, almost without exception, Nonconformists, or clergymen neglected by their bishops, and left in the cold shades of poverty and obscurity.

By the operation of the same causes the Church has also lost the power of the Welsh press. The people of Wales have ten weekly newspapers, and several quarterly and monthly periodicals in their own language. Probably not fewer than 100,000 copies of the weekly newspapers are circulated amongst the masses. What proportion of this power is wielded by the Church? There is one small weekly newspaper published in support of Church interests, having a limited circulation of 4,000 or 5,000 copies. Why has the Church thus lost the power of the native press? Because her chief pastors have systematically discouraged the cultivation of Welsh literature by the clergy, and have

steadfastly refused to acknowledge the services of those who have laboured to influence the minds of the masses by its instrumentality.

I may again provoke a smile by alluding to the Eisteddfod. Englishmen have a well-known weakness for laughing at customs which they do not understand. They are rather apt to change the maxim "Omne ignotum pro magnifico" into "Omne ignotum pro maledicto." Nevertheless, I venture to assert that, by means of the Eisteddfod and other influences, the Welsh peasantry have been so far refined and elevated in habits of thought and feeling, that they will bear a very favourable comparison with the peasantry of any province in the United Kingdom. It is to be regretted that the clergy have lost the leading command of the Eisteddfod. They kept themselves aloof from that popular institution because they were discouraged, and the consequence has been that they have lost great opportunities of influencing the minds of their countrymen.

What are the great wants of the Church in Wales? She wants a body of clergy who shall combine with education and refinement the power of popular gifts and sympathies; she wants a body of clergy, in all grades of the ministry (not merely a lower caste) who, while possessing the advantages of the culture and refinement of gentlemen, will at the same time not be above condescending to address the masses of their countrymen in the language which they can understand. The Church in Wales also needs above all things, as Archdeacon Ffoulkes has well told us, a body of clergy trained in the knowledge of definite Church truth, and qualified to teach the faith, and rightly and duly to administer the sacraments of the Church. Unfortunately for her welfare, many of her clergy during the last twenty-five years have been trained under very different influences—influences not calculated in my judgment to create religious zeal or spiritual energy. The name of the theologian who enjoyed the opportunity of shaping the minds of a large proportion of the Welsh clergy over many years has been mentioned in this discussion. He was a man of great ability, and from many points of view I respect his memory. But I cannot think that the style of his teaching was such as to create a body of clergy capable of evincing any deep religious influence over the people of Wales. His pupils went forth, not to preach with power the truths of the Catholic Creeds, but to reproduce the hazy speculations of the German schools; and many of them may well write over the doors of their empty churches, so often closed from Sunday to Sunday—

> "Parcus Deorum cultor et infrequens,
> Insanientis dum sapientiæ
> Consultus erro."

The Rev. John Griffith, Rector of Neath, made the following address:—

My Lord,—I feel it to be a duty incumbent on me, as one of the persons selected to speak on "The Church in Wales," to thank the Subjects Committee for their courtesy and kindness in placing on their programme the subject now under discussion. The obligation is enhanced by what was told us in your Lordship's Inaugural Address, that many important subjects had been laid aside that room might be found for those of a more generally interesting character. Their having retained this subject I regard as an acknowledgment, on their part, of the Church in Wales possessing a distinctiveness which entitles it to special consideration. We have notice taken of us very frequently, but too often it savours of unkindness, and is marked with ignorance of our real position.

While we are one with the Church in England, belonging to the same body, and having no desire whatever to occupy an isolated position, still we stand apart in many things having an important bearing on the maintenance and progress of the Church in the Principality. Had Church Congresses been in vogue fifty years ago, and had the same consideration been then shown which has been this day shown at the Leeds Congress, I

feel sure that the benefit to the Church in the Principality would have been very considerable, and that the report now given of its position would be a far more favourable one than it is, and marked with less diversity of opinion. The Welsh Church deserves no ordinary attention. It has a deeply interesting history and a very old one. It carries us back to the first century of the Christian era, when the gospel was planted in this country either by apostolic hands or by one or more of the earliest converts to the Christian faith.

During this Congress I have heard frequent reference made to evangelisation, dating from the Saxon Heptarchy, and to the mission of Augustine at the bidding of Gregory. Why, my Lord, for four hundred years previous to the landing of the Roman monk the British Church had erected her places of worship, established her Christian schools, founded her religious institutions, and had done much to leaven the minds of the inhabitants of the whole island with Christian principles and truth.

It just strikes me that you ought to feel in some degree indebted to us in Wales. There are reasons why we should not be beggars for your sympathy. You well know that the Saxon invasion not only drove the rightful owners of the soil to that part of the country, where alone they could find shelter, but did what it could to extinguish the lamp of Christian truth. It was successful as far as England as now described was concerned; it was only amid the mountains of the Principality that the gospel lamp could and did shed its glorious light. And had the discussion to-day anything to do with the validity of our Orders, or the question of unbroken succession, I should be disposed to look for any missing link, not to the Saxon or Roman chain, but to that of the ancient and apostolic British Church.

We have, however, to-day, in dealing with the present position of the Church in Wales, to refer to a period far less distant. Occasional allusions have been made during the week to the Church of Ireland; and our sorrow for her fate is still fresh and deep. The very same policy that eventually brought about her destruction was applied to the Church in Wales, and occasioned a prostration well nigh unto death. In each an untimely attempt was made to crush the language the people loved, and to substitute another which they neither understood nor sympathised with. The highest interests of the people were made subservient to State purposes.

A train of evils followed which I can only slightly touch upon.

Nepotism and pluralities became the salient features of the government of the Church, absenteeism the normal condition of the incumbencies of the four Welsh Dioceses—what work was done belonged to the wretchedly paid Welsh curates—you have just heard, my Lord, terms used in reference to the labours of these men which they hardly deserved.

It certainly does not reflect favourably on the English incumbents, men of high education, who at this time held benifices, that while they were, many of them, luxuriating on English soil, they should have left to these uneducated men the solemn work to which they themselves were pledged—that these mere hewers of wood and drawers of water should be charged with their responsibilities. When I heard the member for Chester speak, a few minutes ago, on the great necessity there was for getting a superior order of English educated clergy for one class, and then a half-educated inferior order for the people, or the Welsh speaking portion of the nation—introducing thus caste among the clergy—I felt strongly inclined to ask him to turn back a few pages in the history of the Church, and ascertain whether or not his project had not already been tried, and further, to inform himself, whether the results had been satisfactory and advantageous to the Church.

It must be acknowledged that nothing could be more wretched than the condition of the Church in Wales during the last century. She had opportunities given her of recovering lost ground, but she either understood them not, or felt unable to avail herself of them. These opportunities were given by her own clergy—their motives and labours were not respected—they were cast out. Denied the use of her sacred fabrics they went abroad, and, contrary to their own inclination, became the instruments of establishing new and independent Christian communities. The sympathy of the people

was thus withdrawn from her—her temples were now scarcely better than ruins—her services few, wretchedly conducted, and miserably attended.

But a change, a mighty change has taken place. She has risen from her solitariness and poverty, and is now putting forth her energies. Her task is one of no ordinary difficulty. The ground is already to a great extent pre-occupied. There is in the Welsh people a powerful religious element, that leads to almost universal attachment to some religious denomination. This made the progress of the Church necessarily slow. But, my Lord, she has made progress—very great progress. Two preceding speakers, referring to her present position, have expressed opposite views. I believe the Venerable Archdeacon has painted her condition in too bright colours, while my friend, the Vicar of Carnarvon, has gone a little too far in the opposite direction. The truth lies between—but with a decided leaning to the Vicar's side. Proofs of her progress have been already advanced. I have been anticipated in the mention of them. They might be profitably enlarged on. The material work of the Church in Wales has been marvellously well done. There is hardly a parish in which church-building or church-restoration has not been going on. I might mention education as a work in which the Church has been eminently active, self-denying, and successful. The educational labours have secured for her the confidence and gratitude of the people generally.

Proofs abundant might be given, that the people respect her when she does her duty faithfully and well; and that the bulk of the nation consists not of Dissenters from any hostility they may have towards her as a Church, or to her doctrines when honestly taught. Still there are hindrances of a very serious character, and while they exist, progress must be slow. Our bilingual condition presents a great hindrance. It is true that the English language is asserting its power. It is the language of our schools, commerce, &c., but not the language of the religion, of the hearts of the people of Wales, and will not be for many years. I am no theorist, my Lord, in this matter. I am speaking not what I have heard or learned from others, but what has been thrust upon me by a close intercourse with the masses, during a ministry of thirty years. The soundness of such an opinion has already been called into question. I have time to apply only one test. There are three great religious communities in Wales—the Independents, Baptists, and Calvinistic Methodists. In their published statistics I find that they have 2,800 chapels and preaching places, and 600,000 worshippers. My Lord, I have no hesitation in making this statement that, in nine-tenths of these chapels, preference is given to the Welsh language. The whole population is not more than a million and a quarter. In the face of this one fact can there remain any doubt of the duty of the Church, whose distinction is that she is the Church of the People?

Let me notice another hindrance arising from the want of properly qualified men to labour in our Church, where provision has to be made in two languages—languages differing most materially in construction and idiom—and where separate tastes in preaching have to be consulted. I ask permission to quote the language of my own bishop, the Bishop of Llandaff. "Earnestly as it is to be desired that all should be capable of receiving instruction through the medium of our language, that time has not yet actually arrived. If we refuse them that instruction, through the medium through which alone it can influence their affections, we may reason on the subject as we please, but they will steadily refuse to accept it at our hands."

My Lord, I shall not use the term hindrance, in speaking of another difficulty, in the way of progress, but I will say that to facilitate that progress we must have the men who rule over us well acquainted with the language of the people. They must be able to minister freely amongst us. They must possess qualities that will secure for them the respect and confidence of the nation. We want, my Lord, what ordinary English justice will assent to, and what common-sense demands,—we want Welsh bishops and rulers for the Principality. We have a formidable and growing difficulty arising from the tone of the Church press, and the language of some of our young unfledged curates, who think that the chief work they have to do, when they get into a parish, is to pour down re-

proaches on the heads of Dissenting ministers and their flocks. There is far too much abuse of honest Dissenters indulged in. The bulk of Dissenters in Wales are not haters of the Church. Much of the extreme political action that they have assumed is due to the unwise and uncharitable conduct of churchmen. They have principles, and these should be respected. The Church respects them. Her charity is wider than that of many of her sons. My Lord, I point to the Nineteenth Article where she defines a Church—to the Fifty-fifth Canon where she teaches her ministers to pray for the Catholic Church—especially for the Churches of England and Ireland, not excluding the Church of Scotland, whose form of government we know is that adopted by the great majority of the Nonconformists of the country.

The speaker's time having expired, he said that he had to leave much unsaid, which would have to be considered before the difficulties of the Church in Wales could be fairly grappled with. He might point out the necessity of far greater liberality being practised, and active help given by churchmen. There were many landowners and rich men who did not contribute as much to the support of the Church as their menials did to the chapels to which they belong. Churchmen, as a rule, had not learned the act of giving. There were exceptions. They might learn much from their Dissenting neighbours. Doubtless it would astonish many to learn that only one community in Wales, a religious community, which had a separate existence only at the commencement of the present century—and which reckoned among its members few, if any, of the landed gentry—(the Calvinistic Methodists) had expended, during the last thirty years, on building, enlarging, and restoring chapels, no less a sum than £1,031,400—more than a million by one sect.

Attention should be paid to the training of the clergy. The Churches should be free and unappropriated—exclusiveness and privilege were the great hindrances. Far more pulpit power was necessary than the Church possessed. The Church that gave not prominence to the ordinance of preaching, would never win, nor even touch the Welsh mind.

The trumpet must give, in Wales, no uncertain sound. Its people were a reading, observant people. Having a strong love for dogma—being chiefly cast in a Calvinistic mould—they were deep students of the Bible; their common watchword was—"To the word and to the testimony." Any tampering with this would meet with resentment. Doctrines propounded from some pulpits in Wales were awakening suspicion—doctrines on which no opinion was then expressed—new to the old faith. Hundreds were asking, What are these? What will they lead to? There was in the Welsh mind an innate hatred of Rome—any coquetting with it would soon rouse an opposition that would crush the Church. The Church must understand the materials with which she had to deal. She must not put forth pretensions which the Scriptures sanctioned not. She must not attempt to monopolise the truth of God, and the influences of the Spirit.

She must proceed with moderation, carry out her parochial system, apply her machinery in their Scriptural and primitive simplicity. She would yet flourish. Her motto should be, Watch! stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong, let all things be done in charity.

The Rev. George Huntington, Vicar of Tenby, made the following address:—

My remarks will be those of an Englishman in Wales. I have taken as much note as I could of the working of the Church in Wales, from personal observation during a residence within the Principality extending over six years, and as it seems to me, there are five things from which the Church is suffering—the isolation of the Principality; its sparsely scattered population; its poverty; the difference of language and race; and the immigration of vast numbers of miners and artizans into such places as Merthyr, Cardiff, Swansea, Aberdare, and Llanelly, where large copper, iron, and tin works are

being carried on. To these I wish to draw attention *seriatim.* The isolation of the Principality has hindered, to a very large extent, the flow of the great wave of Church principles and progress, as well as social advancement, which has spread so successfully over the English counties, whilst it has intensified the same abuses which have been complained of in England. Complaints are made, for example, of the habits of some of the rural clergy in Wales, and of their mode of conducting the services of the Church; yet, I can remember when, before the introduction of railways, the incumbencies and curacies of isolated villages on the wolds of the East Riding of Yorkshire, were filled by clergymen not at all superior to the Welsh clergy, and when the services were quite as slovenly as they are said to be in Wales. My own grandfather had to serve three parishes in Norfolk, and he had to keep a horse saddled and bridled, and to be ready to start off from one Church to another, and to arrange the hours of worship as best he might. A very few years ago, there were hardly any passable roads in the remoter parts of Wales, parishes extended over mountains, valleys, and wide-spread commons, one part divided from another by rivers and streams often swollen into torrents. Through these the clergyman would often have to dash up to his saddle girths if he were so fortunate as to be able to keep a horse, to wade or to swim if he kept neither horse nor vehicle. How was it possible then that under such circumstances he could give his people those frequent ministrations, which are now thought necessary for systematic parochial work? Nor can we be surprised to learn that, in days gone by, the services were frequently suspended for weeks together. I am going myself to preach Sunday after next in a parish with an acreage of 32,000, sixteen miles in length by ten in breadth, population under 800. In England you have the Church, the manor house, the houses and cottages grouped together around the villag green; the hamlets are compact, and occupy comparatively small space; many Welsh parishes, on the other hand, are properly not villages at all, but are made up of scattered farms and cottages, dotted down here and there on the sides of the mountains miles apart. The parish of Llanbadarn Fawr, out of which the fashionable watering place of Aberystwith is formed, was even worse than that of Cwmdauddwr, which I have just referred to; for its acreage amounted, I believe, to 60,000. Then comes the question of poverty. Who can doubt but that this must have had its natural effect in lowering the tone of the clergy in Wales? yet probably not more so than in the remote districts of Cumberland and Westmoreland. There may have been curates, like Goldsmith's village preacher, "passing rich with forty pounds a year," who lived blameless lives, and were gentlemen and scholars; there was a wonderful, as he was called, Robert Walker, who brought up a family on a less income than that in the North of England: but such cases must be exceptional; and it is true in the clerical as in other professions, in England as well as in Wales, that the supply answers to the demand. The next consideration is that of language and race. I very much wish that I knew Welsh. If ever you heard a true Welshman preach, or the service sung in Welsh, you would admit that it is one of the most beautiful and rhythmical languages you can imagine. Conceive, then, the state of things when clergymen were appointed to benefices who did not know one word of Welsh. It is well known that in the year 1766 a certain Dr. Bowles was appointed by the then Bishop of Bangor to a living in Wales. In reply to the argument of the churchwardens on bringing an action to deprive him of the benefice, his counsel alleged that Wales was a conquered country, and therefore that it was a wise policy in the English Government to suppress the language. Here were conciliatory measures with a vengeance. But a worse story, if possible, remains to be told. The author of "Essays on the Causes of Dissent," published in the year 1832, says—"I am acquainted with the case of a divine who, at the mature age of fifty, was advanced to a Welsh living without knowing a syllable of the language: he accomplished the duty by receiving a Saturday night's lesson from his clerk, and thus prepared he ventured to go into the reading-desk the following morning. Fancy a man sitting up all Saturday night and then feeling himself equipped to hold forth in a language which it took that eminent prelate whom I have the honour to serve as my diocesan, the Bishop of St. David's—who was

spoken of in Convocation as the most learned bishop in Christendom, and who possesses an extraordinary facility for acquiring languages—at least a year to master, so as to preach in it! Conceive the absurdity of a man sitting up with his parish clerk for one night in order to learn to officiate in Welsh. All these causes combined have no doubt, as I have said, hindered progress and intensified abuses. The Welsh sees were in days gone by too much regarded as mere stepping-stones to English bishoprics. Absenteeism was but only too common. One Bishop of Llandaff (Watson) never resided in his diocese at all; another Bishop of Llandaff (Copleston) was dean of St. Paul's; Bishop Burgess, of St. David's, was canon of Durham. In the year 1833 all the bishoprics, the vast majority of the dignities and benefices, were held by Englishmen. Non-residence was the rule rather than the exception, and the clerical duties were performed by underpaid curates. These abuses were not, indeed, unknown in England; but they were intensified in Wales owing, as I have said, to the peculiar circumstances of the Principality. What I think, then, we have to do, is to be patient. That same wave of religious and social improvement which has passed over England will in God's good time pass over Wales. The introduction of railroads and telegraphs, to say nothing of English capital, has effected much in doing away with the isolation of Wales. With less interrupted intercourse, many prejudices and antiquated notions will pass away, not, I trust, at the loss of primitive simplicity, or anyhow of religious feeling. The poverty of the Church in Wales must be met, as it is being met, by a more equitable distribution of its revenues, and by renewed liberality on the part of the owners of property—it always, however, being borne in mind that the squires and landed proprietors have not the wealth of the same class in England, and that the rental arising from Welsh acres is very different in value from what it is in England. I believe that special means are needed to meet the wants of the sparsely-scattered populations of the mountainous districts. They have, I think, as good a claim on our Home Missionary Societies as the crowded districts of our large towns. Mission Chapels should be erected where they are most needed. A missioner should be sent forth provided with a horse, a priest's bag containing surplice and the vessels for celebrating the Holy Communion, a Welsh Bible and Prayer Book, a few Hymn Books, and thus equipped he should officiate in barns, if no better places can be found, preach in the open-air, gather the farmer's family and servants in the largest room in the house, and there instruct or catechise them. I have proposed this plan to one or two rural deans, suggesting that each deanery should support its own missioner. I have promised that if any one who is interested in it will advocate it at Tenby, we will do our best to secure him an offertory and liberal contributions. The difficulties arising out the language are, I think, diminishing; the last bishop appointed was a Welshman; but in thinking of the wants of Wales, we must not forget that there is a large English-speaking population, that the English language is spreading over large districts where Welsh was once exclusively spoken; that English is the only tongue now taught in the day-schools; and that the Dissenters speak of meeting the requirements not of the Welsh-speaking Welsh people, but of the English-speaking Welsh people. But whether you have the English or the Welsh language, or both, do not forget that there are peculiarities of race as well as language. The Welshman has his national peculiarities. He loves music, he loves poetry, he loves nature. He is more excitable than an Englishman. "No one," says a writer, I have before quoted, who is tolerably acquainted with both, "can help remarking how different, nay in some points of view, how completely opposite, are the Welsh and English characters. The Englishman is grave, averse to all superfluity of words and gestures, and so constitutionally jealous of ostentatious virtue, that he is even apt to censure an involuntary burst of real feeling; whilst the Welshman is imaginative, prone to metaphor and action, and fond of excitement of every kind!" I think, then, we should meet these tastes and peculiarities, and certainly the preaching and arrangement of the services, and especially the musical portion, should be such as not to repel, but to attract. I am unable to suggest any means of meeting the immigration into the large towns in Wales, except those which have been so efficient in England, the

development of our parochial machinery and the holding of missions. This has recently been done with great success at Swansea, under the auspices of the well-known Rev. R. Aitken, of Pendeen, in Cornwall. I have only read a report of the mission, written by a Dissenter, but he speaks most favourably of the results, and represents at least one hundred true conversions to have taken place, in addition to numbers who have been brought to attend Church. I am sorry to hear that the Vicar of Neath does not think so favourably of the state of the Church in Wales as I had hoped. But what are we to do? Let us not despair, but work and pray. It was only by the agency of men of prayer and zeal that the Church of England was raised, by God's blessing, to her present high position, and men of prayer and zeal are praying and working for the Church in Wales. Let us remember that the Church of England is identical with the Church in Wales, that there is no Welsh Church as distinguished from the English Church. If one member suffers all the members suffer with it, and if one member be honoured all the members rejoice with it.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. Canon Nevill, Vicar of Great Yarmouth.

I owe an apology to this meeting for offering, though a Norfolk clergyman, to speak on the Church in Wales; but I may explain that I am by birth a Welshman, that all my early years were spent in Wales; and that I am brother-in-law to one who was requested by the committee to speak on this occasion. I am only going to touch on two points; but first, I would say a word with regard to the character of the people. Anyone who has travelled in Brittany or Ireland, will have seen the exact resemblance the people of those countries bear to the Welsh in certain characteristics which are common to them all. There is a very strong religious feeling. There is a great readiness to be guided. When they have given their affection, or their religious attachment to any person or any particular line of teaching, they are not easily changed. You see it assume very different forms in Ireland, Brittany, and Wales, but the same spirit runs throughout. Now, look back to former days, and in Wales there was no unwillingness to receive the teaching of the Church of England, they were devoted churchmen. The greatest effects said to have been produced upon large congregations in Wales (speaking of a century ago) were produced by the reading of those grand words in our English Litany: "By Thine Agony and bloody Sweat, by Thy Cross and Passion, by Thy precious Death and Burial, by Thy glorious Resurrection and Ascension, and by the coming of the Holy Ghost, Good Lord, deliver us." The recital of these words by men who had a burning wish to gain the hearts and improve the lives of the people, affected crowds to tears, to sobs, and to all those ways of showing religious feeling, which are so very common among the Welsh. But now this strong attachment to the Church of England has been lost; and if it is to be regained, they must have guides who can once more exercise an influence over them. I could relate tales about the Welsh clergy, in my early days, that I should be ashamed to mention in a place like this; but there has been a very great improvement. A body of men are now being trained at Lampeter who would do honour to any clergy. But, at the same time, I think there are two things wanted, before we can look for much improvement. The first is this, they want model parishes. In hearing Welsh clergymen spoken of, I have repeatedly heard this kind of expression—"He is a very good kind of man, anxious to do his duty, but he does not know how." The fact is, he has not been in any parish where he has seen the parochial system thoroughly well carried out. And though the Vicar of Tenby may have his plan for improving the Welsh clergy, he labours under this disadvantage, that Tenby is Flemish, and not Welsh; and that English, and not Welsh is spoken there. It is necessary that, in some large and populous parish, whether Merthyr, or Neath, or Swansea, or some other

centre of the manufacturing district, the work of the Church should be thoroughly established. The danger of the Welsh clergy is, I think, twofold: on the one side, of taking up a spirit of compromise, and not showing that there is any real distinction between themselves and the dissenting minister; and accompanied with that is the certain risk of speaking evil of those with whom they compromise. The danger on the other side is, that they should turn to preaching, rather than to ministering to the people in their parishes. I say, that first two or three model parishes are required. But, secondly, we want a Theological College in its true sense. We have Lampeter, but Lampeter is little more than a small Welsh University. Though they train at Lampeter for the ministry, they do not wish to train exclusively for the ministry. They wish to make it more like what the English Universities are. Their object, therefore, is not merely to teach theology, but also to teach general subjects of education. So far, right: but we want a Theological College to do the work of Wells, or Cuddesden, or Lichfield, and others in England. Probably very few of those who listen to me have been to that extreme corner of South Wales, where stands the cathedral and the old palace of St. David's; but no one who has any feeling for the past could go and stand in that most beautiful cathedral, and that palace which is one of the most glorious specimens of mediæval architecture, without a feeling of regret that greater use should not be be made of such a place. I say that St. David's is the place for the Theological College of South Wales. There the students might learn the religious training which would fit them for active work; and it is the place, of all others, where the privacy of retreat could always be given to them. The buildings already exist: they require only to be roofed in. In the same place also, societies of women might be formed, who, after proper training, might go forth to do the work of the clergy in large parishes, and so we should have the Church system in some measure restored again. The people of St. David's still take pride in their old cathedral; and I do believe that, if what I have suggested were carried out, the descendants of those Welshmen, who, in their excitable feeling knelt down and wept when Giraldus Cambrensis preached to them, might still be won back to us, and the old British Church might be restored to something of its former glory as a branch of the great Anglican Church.

The Rev. John Griffith, Vicar of Merthyr Tydvil.

May I be permitted to say, at the very outset, that I have no idea of controverting any point I have heard to-day regarding the position of the Church in Wales. However much I may differ from a great deal I have heard to-day, and also, however tempting it may be, I am determined to stick only to the purpose for which I have come here, viz., to enquire as to the best remedies for the state of things. This is a question into which it is utterly impossible for me to enter at any length in the small limit of time allowed. I can speak only of one remedy, but that is a vital remedy, as far as the position of the Church in Wales is concerned; that is, a better supply and a better preparation of young men for the ministry. This is the want that has pressed so heavily upon the Church in Wales ever since I have known her practically, and that is now for a period of more than twenty-five years, as an incumbent of two of the largest and most populous parishes in the Principality. I am sorry to say that, if anything, this want presses upon the Church in Wales as heavily at this moment as it ever has done at any period since I have known her. In my own neighbourhood there are at this moment four curacies vacant, one of them being in my own parish, and I know not where we shall have men to supply them. This has arisen from, what Archdeacon Ffoulkes and Mr. Mainwaring would say, a plethora of church prosperity. I mean by that the material prosperity of the Church in Wales. Owing to the great number of churches that have been built during the last twenty years; owing to the liberality of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the Church Pastoral Aid Society, and the Additional Curates Aid Society; and owing to the exertions of our respective Diocesan Societies, also to the munificence of private benefactors, our bishops are compelled to

ordain men who, were it not for the circumstances I have referred to, would never have a chance of ordination elsewhere. They have been obliged to do this, or they had no other option than to let churches go unserved. It is a most unfortunate thing in Wales, that a great many of the Welsh-speaking clergy do not come from the Universities, or even from St. David's College, Lampeter. The great bulk come from Theological colleges in England, St. Bees, St. David's, Queen's College, Birmingham, and they are literates in general. In order to test the correctness of this statement I have only to refer you to the records of Episcopal Ordinations. If you look at the Ordination list of one of our bishops in the month of May last, you will see that nine are ordained, of whom, not a single one has come either from Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, or even from Lampeter. Upon pointing out this remarkable and very sad fact to a church dignitary in Wales, he made this very natural remark—"Ay, and I'll answer for it, that probably not more than one, if one, out of the nine were fit to take charge of that little Baptist chapel opposite." I must, however, in justice say this, that some of our best Welsh preachers have come from such places. But then they are exceptions. The men we generally have from those sources are much below the mark. They are men who have not thought of going into Orders until late in life, or men who have failed in business and have gone into the Church merely to better their prospects. They are men who have had no preliminary education, or at all events only that of a very inferior kind. Contrast these men with the modern Welsh Dissenting ministers, and, remembering that the Church in Wales is a Missionary Church, just calculate the chances you have of making converts by means of such men as these. Every one must admit that a Welsh Dissenting minister of the present day is a man who has been admirably fitted, and admirably moulded for the vocation to which he is called. He began the business early in life—from very boyhood itself—just because he has been selected on account of the aptitude he has shown for the office. He may be the son of very poor people, but from the moment at which he has been seized upon by the elders and deacons of the denomination, he is brought up and educated at the public expense of the denomination; he is sent to the school that belongs to them, then to the college, and there he is taught everything that will fit him and make him a useful minister. He is taught a little Latin, and a little Greek; but above all he is taught the art of preaching, reading, and speaking in public. There is another thing, which perhaps we cannot adopt in our Church; during the whole of his college course he is sent out to preach in chapels nearly every Sunday, where he learns that which will be of the utmost usefulness to him in his ministry. He does this until he has his "call," and then he is ordained and takes charge of his people at once—the round man in the round place; the full-blown preacher, and ready to take the pastoral oversight of his people. Now contrast such a man as that with the men we are bringing up in our churches, and fancy what the effect such a man as that has upon the Welsh people, who are a highly rhetorical people. Take any twelve of them, and you will find that one out of the twelve is a born orator. Horace says, "Orator fit;" but Horace never was in Wales. Horace knew nothing of the Welsh people. If he had come there we should have made him eat the leek, or amend his error. Fancy putting such a man as I have described among such people: fancy him blundering through a manuscript which he has never learnt to read or emphasise correctly, and you can imagine the effect of it. Now, what I mean by a born orator is this, a man who shall speak for ten or twelve minutes in good grammatical Welsh on any subject he has mastered without book or paper. Fancy, then, a clergyman of the ordinary type whom we ordain to preach among the people in the way we taught him, or rather have not taught him at all, sent among a people with such peculiarities as the Welsh. Fancy him in the pulpit on Sunday after Sunday blundering through a manuscript, which probably he has never learnt either to emphasise or read correctly. The very fact of his taking manuscript to the pulpit at all was a bar to his influence as a minister in Wales. I say, then, my Lord, with all the force I can, you shall build churches in Wales altogether in vain, unless you also build up men to fill the pulpits of those churches. The pulpit in Wales is a real institution. It is a living thing—that which the people believe in—and more than that, that which the

people follow and are guided by. It is a great instrument for good. Yes, my Lord, the Welshman loves his sermon dearly. He will go any distance to hear it, if he can only get it good. Neither wind nor weather will prevent him. Talk about long sermons! I was at a discussion upon preaching the other day, and I heard a speaker say a sermon should never exceed twenty minutes. I am not quite sure he did not say fifteen. We have sermons in Wales sometimes one hour and twenty minutes long, and then not only one, but two or even three at a time. I once heard four, when a boy, without the people ever shifting from their places. That was the love the Welshman had for his sermons. Then, my Lord, I ask in all earnestness and seriousness, ought we not to cultivate this predilection of theirs, and check it and guide it to its right channel? Is it not the most unsuitable of all policies to neglect it as we do? Ought we not to prepare our ministers for it? Give them a real and a truly technical education —a religious one, of course, still a technical one—for as long as the Welsh language exists, and certain circumstances press upon our Church, which I have no time to advert to here, so long shall we be obliged to draw the Welsh-speaking clergy from the lower orders. Then, in the name of all we cherish most dear in the Church, why not find means to educate them as Nonconformists do? Why not plant the country, as I have urged in Wales over and over again, with scholarships, specially founded for the purpose? Don't let us talk about the difficulty of getting supplies! Why, I know a most excellent Dissenting minister, now I am sorry to say dead, who by his own aid, and that in five years, collected £36,000 for this purpose, and that, mark you, not among the rich churchmen, but the poor working men of Wales. A shame, then, upon us—bishops, clergy, and gentry—if we cannot do in the same direction ten times as much. But this, I tell you, unless you do something very soon, the position of the Church in Wales will be a very critical one—if it is not so already. In the meanwhile, buckle on your armour, put your faith in something else than brick and mortar, and the statistics of the census of 1851. For I tell you, once for all, you may build a church on every acre, in every field, in every parish throughout Wales, and yet, if you do not build up men to fill them—men who shall sympathise with the people—men who shall speak to them as soul should to soul and mind to mind—your labour will be all in vain.

The Rev. E. Whitmore Isaac, Vicar of Dewsbury.

Having had a charge on the borders of North Wales for four years, and having heard a great deal of the Church in Wales, and being very anxious to see what was the real state of things, I observed, as far as I possibly could, the relation of the Church to the people in the district in which I lived. Though, of course, English was spoken where I was, yet, in the parishes bordering on the two sides, Welsh was spoken; and when you got further into Wales there was nothing but Welsh. In fact, in the clerical society to which I belonged at one time, I was the only clergyman who could not speak Welsh. So, having the opportunity daily of conversing with Welsh clergymen, I did obtain a little knowledge by the time I left the diocese. I think when you speak openly on these subjects it is the most friendly thing to do. I could not, in the district in which I lived, draw the same bright picture of the Church in Wales, which has been drawn by some of the speakers to-day. As far as I could make out of the Welsh character, which I very much admire, they appear to me to be an emotional, devotional, and musical people. Now let us take the religious element—what do we find? We find in their chapels earnest men, hearty services, hearty hymn singing; and we find, according to their light, a very devotional mode of offering up their prayers. Do we find the same in our churches? I am sorry to say that in many of the churches round about where I was, instead of finding real devotion, real emotional services—if I may so call them—and real musical services, which the people want to hear, you found a service almost entirely read. One could not feel that there was that real emotion and devotion that there ought to

be, in order to attract the Welsh mind. Then, again, the Welsh are a musical people; but if you find that all the singing is a few hymns, or, at the most, some of the Canticles, can you expect that these musical people will flock into your church? Then the Welsh, as a rule, are Calvinistic; and if you find that Calvinism is preached in the chapels, as it is with, of their kind, hearty, devotional, and musical services, while the same doctrine is preached at church with a dull and cold service, can you wonder that the chapels should be full, and a great many seats in church empty? I cannot but think that these are some among the causes why we have not yet got hold of the masses of the people in Wales. I would just mention that I followed in the footsteps of Archdeacon Ffoulkes, seventeen years after he was there; but I found that he still lived in the memory of those people. There was a considerable body of Church people at the place where I was formerly—people who really and truly love their Church—who always spoke of Archdeacon Ffoulkes with the greatest reverence; and that was because he never compromised principles. He held firmly to the teaching and doctrine of the English Church. Not only that; there was a great outcry there at one time, and I believe Archdeacon Ffoulkes had to go through a good deal when he put his choir into surplices, and began to carry on the services as they ought to be carried on; but the result was, that when I went to that place many years after, I found a number of real Church people, and very good congregations indeed. I very seldom found any real hostility to the Church. When I left Wales the impression left on my mind was, that the Welsh people did not get in our churches what they wanted, and the consequence was they went to chapel. I believe that if the services were what they ought to be in the matters of warmth and earnestness and musical aids, if our churches were open throughout the week, if the Saints' days were observed, if there were not only more frequent celebrations of the Holy Communion, and if there was real and true teaching upon the Sacraments, I believe, from the bottom of my heart, that we should find a large number of those, who have gone astray from the Church, would come back to her. The truth is, it matters not whether they are poor or educated people, we must have an educated clergy to attract the masses. I think very great blame is to be found with the Welsh gentlemen, the squires, if, as I am told, they never instruct their children in the Welsh language. The consequence of that is, that you have to go to rather a lower order in order to get your clergy, instead of getting refined and educated minds, which, by their refinement and education, would bring in people to the Church, and make them understand what a noble Church ours is.

The Rev. Theophilus Bennett, Vicar of Eastrington.

The Bishop of Brechin spoke to you about the Scotch Church; and as I told you on the first day of our very pleasant meetings, I was once a beneficed clergyman in the now disestablished Church of Ireland. The Church of Ireland was looked upon as one of the outworks of the Church of England; and now it would appear that the Church in Wales, and perhaps the Church in Cornwall, are also looked upon as outworks of the Church of England. I think we clergy in the Church of England ought to come to the rescue when either Wales or Cornwall is attacked. I think it was the Bishop of Cork who, in the time of the Papal aggression, told this remarkable story in Exeter Hall. He said there was once a Peninsular captain who, when his men were falling all around him, kept saying, "Keep quiet, boys." There came a ball that shot down his corporal; but still the cry was, "Keep quiet, boys." Another ball knocked down his sergeant; still he said, "Keep quiet, boys." At last a shot came that took off his own nose; then he said, "Fire away, my boys." When this attack comes so close to us that our Church in Ireland has been disestablished and disendowed, it is time to speak out. I deeply sympathise with the Church in Wales. I was glad to hear that oratory abounded so much in Wales that every twelfth man was a born orator. It seems that one of the great wants of the Church in

Wales is a want of men to preach; and on this subject may I dwell a few moments? I think men ought to be taught what to preach. They ought to be taught specially, as Dr. McNeil so ably said, that they have to preach Christ; in the words of St. Patrick, before he preached on the hill of Tara—"Christ above me, Christ around me, Christ on each side of me, Christ in each eye that looks at me, Christ in the heart of each ear that hears me, Christ everywhere." Christ should be the central gem that glistens in every discourse. Then the clergy should be taught how to preach. This is one of the great defects of our Church. We have no instruction in oratory. We ought to be taught how to preach. ("Question.") It is the question. All the speakers have been complaining about the want of men, and I am saying how they ought to be trained. Then, in the next place, they ought to be taught when to stop. I am speaking now merely of the time when I was a layman in the Irish Church. I think the clergy of the Irish Church would have had more of the affections of the people if they knew when to stop. We read of a French Abbé who only preached seven minutes, and he had many flocking to hear him. We have heard of Archdeacon Denison who, upon saying that he only preached ten minutes, was asked by some one, "Where is your Church?" I understand that the Queen has an hour glass that she turns down just at eighteen minutes—— ("Question, question.") I appeal to you, my Lord, is not that the question?

The PRESIDENT.—I think you are wandering a little.

Rev. THEOPHILUS BENNETT.—Then I think the clergy ought to be taught how to read. One person was asked why there was so much of the clergyman's sore throat amongst the clergy, and his answer was, that before we entered into orders we were not taught to read. I think, therefore, the clergy in the Church of Wales should be taught to read. Now I think I am coming to the question. I think the clergy in the Church of Wales, as well as in the Church of England, should retain a firm hold on the education of the people. It is told of an ensign that his colours were likely to be seized. When one hand was taken off, he held his colours in the other; when that was taken off also, then he seized them with his mouth, and stuck to them as long as he could. The clergy in the Church of England and the Church in Wales, should cling to education in that spirit, and then we shall never be disestablished or disendowed. I quite agree with what the Bishop of Brechin says, when he spoke of preaching an affective religion, that is, a religion to take hold of the affections of the people. Then I think the clergy in Wales should be men of humility. Upon that I will not enlarge. The next thing I should like to say something about is pastoral work. I think it was the late Mr. Dallas who said, his system was to go to the parish register, and take out the dates when people were baptised, and when they were married, and he would call upon them on those days. The people, seeing he was so interested in them as to know the days they were baptised and married, felt that he must care for them. Just one word more. There was an eloquent sermon.

Rev. DR. LEE.—I rise to order. I wish to ask if the present speaker is confining himself to the subject which we all came to hear something about. I have attended to this speaker very patiently for nearly ten minutes, but I have heard nothing really about the Church in Wales. I appeal to you, my Lord, and ask you to say whether he is in order.

The PRESIDENT.—I cannot say that it is competent to me to pronounce that he is altogether out of order.

Rev. THEOPHILUS BENNETT.—The Bishop of Peterborough, when he was preaching that eloquent sermon, before the Church of Ireland was disestablished, spoke from the text "They beckoned unto their partners who were in the other ship that they should come over and help them." I hope we shall do all we can to help the Church in Wales, and if the Church Congress is fixed to be held in Wales, on the borders of that beautiful sea, I, for one, shall be glad to attend it, whether it be held at Rhyl, or at any other town in the Principality.

The Rev. James Stewart Gammell, Vicar of Outwood.

Though I have not the luck to be a Welshman by birth, and consequently have missed my possible chance of being an orator, yet I had charge of a parish in Wales, or part of a parish, for five years, and if I say something about the place where I was and its surroundings, possibly I may help towards some solution of the question, why the Church in Wales does not do what she ought to do. The place where I ministered was cut off from a large parish which was originally fourteen miles long. It had an old church in the middle, and a small new chapel of ease, of which I had charge. It was thirty miles from a railway station, and three miles from anywhere. I was sent as a deacon a fortnight old. If I wanted to consult my vicar I had to walk three miles in fair weather, and if it was rainy it was six miles, because the road the other way was impassable. I have been thankful many a time since to think, that being sent to such a place under such circumstances, I did not do immense mischief. How can the church system be worked in such a place by such a man—and yet I was considered rather above the average specimen of curate that was to be got. The question of money has been alluded to. I had the magnificent stipend of £60 a year; and the bishop—good old Bishop Short who ordained me, and for whom I have the greatest respect, though I must say he was emphatically the wrong man in the wrong place all the time he was there, told me that £60 was the minimum upon which a gentleman could exist. I do not suppose he ever tried it. I did, and I survived it, as you see. My people did not speak Welsh; they spoke a language that was more like English than what is spoken in Yorkshire—I mean, of course, the English of books. Mr. Griffith spoke of the Saxon Welsh pluralists who kept Welsh hacks to do their work. The rector of the parish next to mine was a thorough-bred Welshman, a pluralist and an absentee, and he kept an Englishman, from Oxford, at a miserable salary of twenty-five shillings a week to do his work. When he could stand it no longer, and left, I was asked by his Welsh master to take charge of that parish in addition to my own district, but I declined. How, I ask, could a Church, worked on such a principle, do any good? Archdeacon Ffoulkes spoke in high tones of a revival in the Church in Wales, but another speaker seemed to doubt it. Am I to go away encouraged when I think of my old people there (it is seven years since I saw them), and think of them as having risen in the scale of churchmanship, and so in good? The great fault, as it seemed to me, in the Welsh clergy—whether of the peasant type or the squire type described by Mr. Raikes—was that neither of them believed in the Church so far as I could discover. They believed more or less in the Establishment, but they did not believe in the Church, or in themselves as priests; and who can wonder if the people did not believe in them either? Mr. Raikes asks for an order of sub-deacons and lay readers. The Vicar of Carnarvon throws that suggestion back with contempt, and asks for gentlemen parsons. The true remedy, I think, is a combination of the two schemes. They want gentlemen parsons, and they also want the service of zealous men of lower rank working under them. I only ask them why they have not got gentlemen parsons? Are there no gentlemen in Wales who can talk Welsh, and have Christianity and patriotism enough to volunteer for work in their own country? They talk about wanting our help and sympathy; they are beckoning to their partners in the other ship; but what in God's name are we to do? What can we do? We could send them gentlemen, but they cannot talk Welsh. We ask men to volunteer for South Africa. There is missionary work nearer home, and good work, and perhaps work that would bring more returns to the Church than some that is talked more of; but men cannot condescend to go and do it. A Welshman, like an Irishman and a Scotchman, likes to work under a gentleman no doubt. I have heard Welsh workingmen say that they would rather be preached to and told their duty by one above them than by a man of their own class who was put into artificial authority over them; but if those men had the chance to work under proper supervision I believe they would do an

immense deal of good, and the Church might regain a great deal of her hold on the Welsh people. Now about the way in which the Welsh Church ought to deal with the Dissenters. I think the principle on which they should be dealt with is exactly the principle on which we ought to deal with our English Dissenters. We ought not to despise them or quarrel with them. We ought not to speak as though they were heathens, upon whom we had to work as if they were savages. We ought to recognise the spiritual element in their religion so far as it goes. Both in Wales and England God does own and bless most emphatically the work of the Methodists and such bodies when they keep to their proper work. When the Methodists confine themselves to their proper work of arousing sinners, God undoubtedly does own their work. We should step in at the proper time, and say, "Thank God, you have got so far with the means you have, and now we come to you as Aquila and Priscilla did to Apollos—to teach you "the way of God more perfectly."

The Rev. P. Constable Ellis, of Llanfairfechan, Bangor.

The subject appears to be treated by some of the last speakers with greater levity, I think, than it deserves. It is a question affecting the vitality of a branch of the Holy Catholic Church, so blended with the English Church, that it is impossible to cut off one without cutting off the other. From my observation of things in England, I have been more and more convinced that though we can count a smaller number of faithful people relatively to Dissenters, yet when one travels over and questions the clergy one finds that the Church has sunk as little into the hearts of the parishioners in many parts of England as it has in Wales. The traditions of Wales are against us. I blush to think of the past. I would obliterate 130 years or more from our Church history, if God gave me the power. The only standpoint, from a church point of view, that I can find which appeals to the emotions of the Welsh people, is the time when we come to the great Welsh bishops, Morgan and Parry, who translated the Bible into the language of the people. If I could obliterate the space between them and about twenty years ago from the memory of the Welsh people I should be thankful to God. I must enter to some extent into the history of my own experience without boasting, but with a deep sense that I am only on the surface of things. God only knows how far we have made an impression on the people's spiritual life. I wish to tell you, as much has been said about lay co-operation, that I have in my parish lay-helpers, who are as my right hand and my left. They help my curate and myself in almost everything. We have four or five or six men, some of whom are orators such as were described by the Vicar of Merthyr. These men often make me feel small by the earnestness and power with which they speak. They speak in parables, such as address themselves with effect to the sentiment of and poetry of the Welsh mind. I called upon them at communicants' meetings to speak, out of their own experience, words that shall speak to the hearts of their brethren. We have, at these meetings, a short service, with singing and prayer, and I ask them to make the Church's teaching the centre round which all their utterances shall revolve. The Epistle and Gospel for the next Sunday are read, and then they speak upon them. These men who so co-operate with us were, some of them, members of Dissenting communions when I came to the parish ten years ago. One was a Calvinistic Methodist, another was a prominent Wesleyan Methodist, and another a person who held on loosely to Church and Dissent. These men have thoroughly imbibed the Church's teaching. As an instance, I may mention that one of them, when speaking recently, remarked, that preaching is merely the horn blown to summon the people to the great feast, the centre of the Church's life, the Blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. We put the leadership of the school by turns into the hands of the best layman. One of them is a miner, a quarryman, who walks to Lord Penrhyn's quarry, nine miles off, on the Monday morning, and returns for the Sunday. That man has abilities, that, having regard to his position, would astonish many men. He has a massive head, and sees, by a seeming in-

tuition, into many of those deep theological questions that are stirring the English mind; and that, not by the aid of commentaries, but by meditating on the Word of God, in the strength of that mental and religious power which God has implanted in his constitution. We are not dealing with persons who have no intellect. We had a literary meeting connected with our Sunday-school, on Easter Monday last, and thirty-three compositions were sent in for adjudication. Five of them were original anthems; two were elaborate essays upon the three orders of the ministry. The children, who were of age to do so, wrote accounts of the chief historical characters in Holy Scripture, and those thirty-three compositions were the outcome of our Church Sunday-schools alone; so that, I think, when we reflect upon facts of this kind we cannot regard the condition of the Church in Wales as hopeless. Without counting the occasional visitors in my parish, who are about three hundred at a time, there is a population of 1,600, and out of those 160 are communicants. When we compare the condition of this parish (and thank God there are many in Wales in an equally favourable condition) with what the Bishop of Carlisle told us in his recent charge, that there were 270,000 residents in his diocese, and only 6,000 communicants or thereabouts, I think we may be encouraged, for we can show a more favourable condition of the Church than that in a considerable number of parishes in Wales. Therefore, I do not think you can face the question of the disestablishment, or the weakening of the power, as far as externals and temporalities of the Church are concerned in Wales, without touching an equal degree the Church of England also.

FRIDAY EVENING, 11th OCTOBER.

FINAL MEETING.

The Final Meeting was held in the Victoria Hall, towards the close of the Conversazione, the Right Reverend the President in the Chair.

Sir John Pakington, Bart., M.P.

My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—Those who have studied the programme for the conduct of this great and most successful Congress will have observed that, according to the arrangements proposed, this final meeting should have been held in the Civil Court adjoining this noble hall; but now at the last moment a change has been made, and I venture to think judiciously, so that the last of our meetings is to be held openly and publicly, in the presence of this great gathering of the people of Leeds. It is under these circumstances that I have acceded with unlimited pleasure to a request with which I have been honoured that I would submit to you the following resolution:—

"That the respectful thanks of this Congress be given to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of the Diocese for his able and impartial presidency."

You, ladies and gentlemen, have received this proposition as you could only have received it—with the most hearty assent and with the most cordial acclamation. It is not for me, standing here in the presence of your Right Reverend President, to indulge in any language that would savour for a moment of adulation; but there is no occasion in which the language of truth may not be uttered, and I should fall short of the truth were I not to express my cordial belief that never was there a great and important gathering of men presided over by any president with a more happy combination of courtesy, dignity, firmness, and ability. I ask you, therefore, to pass with unbounded cordiality this vote of thanks to our right reverend and excellent President, to which his conduct upon this occasion has so eminently entitled him.

Rev. Canon Bernard.

There can be no doubt or uncertainty in this room with regard to the presidency under which we have met. We are of one mind, because we have all felt the impartiality and decision which has kept all things in perfect Christian peace, when from the nature of the subjects discussed, and the variety of opinions represented by those who have attended the Congress, we might have anticipated a very different result. We have all felt, and we now acknowledge, the courtesy, the judgment, the composure of voice and manner which have seemed to diffuse their own influence over the minds of this vast assembly. Whoever moves or seconds this resolution must feel that there is little to be said, because it is in fact already carried.

The resolution was put to the meeting by Sir John Pakington, and carried unanimously.

The Right Reverend President.

I very sincerely and heartily thank you for the kindness with which this resolution has been proposed and adopted. My task, as President of this Congress, has been a pleasant one and an easy one. It has been pleasant, because it has given me the opportunity of listening to much which I shall never forget, and from which I trust that I may derive, in common with yourselves, lasting profit. It has been an easy one owing to the kindness with which you have received my efforts to discharge without partiality the duties that have devolved upon me. I have far too much regard for the inconvenient circumstances under which you are called to listen at this moment, to think of trespassing longer upon your patience; therefore, once again returning to you my cordial and grateful acknowledgments, I will proceed with the business of the meeting by calling upon the Right Hon. Earl Nelson to move a resolution.

Earl Nelson.

I have been requested to move this resolution as one coming from the far south; and I am not ashamed of showing myself before you, because it is now three years ago since I paid my first visit to Leeds, and then, after the warm reception I met with here, I told your vicar that, for the good of the Church Congress and the southern clergy and laity of the Church, they must have a meeting at Leeds. This meeting has now come off, and I am glad that I, who in one sense first suggested that the Congress should be held in Leeds, should have been selected to move a vote of thanks to the Mayor and the inhabitants of Leeds for the hearty and sympathetic way in which they have received us Southerners, and others from the north, east, and west, who have come to this great gathering. Wherever we have been, whether it has been in the south at Southampton, or in the Midland counties at Nottingham, or here at Leeds, we have always received the sympathy and kind hospitality of all in the neighbourhood, whether they have been members of our Church or members of the Nonconformist bodies. At Southampton, many of our bishops were most hospitably entertained by Nonconformists, who opened their houses for the occasion. The same thing occurred at Nottingham, where the Mayor, who was a Nonconformist also, frequently appeared on the platform, and was pleased to say that he was gratified and thankful for much that he heard, and to sympathise greatly in the success of the Congress. But I do not think that anywhere have we had more sympathy or more real interest in the discussions that have gone on than we have met with here in the person of the representative of the people of Leeds —your Mayor. I know that unbounded hospitality has been displayed on all sides by the people of Leeds. I was perfectly certain that it would be so, and now I have to thank you, and I hope that we who come from a distance will hold up as many hands as we can, and, as we are the minority, I hope that in other ways—such as clapping

our hands—we shall show how thankful we are for the hospitality we have received from the majority in this room. I now propose—

"That the President and Members of the Congress desire to express their grateful appreciation of the kindness and hospitality extended to them by the Mayor of Leeds and the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood."

The Bishop of Hereford.

I think myself peculiarly happy in having had the task entrusted to me of seconding such a resolution as this, because, having myself known to my great pleasure and satisfaction in olden days what the hospitable feelings of the people of Leeds and of the neighbourhood are, I am, perhaps, as well qualified as any one to give expression to this vote of thanks. I cannot express to you with what lively satisfaction I found myself once more in this hall. In former days, you know, I have many times had the pleasure of speaking to you, and if our lives are spared I shall have an opportunity of speaking to some of you at an earlier hour to-morrow. I dare say many of you will remember the good advice which I always used to give to you when the clock struck ten, and therefore you will not be surprised if I do not trespass any longer now upon your patience. This I will venture to say, in the name of the President and of the members of this Congress, that they could not have gone to any place, either north or south, where they could have received such astonishing instances of kindness, hospitality, and friendship as have been extended to them here. I know the feeling of the people of the north; and though I should not like for a moment to compare them in any way whatever with the bird of which we heard so much last night, I do feel very strongly that the Congress have done well in winging their flight to Leeds, and wherever they may go on any future occasion, I am sure their hearts will turn back with thankful remembrance to the kindness which they have received in our dear old town of Leeds. The Mayor has had already so much said of him that I think it will be more becoming in me not to add anything to the words that have fallen from others; but I hope and trust he will allow me to express my personal obligation to him for the kindness he has shown towards all the members of the Church of England who have been brought together in the Town, over which, as Chief Magistrate, he so worthily presides.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The Mayor (Mr. J. Barran).

I feel that it is a fortunate thing that Leeds possesses a Town Hall, for, without the facilities offered in connection with our Town Hall it would have been impossible to have offered to you the accommodation we have offered. It is to me, as the Mayor of the borough, a great satisfaction to know that the whole of the meetings in connection with the Church Congress have been conducted in a most satisfactory manner, that the able presidency of the Lord Bishop, the good temper of the meetings, and the general disposition on the part of the whole of the inhabitants of this borough to meet the requirements of the Congress, have been such as to make it an entire success. We feel proud at Leeds of doing the right thing, and although, perhaps, I ought not to say so, we rejoice in being able to do it; still I think, as matter of encouragement to other towns and cities where the Congress may go in the future, I may say that we feel we have been repaid, by the satisfaction that has been expressed, for anything we have done to minister to the pleasure, the happiness, and comfort of those who have attended this great Congress. Whatever may be the impressions that may be taken away by those who have come from a distance to attend this Congress, I am quite sure that the impressions made on the minds of the people with whom they have had intercourse will not be easily erased. I feel it has been a great honour to me to entertain your President,

Lord Nelson, and Sir John Pakington. The intercourse we have had has been of a kindly, Christian, and sympathetic nature, and I am quite sure we shall none of us be worse for having had our share in these great gatherings. I thank you on my own behalf, and on behalf of the whole of the inhabitants of Leeds, for the very kind and hearty way in which you have passed the resolution.

The Bishop of Winchester.

I am desired to propose a resolution which expresses the thanks of this meeting to those working-men who have really been the thews and sinews of this great exertion, and who specially need our acknowledgments because—working unseen and with no more honour than having a bit of blue ribbon attached to the button hole, which blue ribbon, I am afraid, they will not be entitled to wear after we separate to-night—their services are very great, and therefore we ought to make up for the littleness of their reward by every possible demonstration of thankfulness in our power. The persons whom we are required heartily to thank are—the Executive Committee, the Honorary Secretaries, and other officers, for their zealous exertions in promoting the success of the Congress. I need not tell you that in all great works the unseen workers really do the work, and the butterflies fly about and enjoy the success of it. Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, I call upon every one of you who has an appreciation for virtue under a cloud,—for sterling worth which is hidden, and for secret services which ought to be publicly extolled, to thank these gentlemen for their labours.

Mr. A. F. Bowker.

I most cordially second this.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Canon Woodford.

I doubt whether I ought to return thanks,—first, because I have had the temerity to appear before you without that little bit of blue ribbon which is the emblem of our office and authority in this Congress; still more so because the work of the Congress has fallen chiefly not upon the committee, whom I may be said to represent, but upon the secretaries. It has so happened that owing to the severe illness of one of their number they have had more than usual toil thrown upon their hands, and five have had to do the work that would have been hard to do by six. So that primarily the thanks of all are due to our secretaries. You will like to hear the number of tickets which have been sold, and which, therefore, give the number of those who have attended the Congress. The numbers are as follow:—Full Members' Tickets, 3,796; Associates' Tickets, 662; Evening Tickets, 280—making a total of 4,738 in all. I believe those numbers far exceed the point reached by any former Congress. Now to return to your vote of thanks, I would just say that this is one of those occasions to which the divine words emphatically apply, that it is more blessed to give than to receive. Such a Congress as this cannot have been gathered together without considerable labour on the part of the Executive Committee; but the very extent of their labour is the measure of the benefit which you by your attendance have conferred upon them, for I anticipate with confidence that the result of the Congress will be such a quickening of Church life in this place that for all we may have done you will have repaid us fourfold, so that your debtors we must still be. On behalf of the Executive Committee I thank you for the vote which you have passed.

The President.

Before the last resolution is moved, the Venerable Archdeacon Emery wishes to make a short statement.

Archdeacon Emery.

It has been usual before we separate on these occasions to settle the place where the next Congress is to be held. A considerable correspondence has been carried on, and several places have agreed to have it in 1874, but only one, and that in part conditionally, can be relied on for 1873. The Bishop of Bath and Wells has expressed his desire to have it at Bath and his willingness to preside upon that occasion. The two principal clergy in Bath have expressed their willingness that it should meet there, provided it should be possible to secure accommodation. But this Congress has grown to such an extreme that there is no place in Bath that can hold anything like from 3,000 to 4,000 people. It is hoped, at least I hope, that Bath, under the circumstances, will do what York, Wolverhampton, and Southampton did, viz., build a special place for us. I am very thankful to the Bishop of Bath and Wells for writing to me to express his willingness to preside, and I trust the difficulties may be removed so that we may not have a blank year. Prebendary Clark, of Taunton, has also come forward and said that if no other place could be found, his people at Taunton would provide a place.

The Prolocutor of Canterbury.

I have to propose to you—

"That it be referred to the President and Honorary Secretaries to arrange for the next place of meeting."

Amongst the many great gratifications which I have derived from my stay in Leeds during the last few days, I can assure you there has been none greater to me than that kind appreciation which you have manifested throughout this week, and especially on this occasion, of my dear and excellent brother the Bishop of Ripon. I have myself great sympathies with the south of England; but so long as my good brother presides over this diocese I shall feel that my sympathies are no less strong in the Northern Province. Therefore I speak without any partiality or prejudice when I ask you to affirm this resolution, because I am only asking you to give a further proof of your confidence in the names proposed to you by referring this matter to them.

Rev. Daniel Moore.

I have much pleasure in seconding this resolution. Church Congresses have now become a great institution in our land, and you can well understand the feeling on the part of the President and the Committee that future years should see no abatement in that interest, and no diminution of the profit which we believe will result from such gatherings. It will be equally obvious to you that much must depend on the place selected for these meetings, and my resolution simply asks you to leave a discretionary power in the hands of the President and Secretaries to see if it be possible—I am afraid it is not—to find within this realm some one town which, in the degree of interest it will manifest, and the efforts it will make for the success of the Congress, shall vie, in some degree, with this ancient, honoured, enterprising, and hospitable town of Leeds.

At the suggestion of the Chairman, the Vicar of Leeds was added to the Committee, and the resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The President pronounced the Benediction and the proceedings closed.

PAPERS SEPARATELY PUBLISHED

AND

ADDITIONAL PAMPHLETS.

1. BISHOP OF WINCHESTER'S SERMON ON THE VOICE OF GOD IN THE CHURCH, preached in the Parish Church of Leeds, on Friday, October 11th, 1872. Price 6d. Publishers: James Parker & Co., London.

The following are published at the Leeds Church Institute, Albion Place, Leeds:—

2. THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE'S SERMON ON THE EFFICACY OF PRAYER, preached in the Parish Church of Leeds, Wednesday, October 9th, 1872. Price 1d., or by post 1½d.
3. THE LORD CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS ON SUNDAY SCHOOLS. Price 3d.
4. THE WORKING MEN'S MEETING. Speeches by the Bishops of Ripon, Winchester, Oxford, and Manchester; Canon Tristram; R. A. Cross, Esq., M.P.; Hugh Birley, Esq., M.P.; Benjamin Shaw, Esq., the Dean of Durham, Canon Woodford, and the Mayor of Leeds. Price 3d., or at reduced prices in Fifties or Hundreds, for distribution among the Working Classes and others.
5. DEEPENING OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE. Bishop of Brechin. Price 2d.
6. POSITION OF THE CHURCH IN WALES. Meeting of Friday Afternoon, October 11th. Price 6d.
7. VITAL CHRISTIANITY, AS AFFECTED BY THE PRESENT STATE OF SCIENCE AND CIVILISATION. Bishop of Edinburgh, with Notes. 4d.

The above may be had at the Offices of the Leeds Church Congress, Albion Place, Leeds. They can also be supplied in Fifties or Hundreds at reduced prices, which may be learned on application to the Acting Secretary, Mr. T. T. Ponsonby, Albion Place, Leeds.

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1872.								
Oct 22.	To sale of	5s. Tickets . . .	£949	0	0			
,,	,, ,,	Associates' Tickets .	82	15	0			
,,	,, ,,	Evening Tickets . .	14	0	0			
,,	,, ,,	Platform and Balcony Tickets, Working-mens' Meeting	49	15	0			
						£1095	10	0
,,	,, ,,	Programmes for Musical Performance . .	0	8	2			
,,	,, ,,	Authorised Visitors' Lists	8	3	8			
						8	11	10
							£1104	1 10

	£1104 1 10
Oct. 22. To Balance, subject to Contingencies	£211 15 11½

CONGRESS.

STATEMENT.

					Cr.
1872.					
Oct. 22.	By Incidental Expenses				£30 11 11½
,,	By Postage				44 17 7½
,,	By Goodall, Chas., Tickets				37 16 6
,,	By Swallow, J., Printing	£49 14 0			
,,	*Yorkshire Post*, do.	39 17 2			
,,	McCorquodale and Co., do.	31 5 6			
,,	Spark, F. R., and Co., do.	4 12 0			
			£125 8 8		125 8 8
,,	By Knight, J. Y., and Co., Stationery	47 13 2			
,,	Arnold, E. J., do.	10 1 7			
,,	Harrison, Thos., and Son, do.	0 4 8			
			57 19 5		57 19 5
,,	By Advertising—				
	Yorkshire Post and Sundry Papers	57 15 0			
	Do. do.	8 10 0			
	General Advertisements	14 8 1			
			80 13 1		80 13 1
,,	By Rentals—				
	Mechanics' Institute	14 2 0			
	Markets Committee	6 0 0			
	Town Hall and Use of Organ	71 5 6			
			91 7 6		91 7 6
,,	By Leeds Constabulary	8 9 9			
,,	Parish Church—Sundries	8 4 6			
,,	Smith, W. A., Collection of and Re-delivery of Mr. Seddon's Drawings	4 13 6			
			21 7 9		21 7 9
,,	By Salaries, additional staff of Clerks, Boys and Men at Hall, &c., &c.	32 0 6			
			32 0 6		32 0 6
,,	By Thorpe, J. Hall, sundry Joiners' work	122 7 5½			
	Smith, W. & Son, hire of Furniture, &c.	14 17 6			
	Roodhouse & Son, hire of Drugget and Tables	4 10 0			
			141 14 11½		141 14 11½
,,	By Newspapers—				
	For Reading Rooms, during Congress	7 8 7			
			7 8 7		7 8 7
,,	By Conversazione—				
	Powolny Adolph	113 10 0			
			113 10 0		113 10 0
,,	By Editor of Report, Stamps, Wrappers, and Cards	4 4 4			
			4 4 4		4 4 4
,,	By Musical Illustrations	35 0 0			
			35 0 0		35 0 0
,,	By Acting Secretary, to date	68 5 0			
			68 5 0		68 5 0
	Balance, subject to Contingencies				211 15 11½
					£1104 1 10

THOMAS. T. PONSONBY, *Acting Secretary.*—22nd October, 1872.

GUARANTORS.

The following Subscriptions were promised towards a Guarantee Fund for defraying the expenses of the Congress, but the success of the meeting rendered any call upon it unnecessary:—

	£	s.	d.
President, The Lord Bishop of Ripon	30	0	0
The Earl of Dartmouth	50	0	0
W. B. Denison, Esq.	50	0	0
F. W. Tetley, Esq.	50	0	0
R. B. Turner, Esq.	50	0	0
Sir A. Fairbairn	50	0	0
E. B. W. Balme, Esq.	50	0	0
S. J. Brown, Esq.	50	0	0
John Rhodes, Esq.	50	0	0
John Ellershaw, Esq.	30	0	0
Francis Darwin, Esq.	25	0	0
J. D. Heaton, Esq., M.D.	25	0	0
T. T. Dibb, Esq.	25	0	0
R. J. Hudson, Esq.	25	0	0
T. J. Kinnear, Esq.	25	0	0
A. Fawkes, Esq.	25	0	0
Dr. Chadwick	25	0	0
James Stables, Esq.	25	0	0
Wm. Jas. Armitage, Esq.	25	0	0
Rev. D. Mapleton	25	0	0
J. W. Carlile, Esq.	25	0	0
H. Nelson, Esq.	25	0	0
T. W. Stansfeld, Esq.	25	0	0
Carried forward	£785	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	£785	0	0
John Rand, Esq.	25	0	0
Wm. Ledgard, Esq.	25	0	0
J. O. Butler, Esq.	25	0	0
T. R. Harding, Esq.	25	0	0
Wm. Hey, Esq.	20	0	0
Thomas Harrison, Esq.	20	0	0
C. A. Tennant, Esq.	20	0	0
Thomas Tennant, Esq.	20	0	0
Thos. A. Cooke, Esq. (Mirfield)	20	0	0
T. Greenwood Teale, Esq.	10	0	0
R. H. Braithwaite, Esq	10	0	0
J. S. Newstead, Esq.	10	0	0
Rev. C. A. Hope	10	0	0
Henry R. Farrer, Esq.	10	0	0
Geo. Armitage, Esq.	10	0	0
Wm. Holroyd, Esq.	10	0	0
Wm. Ferguson, Esq.	10	0	0
Richard Armitage, Esq.	10	0	0
T. W. Harding, Esq.	10	0	0
Wm. Garlick, Esq.	10	0	0
Henry Day, Esq.	10	0	0
	£1,105	0	0

LIST OF MEMBERS.

This List has been compiled with as much accuracy as possible from the forms of application forwarded to the Congress offices, and such corrections have been made as "The Clergy Lists," "University Calendars," and similar Books of Reference admitted.

Those whose names are printed in Italics were Readers or Speakers.

Abbott, Rev. J., St Mark's Vicarage
Abbey, Rev. A. J., Parish Church, Leeds
Ackroyd, George, North Park Row, Manningham
Ackroyd, Mrs, do. do.
Ackland, Rev. Thomas S., Balne Vicarage
Ace, Dr. Daniel, D.D., Laughton, near Gainsbro'
Ady, Archdeacon, Little Baddow, Chelmsford
Adams, Miss, Halifax
Addinell, F. Jane, Lumby, South Milford
Addinell, Mary A., do. do.
Aitken, Rev. —, Manchester
Airey, Rev. T. C., Adel
Ainsworth, Rev. J. H., Shakespeare Street, Burmantofts
Akenhead, Rev. D., Hemsley, York
Akroyd, Edwd., Esq., M.P., Bank Field, Halifax
Akroyd, Mrs, do. do.
Aldous, Rev. J., Trinity Vicarage, Sheffield
Allen, Charles, Pape Terrace, Leeds
Allison, Thos. F., Town Clerk, Louth
Alderson, Rev. W. T., West Riding Prison, Wakefield
Alderson, Mrs, do. do.
Alderson, Mrs, Matlock Bath
Allen, Rev. John, Vicar of Lancaster
Allen, T. B., Branch Road, Buxton
Aldridge, Rev. E. H., 3 St George's Terrace, Headingley
Alington, Rev. C. A., Muckton Rectory, Lincolnshire
Alexander, J. W., 9 St John's Terrace, Middlesborough
Aldridge, Rev. E. H., Facit, Rochdale
Allen, Thos., West Place, Huddersfield
Allen, Rev. T. K., Girlington, Bradford
Allen, Rev. E. E., Porth Kerry Rectory, Cowbridge
Allen, Rev. W., Walsall
Allbutt, Mrs C., Lyddon House
Aldred, Miss, 24 Crimbles Street
Ambler, W., Ovenden, near Halifax
Anderson, Rev. Samuel, Otley
Anson, Archdeacon, Birch-in-Rusholme, Manchester
Anson, Mrs, do. do.
Andrews, S. R., Wimbledon
Andrew, Mrs James, 3 St George's Terrace
Andrew, Miss, do. do.
Antrobus, W. D. B., 14 City Buildings, Manchester
Andrew, Rev. Samuel, Tideswell Vicarage, Sheffield
Andrew, Mrs, do. do.
Andrews, J. H., Leeds
Andrew, Rev. J. H., St Thomas, Ardwick, Manchester
Anderson, Sir Charles
Anderson, Mrs
Anderson, Joseph, 6 Ashwood Terrace, Headingley Hill
Anderson, Rev. Wm., Rector of Upper Cumber, Clady, Derry
Appleyard, Thos., St Michael's Tower, Headingley
Appleyard, Miss J., do. do.
Appleyard, Miss A., do. do.
Appleyard, Miss Kate, do. do.
Appleyard, Rev. W., Batley Carr Vicarage, Yorkshire
Appleyard, Rev. Wm., Balley Coon
Armagh, His Grace the Archbishop of
Arnold, Frances, Fox How, Ambleside
Archdall, Rev. M., Kendal, Westmoreland
Arundell, Rev. Thos., Hayton Vicarage, York
Armitage, Richard, Esq., 6 Woodsley Terrace
Armitage, W. J., Esq., Farnley
Armitage, Mrs, do.
Armand, Miss, Otley
Argles, Rev. G. M., St Mary's, Bishopthorpe Road, York
Armiston, J. J., Esq., Cumberland Villa, Headingley
Arnold, E. J., 19 Blenheim Terrace
Arnold, Mrs, do. do.
Armistead, Rev. W., Garstang, Lancashire
Armitage, Geo., Huddersfield
Armitage, Josh. Armitage, Huddersfield
Armytage, Capt. G., West Riding Prison, Wakefield
Armytage, Mrs, do. do.
Armytye, George, St Lawrence, Pudsey
Armitage, Rev. J. A., Whitwood Rectory Normanton
Armstrong, Rev. R. L., 113 Cross Lane, Salford, Manchester; Secretary to Irish Church Mission
Aspinall, Rev. G. E., Barwick-in-Elmet, South Milford

Asaph, The Very Rev. the Dean of, Deanery, St Asaph
Asquith, J. R., Esq., Infirmary Street, Leeds
Atwood, Rev. A. M., Knayton Lodge, Thirsk
Atkinson, John Wm., 13 Woodhouse Square, Leeds
Atkinson, Mrs, do. do.
Atkinson, Miss, do. do.
Atkinson, Miss M. E., do. do.
Atkinson, Rev. Frederick., Long Heaton, Nottingham
Atkinson, Mrs, do. do.
Atkinson, Edwd., Esq., Albion Place
Atkinson, Mrs, do.
Atkinson, Charles, Armley
Atkinson, Mrs, 14 Clarendon Road
Atkinson, Miss Fanny, do.
Atkinson, Miss Lizzie, do.
Atkinson, Miss Emily, do.
Atkinson, Miss E. S., do.
Atkinson, Miss E., 16, Brunswick Place, Leeds
Atkinson, Miss L., do. do.
Atkinson, M, D. H., do. do.
Atkinson, Mr, Manston Lodge
Atkinson, Mrs, do.
Atkinson, Miss, do.
Atkinson, Miss, The Mount, York
Atkinson, Miss S. T., do.
Atkinson, Rev. Miles, St John the Baptist, Hulme, Manchester
Atkinson, Rev. F., Long Eaton, near Nottingham
Atkinson, Rev. Miles, Harewood Vicarage, Leeds
Atkinson, Capt. R. H., 20 Moorland Road
Atkinson, Rev. Arthur, Vicar of Audlem Cheshire
Atkinson, C., Esq., 14 Clarendon Road, Leeds
Austen, Rev. George, St Paul's, Middlesbro'
Austen, Rev. J. M., Worsthorne Vicarage, Burnley
Austin, Miss Annie, 1 Kingston Terrace
Austin, Miss Amy, do. do.
Auriol, Rev. Prebendary, Mecklenburgh Square, London
Austen, Rev. S. C., Boyne Hill, Maidenhead

Bancroft, Alfred, Selby
Barker, Rev. H. C., Hexham House, Hexham
Barker, Rev. T. C. Spelsbury, Enstone, Oxon
Banham, Rev. W., Worsbrough Dale, near Barnsley
Battersby, Canon, Keswick
Bagot, Rev. Geo., Lightcliffe, Halifax
Barber, Rev. Ed., Carlton, Pontefract
Baker, Rev. Chas., St John's Leicester
Bandinell, Rev. Jas., Elmley Rectory, near Wakefield
Bandinell, Mrs, do. do.
Bathurst, Rev. F., Diddington, Buckden, Huntingdon
Barry, Rev. Canon, King's College, London
Barry, Mrs, do. do.
Blakeney, Rev. J., St Paul's, Sheffield
Bateson, Rev. R. K., Godley-cum-Newton, Hyde, Manchester
Bardsley, Rev. J. W., St Saviour's, Liverpool
Bagott, Rev. E., Charlestown, Halifax
Barnes, Rev. H. F., Bridlington
Barnes, Rev. William., Hasland Rectory, Chesterfield
Barton, Rev. T. H., Fridaythorpe, Malton, Yorkshire
Bailey, Rev. H. R., Great Warley, Brentwood, Essex
Balme, E. B. Wheatley, Lough Rigg, Ambleside
Bardsley, Rev. J., Rector of Stepney, Middlesex
Bates, Rev. Emery, Wilmslow Rectory, Cheshire
Bates, Mrs, do. do.
Baker, Rev. W., Crambe Vicarage, York
Bartlet, Rev. J. T., St John's, Mansfield
Bartlet, Mrs, do. do.
Backhouse, Mrs, 5 Hillary Place, Leeds
Bateman, Rev. W. F., Clergy House, Albany Street, London
Barclay, Rev. Dr., Broad Sanctuary, Westminster
Baker, Mrs Harriet, St. John's Terrace
Baxter, Mr, 6 Park Square
Baxter, Miss, do.
Baxter, Miss J., do.
Bancroft, A. E., Esq., Bramley, Leeeds
Bancroft, Mrs, do. do.
Bailes, Rd., Esq., Ridge Villas, Meanwood Road
Bailes, Mrs, do. do.
Baylay, Rev. A. M. Y., Mount Preston, Leeds
Barnardiston, Rev. Arthur, Methringham Vicarage, Lincoln
Boutflower, Archdeacon, The Vicarage, Appleby, Westmoreland
Boutflower, Mrs, do. do.
Barry, Rev. D., The Limes, Shrewsbury
Barrell, Mrs W. B., Wakefield
Baxter, Rev. T. P. N., Hawerby Vicarage, Great Grimsby
Baines, Miss Edith, Weetwood Lodge
Barker Mr Frederick, Headingley Hill
Barnes, Rev. F., Maidwell, Northampton
Bastow, Mr, Leeds
Barker, Rev. Thomas, Revesby, Lincolnshire
Barnes, Rev. G., 9 Park Place, Grove Road, Bow, London
Barkby, Henry, Esq., St Mark's, Dewsbury
Bartlett, Rev. F. A., St Olave's, York
Bamford, Rev. Robert, Redcliff House, Clifton, Bristol
Banks, Rev. R., Womersley, Pontefract
Bailey, Rev. Charles., Marton Vicarage, Cleveland, Yorkshire
Bailey, Mrs, do. do.
Backhouse, Elisha, Esq., 5 Hillary Place, Leeds
Backhouse, Miss, do. do.
Barstow, Miss Amy, Garrow Hill, York
Barrett, Rev. D. W., Bierley
Bealey, Rev. J. K., St. Hilda's Vicarage, Middlesbro'-on-Tees
Bateman, Rev. J. F., South Lopham Rectory, Harling, Norfolk
Baines, Talbot, Weetwood Lodge, Leeds

Barker, Benjamin, Jun., Esq., Bramley, near Leeds
Barker, Ellen, Jun., do.
Barran, John, Mayor of Leeds
Barran, Mrs, Chapel-Allerton Hall
Barran, Miss, do.
Barran, Miss Eliza, do.
Barran, Charles, do.
Bailey, Rev. J. G., Saint Bartholomew's Hospital, Rochester
Bailey, Miss, do. do.
Bailey, Miss, do. do.
Baker, Miss, Bellevue, Horsforth
Baker, Mr, do. do.
Bardsley, Rev. E. W., St John's, Bootle, near Liverpool
Baxendale, Miss, Brandon Villa
Bacon, Rev. J. H., Stallingborough, Ulceby
Barber, John, Esq., Cromer Terrace
Barber, Mrs, do. do.
Barber, Rev. E., Vicarage, Radley, Oxon
Balmain, Gen. J. G., Little Ouseburn
Bainbridge, Rev. H. P., Thornton Dale, Pickering, Yorkshire
Barwick, Mr John, Glen View, Shipley
Barwick, Mrs, do. do.
Barwick, Miss do. do.
Barwis, Rev. W. C., Hoylandswaine, Vicarage, Silkstone
Barwis, Mrs, do. do.
Barwis, Miss, do. do.
Barker, Henry, Esq., Estate Buildings, Huddersfield
Barker, Mrs, do. do.
Bailey, Rev. John, Grosmont Vicarage, Yorkshire
Barton, Rev. W., Thornes, Wakefield
Barber, Rev. A., Thornhill, near Dewsbury
Baker, Miss Emma, Kensington Terrace
Bayley, Rev. C. J., Swinton, Lancashire
Bellingham, W. C., Esq., Bellingham Castle, Ireland
Beadon, Rev. Canon, Rural Dean and Vicar of Latton, Wiltshire
Bennett, Rev. H. S., Tockwith, Yorkshire
Beaumont, G. F., Ormsby Vicarage, Middlesborough
Beaumont, Mrs, do. do.
Beverley, Robert, 5 Woodsley Terrace
Beverley, Mrs, do. do.
Beverley, Miss, do. do.
Beverley, Mr W., do. do.
Bentfield, C., Esq., Headingley
Berry, Miss
Beswick, A., Manchester
Bellewes, Rev. G. C., 7 Taunton Place, Regent's Park
Beaby, Mrs, Oak Lea, Harrogate
Beverley, Arthur, Esq., Grosvenor Terrace, Leeds
Beverley, Mrs, do. do.
Beverley, Miss, do. do.
Bell, Joseph, Kensington Terrace, Hyde Park
Berry, T. M., Vicar of Belgave, Leicestershire
Bensted, Rev. T. B., Rector of Lockwood, near Huddersfield
Berryman, Rev. J. W., Tydd St Giles, near Wisbeach, Cambridgeshire
Bell, Miss Alice, Oulton Green, near Leeds

Bence, Rev. G. W., Vicar of Bishopston, near Bristol
Bence, Mrs, do. do.
Best, Mr, 39 Lyddon Terrace, Leeds
Best, Mrs, do. do.
Best, Miss, do. do.
Best, Miss M., do. do.
Best, Mr W., do. do.
Beer, Mrs, 24 Cowper Street, Leeds
Beer, Miss, do. do.
Beauchamp, Sir Thomas, Langley Park, Norfolk
Bennett, Rev. Theophilus, Toller Fratrum Vicarage, Dorsetshire
Betham, Rev. C. J., Vicar of Brettenham, Suffolk
Benson, Rev. C. M., 3 Princess Square, Harrogate
Beckit, Miss, Nottingham
Beckit, Miss E., do.
Bennett, Geo., York
Beardshaw, Mrs, Carlton Lodge
Beardshaw, Miss do.
Beales, Rev. — London
Bell, Mrs E., Fonthill Bishop, Salisbury
Bell, John, Jun., Esq., Kensington Terrace, Hyde Park
Bell, Joseph, do. do.
Beer, Fred., Burley, near Otley
Beverley, Mrs W., The Laurels, Shaw Lane, Headingley
Bell, Rev. Canon, Ambleside
Bell, Miss do.
Beaumont, Rev. John, Askern, Doncaster
Bewerley, G. A., Garrowby Lodge, York
Bealy, A., Esq., Oak Lea, Harrogate
Bell, Rev. Edwd., St. John's Parsonage, Wakefield
Bell, Mrs, do. do.
Bell, Miss, Uppingham
Bernard, Rev. Canon, Bath
Beaumont, Alfred, Parkton Grove, Honley
Beaumont, Mrs, do. do.
Benn, Rev. J., Matfen Vicarage, Newcastle-on-Tyne
Bent, Peter, Beech House, New Wortley, Leeds
Brown, C. M., Mount Preston, Leeds
Bembridge, Rev. E. R., 54 Talbot Street, Southport
Beardshaw, R., Carlton Lodge, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds
Bishop, Mr, Cliff View House, Woodhouse
Bishop, Mrs, do. do.
Binyon, Rev. F., Burton-in-Lonsdale Vicarage, Yorkshire
Binyon, Mrs, do. do.
Bickersteth, The Rev. Archdeacon, Prebendal House, Aylesbury
Bigland, Miss, Ulverstone
Bigland, Miss L., do.
Bigland, The Rev. T. E., Vicar of Thorney, Newark, Notts
Bigland, Mrs, do. do.
Birtwistle, Rev. R., Beverley Minster, Yorks
Birtwistle, Alfred, Esq., do. do.
Birtwistle, Mrs, do. do.
Bickerdike, Rev. John, St Mary's, Leeds
Billing, Rev. R. C., Rector of Louth, Lincolnshire

Birley, Mrs W., The Larches, Preston
Birley, Rev. R., St Philip's, Hulme, Manchester
Birchall, Mrs, Whiteholme, Clitheroe
Birch, The Rev. Canon, Chaplain to H.M. the Queen and H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, Rector of Prestwich, Lancashire
Birch, Mrs, do.
Birchall, J. D., Esq., Bowden Hall, Gloucester
Birtwistle, Alfred, Esq., M.A., Minster Vicarage, Beverley
Birtwistle, Rev. Robert, The Vicarage, Bishop Burton
Binns, James, Constantinople
Billington, Wm., Esq., Newlay, Leeds
Billington, Mrs, do. do.
Birchall, Edward, 7 Park Square, Leeds
Bickerstaff, Rev. M. J., Armitage Bridge Vicarage, Huddersfield
Bickerstaff, Rev. W., Chapelthorpe, Wakefield, Yorkshire
Birley, Hugh, Esq., M.P.
Birks, Rev. Canon, Holy Trinity Vicarage, Cambridge
Blenkinsopp, Rev. R. G. L., Rector of Shadforth, Durham
Blakeney, Rev. J. E., St Paul's Sheffield
Blamire, Rev. W. H., St James's, Over Darwen, Blackburn, Lancashire
Blomefield, Rev. Sir T., Bart., Hemsworth, Pontefract
Blomefield, Lady, do. do.
Bland, J. H., 45 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds
Blatch, Rev. F. R., St Mary's, Newington, Surrey
Blyth, Rev. E. H., Hammersmith Vicarage, London
Blake, Rev. C. Jex, Lyng Rectory, Norwich
Blackett, Rev. W. R., 65 Bedford Street, Liverpool
Blunt, Rev. Canon, Vicar of Scarbro'
Blackburn, Mr, Wakefield
Blaney, J., Leeds Infirmary
Blundell, E. C., 26 Spring Street, Hull
Blomefield, Rev. John, St George's, Leeds
Blomefield, Mrs J., St George's Vicarage
Blomefield, Miss S. M., do.
Blomefield, Miss E. L., do.
Blomefield, John D'Arcy, do.
Bland, Rev. E. O., Kippax
Blenkinsopp, Rev. R. H., Rector of Springthorpe, Lincoln
Blane, Rev. H., Folkton Rectory, York
Blakelock, Rev. R, Rector of Gimingham, Norfolk
Blakeway, Rev. B., Seaton Carew, West Hartlepool
Blair, Rev. A., Sherburn, South Milford, Yorkshire
Boultbee, Rev. James, Wrangthorn Vicarage
Boultbee, Miss, do. do.
Bourke, Rev. C., Rector of Middleton Stoney, Bicester
Borough, John, Solicitor, Derby
Botterill, Mr. Samuel, Market Weighton
Bowers, Rev. T. S., Kirkstall Vicarage
Bowers, Mrs, do.
Bowers, Miss Jessie, do.
Bowers, Miss E. M., Kirkstall
Bowner, Mrs, The Deanery, St Asaph
Booth, Mr R. H., 164 Briggate
Bousfield, Mrs, 3 Beech Grove Terrace, Leeds
Bousfield, Mrs C., do. do.
Bourne, Rev. J. G., Castle Donington Vicarage
Bourne, Miss, do. do.
Bower, Mrs, 37 Park Square
Bower, Miss, do.
Booker, Rev. C. F., Stanningley
Booker, Miss, Stanningley
Bourne, Rev. J. G., Castle Donington Vicarage, Leicester
Botterill, Mr, Flower Bank, Burley
Botterill, Mrs, do. do.
Botterill, Miss, do. do.
Booker, H. T.
Bowker, Henry F., 12 Farquhar Road, Upper Norwood
Bowker, Rev. H. C., do. do.
Bowker, Miss, do. do.
Botterill, Fred., Esq., 60 Springfield Place
Bond, Mr Richard, Accrington
Boutflower, Rev. Chas., St George's, Leeds
Bower, Abraham, Esq., Ripon
Bower, Mrs, do.
Bower, Miss, do.
Bower, Miss, do.
Bower, Miss, do.
Bousfield, C. H., 14 George's Sq., Glasgow
Boyd, The Rev. Canon, Arncliffe, Skipton
Booker, Mrs, C. E., Newton Grove, Leeds
Bond, Rev. Wm., St Weonard's, near Ross, Hereford
Bond, Rev. C. W., Incumbent of Hanley, Staffordshire
Bond, Mrs, Hanley, Staffordshire
Booker, Sam., Esq., 31 Lord St., Southport
Bousfield, Mrs W., Beech Grove Terrace
Bousfield, Miss, do. do.
Boyer, Mr W. S., Oxford Terrace, London
Bolton, Rev. E. R., Wragby, Lincolnshire
Borton, Nevil, 33 Park Square, Leeds
Booker, Rev. Wm., Vicarage, Brighouse
Bowyer, Rev. F. W. A., Rural Dean and Rector of Clapham, Surrey
Bowyer, Mrs, Clapham, Surrey
Boyd, Rev. Charles, Harrogate
Brechin, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, Dundee
Brigg, Rev. Wm. H., Cliff Road, Leeds
Brigg, Mrs, do. do.
Brigg, Miss Catherine do.
Braithwaite, Dr., Hyde St., Clarendon Road
Braithwaite, Mrs, do. do.
Braithwaite, Miss do. do.
Brown, L., Esq., Tithebarn St., Liverpool
Brown, Rev. R. L., Vicar of Lineal with Colesmere, Ellesmere
Branson, F., Baslow, Chesterfield
Branson, Mr, do. do.
Brinckman, Rev. Arthur, All Saints' Clergy Home, London
Bromley, Rev. William, Sibton Vicarage, Suffolk
Broad, Rev. J. S., St George's, Newcastle, Stafford
Brameld, H., 75 Church Street, Hunslet
Brameld, A., do do.
Brunnyee, Rev. W., Belton, Lincolnshire
Brasher, Rev. S. B., St Paul's, Derby

Brierley, Rev. J. H., The Rectory, Presteign
Brierley, Mrs, do. do.
Brooke, Rev. J., Heyside, Oldham
Bradstock, Rev. W. Edgar, Ironville, Derby
Brocklebank, Mrs T., Jun., Sandown Park, Wavertree, Liverpool
Brocklebank, Mr T., Jun., do. do.
Bramah, Rev. H. S., St James the Less, Liverpool
Bryan, Rev. W. P., Haigh Vicarage, Wigan
Braithwaite, Rev. A., St Simon's, Sheffield
Brooke, Miss Anne, Huddersfield
Briscall, Henry, Springfield Mount
Briggs, Rev. John, 6 Upper Baker Street, Liverpool
Briggs, Joshua, Elmwood Terrace, Leeds
Brookes, George, Esq., Whitchurch, Salop
Brooksbank, Miss M. A., The Bailey, Durham
Brook, Miss C. G., 4 Hyde Park Terrace
Braithwaite, Miss E., 2 Francis Street, New Leeds
Bradford, Miss N., Leeds
Bruce, William, Esq., 2 Moorland Terrace
Bruce, Mrs, do do.
Bramley, S. W., 17 Springfield Buildings, Leeds
Brooke, Rev. Joshua Ingham, Thornhill Rectory, Dewsbury
Brooke, Mrs, do. do.
Braithwaite, Rev. E., Calverley
Brooke, H., Yorkshire Banking Company, Leeds
Brownbill, J., 20 Briggate, Leeds
Brock, Rev. H. F., Christ Church, Doncaster
Bristow, Rev. R. R., St Stephen's Vicarage, Lewisham, Kent
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